

913.37 D41 ~~6117328~~ 6117328

Dennis

The cities and cemeteries of
Etruria

913.37 D41 v.1 6117328

Dennis

The cities and cemeteries of
Etruria

kansas city



public library

kansas city, missouri

Books will be issued only
on presentation of library card.

Please report lost cards and
change of residence promptly.

Card holders are responsible for
all books, records, films, picture
or other library materials
checked out on their cards.

KANSAS CITY, MO. PUBLIC LIBRARY



430

[illegible]

Everyman, I will go with thee, and be thy guide,
In thy most need to go by thy side.

This is No. 183 of Everyman's Library. A list of authors and their works in this series will be found at the end of this volume. The publishers will be pleased to send freely to all applicants a separate, annotated list of the Library.

**J. M. DENT & SONS LIMITED
10-13 BEDFORD STREET LONDON W.C.2**

**E. P. DUTTON & CO. INC.
286-302 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK**

EVERYMAN'S LIBRARY
EDITED BY ERNEST RHYS

TRAVEL & TOPOGRAPHY

CITIES AND CEMETERIES OF ETRURIA
BY GEORGE DENNIS · INTRODUCTION BY
PROFESSOR W. M. LINDSAY · IN 2 VOLS.
VOL. I

THE CITIES AND CEMETERIES OF ETRURIA

VOLUME ONE



GEORGE DENNIS

LONDON: J. M. DENT & SONS LTD.
NEW YORK: E. P. DUTTON & CO. INC.

All rights reserved
Made in Great Britain
by R. Clay & Sons Ltd., Bungay, Suffolk
and decorated by Eric Ravilious
for
J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd.
Aldine House Bedford St. London
First Published in this Edition 1907

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

V. I

WHO were the Etruscans? What was their home, before they migrated to Italy? What kind of language did they speak? Students have been busy with these questions for a good many years, and the Etruscan problem is still unsolved. Solved, however, it will be, sooner or later. No one who is in touch with these studies has any doubt about that. Once let us hit upon the right interpretation of the remains of the language, and everything will be made clear.

And yet it would be untrue to say that the language defies interpretation. In fact, a few years ago, it was nearer the truth, that almost all the inscriptions then known were fairly intelligible. What hindered us was the meagreness of these remains of the language, mere short sentences upon tombstones, like this: "Here lies A, the son of B, aged so many years." Any one who visits a churchyard in a Basque district or in a Swiss canton, where Rumansch is spoken, will not find it very hard to puzzle out the epitaphs and to recognize a Spanish or a German name in its uncouth form; but this will not greatly help him to understand Basque or Rumansch. So it was with Etruscan. We had several thousand epitaphs, and a bilingual or two to give us the clue to their interpretation. Thus *P. Volumnius A. f. Cafatia natus*, that is, *Publius Volumnius Auli filius Cafatia natus* (son of Cafatia), was the Latin version of the Etruscan epitaph on the same stone: *Pup. Velimna Au. Cahatral*. This taught us that Etruscan *Velimna* was the same as Latin *Volumnius*, and that what was *Cafatia* in Latin was *Cahatia* in Etruscan. Another bilingual: (Latin) *L. Scarpus Scarpiae l.* i. e. *Scarpiae libertus* (freedman of Scarpia), appeared in Etruscan as *Larnth Scarpal lautni*; from which we learnt that the ending *l* was a genitive case ending, or something of the kind, and that *lautni*, for which on women's epitaphs the feminine form *lautnitha* appears, was Etruscan for a freedman, a slave who had been emancipated. These bilinguals made it easy for us to translate all the other epitaphs of the same type, and, by comparing one with another, to translate others of a slightly different

type, until gradually nearly all sentences found on tombstones became intelligible.

In addition to the epitaphs there were coins, from which we learnt the Etruscan names of towns. There were titles of paintings (on vases or walls of tombs, or scratched beside the figures on metal mirrors) which taught us the names of the Etruscan gods and the Etruscan forms of Greek and Latin names of gods and heroes. There were a few phrases quoted by Latin writers, such as *arse verse*, the Etruscan charm against fire, that was often written over the door of a Roman house.

But these isolated words and phrases¹ furnished among them a material that was far too scanty, since it is grammar, more than vocabulary, which reveals the true nature of a language. Etruscan had no affinity with Latin; that was clear. Nor did it belong to the Indo-European family of languages. But for any more precise knowledge the data were wanting.

At the end of last century, however, came an unexpected wealth of material for our study. A linen cloth, wrapped round an Egyptian mummy in the museum of Agram in Austria, proved to be the relics of an Etruscan Book of Ritual. We had at last a piece of Etruscan literature.

Here is a specimen (is it poetry, or is it prose?):

ceia hia etnam ciz vacl trin velthre
male ceia hia etnam ciz vacl ais vale
male ceia hia trinth etnam ciz ale
male ceia hia etnam ciz vacl vile vale.

¹ If any reader likes to try his hand at translating Etruscan, here is a brief vocabulary. *puia*, wife; *sec* (often *sech*), daughter; *clan*, son; *ril*, year; also *avil*, year; *tivr*, month; *-c*, and (e.g. *clan puia*c, son and wife; *Vel. Sethre puia*c, Volumnius Sertorius and his wife); *lupuce*, died; *amce*, was. Etruscan formulas for "here lies" are: *eca suthi* or *mi suthi*, or merely *mi* (e.g. *mi Thanckvilus* on the grave of Tanaquil).

The numerals 1-6 are *mach*, *ci*, *thu*, *huth*, *sa*, *zal*; they are written on the six sides of dice, so that it is impossible to say which is "one" and which is "six." Since other dice, which are marked with dots, instead of words, shew an invariable arrangement, certain numbers being invariably opposite certain other numbers, we have something of a clue, but not quite enough. Just as we add the syllable "ty" to a unit to form a decade, e.g. six-ty, seven-ty, so the Etruscans added *alch*; while for numeral adverbs, "twice," "thrice," etc., they added *z*. Thus from *ci* we have *cialch*, the corresponding decade, and *ciz*, meaning "so many times."

Of the Etruscan Pantheon we have learnt a great deal from a thing found some thirty years ago, a curious kind of chart used by Etruscan soothsayers in their divinations. It is a small piece of bronze, fashioned in the shape of the liver, with each part of the liver marked by the name of a god. A Roman writer gives an account of the corresponding chart used by Roman soothsayers. The Roman chart, as is only natural, since divination came to Rome from Etruria, is now seen to follow the arrangement of the Etruscan bronze, so that we learn a good deal about the Etruscan equivalents of Roman deities. Bacchus was the Etruscan *Pufluns*, Jupiter was *Tina*, Juno *Uni*, Sol *Uvil*, Luna *Tiv* (whence *tivr*, a month), Vulcan *Sethlans*, Venus *Turan*, Mercury *Turmus*, and so on. The word for "god" is *ais* or *aisar*.

There is page after page like this, all unintelligible, except that here and there a familiar word meets us—often a numeral, often the name of a god—enough to let us guess the general purport of the page, but no more.

Fresh inscriptions too have turned up, some of considerable length, containing, not epitaphs, but laws or official proclamations. In fact, there is now a rich crop ready for the harvesting. But how long we may have to wait, until the patient accumulation of evidence brings the discovery of the great secret, who can say? There would hardly be much delay if we had more bilinguals to help us; if, for example, an official notice, written both in Etruscan and in Latin, were to be unearthed. Unfortunately, the Italian Government's excavations in Etruria are confined to the sites of the large cities of the interior, where bilinguals are not to be expected. The place for them is the border-land, where the population would be half Etruscan, half Latin. If some Mæcenas were to provide means for excavating in that quarter, he might gain for himself the credit of discovering the key to Etruscan.

Until the problem of the language is solved it is impossible to speak with certainty about the other problems, the ethnic affinity and the original home of the Etruscans. But it may interest readers to hear what has been, if not ascertained, at least suggested, by recent discoveries and investigations. On one thing all students, or nearly all, are agreed—that the Etruscans did not belong to the same family of nations as the Romans and the other tribes of Italy. Since they lived so long in contact with Romans and Umbrians and Oscans, it is only natural that their vocabulary has a large admixture of the Italic element, just as the Gaelic vocabulary is full of English words, like railway, station, pier, gun; and the Highlanders often give their children Lowland names. This Italic element in the language caught the eye of the first students, and for a long time the usual method of study was to look about for Latin words which might give a clue to the meaning of Etruscan words. Ultimately Corssen composed a huge work, *Die Sprache der Etrusker* (Leipzig, 1874), following this mistaken method from the first page to the last. His mistake was exposed in a trenchant review of the work by Deecke; and the author's chagrin at his failure was probably the cause of his tragic death. Deecke shewed, once for all, that an interpreta-

tion of the Etruscan records which starts with the assumption that Etruscan must be an Italic language, and which proceeds to interpret them by referring each word to some Latin word of similar appearance (e. g. *puia*, "young girl," Lat. *puella*; *clan*, "grown-up son," Lat. *grandis*), must prove a fiasco. And yet, by some extraordinary infatuation, Deecke himself, some years later, glided imperceptibly into this very position, and issued treatise after treatise based on this unwarrantable assumption. The true scientific student of the language has been Pauli, who throughout remained true to the principles which he laid down at the beginning of his studies, viz. that the Etruscan records must be interpreted by means of themselves, that the sense of an Etruscan word must be determined by a comparison of the various contexts in which it occurs, and not by a reference to a supposed Latin cognate. The absurdity of the method of Corssen, and latterly of Deecke, he shewed in an amusing skit in his *Altitalische Studien* (vol. ii.), in which, pretending to regard Etruscan as a branch of the Baltic languages, he produced cognates from the Lithuanian for Etruscan words just as readily as Deecke had produced them from the Latin. Nearly everything that has been made out with some appearance of certainty we owe to Pauli, who, shortly before his death, started the publication of a full collection of the inscriptions, the *Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum*, of which seven volumes, about a half of the complete work, have now appeared.

The discovery of the Book of Ritual has given the *coup de grâce* to Corssen's theory. The Etruscans cannot have been of the same stock as the Italian peoples. It is indeed probable that they were immigrants like these; but their immigration belonged apparently to a far earlier time than the Italic. The ancestors of the Latin, Umbrian and Oscan tribes found Italy already occupied by them, and had to cut out with their swords footholds for themselves in Etruscan territory. Nothing gives us so clear a picture of the universal domination of Italy by the Etruscans as the geographical names. From the farthest north to the farthest south nearly all place-names are of this origin. Even the name of Rome itself now turns out to be an Etruscan word. It must have been an Etruscan town or village long before Romulus and the Latins appeared on the scene. Italian history does not begin for us until this great Empire had succumbed, or was succumbing, in Central Italy to the Latins, in

Southern Italy to the Samnites. But indications are not wanting of the enormous influence exercised by the older race on these later immigrants. In fact, it looks as though nearly everything, which differentiated the Romans and the kindred Italian stocks from the other members of the Indo-European family, will prove ultimately to have been due to Etruscan influence. One characteristic feature of the Italian peoples is their system of naming individuals and families. While the other Indo-European nations all used compound names, *e. g.* Hippocrates in Greece, Ethelbert in England, simple names appear on Italian soil—Tullius, Appius, and the like. This practice has been quite recently discovered to be Etruscan. And not merely Roman religion but Roman law and Roman architecture are now seen to be all based on the same older foundation, so that we may say that the key which will unlock the secrets of this strange language will also discover to us the earliest history of Rome and Roman institutions.

It will perhaps also shew us the origin of the Etruscans themselves. That they were immigrants is likely, for ancient tradition made them come from the East, in particular from Asia Minor, and no sufficient reason for doubting this has appeared. The original inhabitants of Italy we may perhaps look for in the mountainous region at the north of the peninsula, whither they had been driven by the invaders. Possibly the Ligurians represent the aboriginal stock; but there are too few traces of their language to allow of certainty. Some time ago an inscription was discovered in the island of Lemnos which is unmistakably written in an Etruscan dialect. By its help we get some indications of the development of the language on other than Etrurian soil. That it also gives us a clue to the path followed by the immigrants is possible. But of these great prehistoric movements of peoples we are only beginning to discern the faint outlines by the help of discoveries in Crete and Egypt and Asia Minor. All that we can clearly see is that at the back of history, as we know it, there is another vast expanse of history, which hitherto was as completely hidden to our view as the upper stretches of a mountain are concealed from the climber of the lowest ridge. Of all the attempts to discover a cognate to the speech of these mysterious immigrants into Italy, only one can be said to have had some measure of success. In some of the languages spoken

by certain tribes of the Caucasus range in the north part of Georgia there are one or two striking points of similarity to Etruscan, although it must be added that these languages have not yet been fully studied. The Caucasus was, no doubt, the refuge of the prehistoric inhabitants of Eastern Asia Minor and Armenia when dispossessed by invading hordes, for it is to mountain fastnesses that aborigines ultimately have to retreat. The old tradition may turn out, after all, to be true, that the Etruscans were once a great nation of Asia Minor, and that, when their kingdom was invaded, a large number of them migrated into Italy.

Our ignorance has its compensations. The Nile lost something of its charm when its sources were discovered. And the mystery attached to the Etruscans strengthens the fascination which their remains exercise on us to-day. No one who has spent some hours in the Etruscan Museum at Florence, or even in the smaller collections at the British Museum or the Louvre, can have failed to feel the attraction. The gold ornaments, the paintings, the sculptured representations of daily life, are all so intelligible to us, so little removed from modern civilization, that it requires only a slight effort of the imagination to picture to ourselves the life and action of the larger Etruscan towns. And yet of this great nation of antiquity, whose civilization seems so like our own, the history, the literature, the religion and institutions are alike unknown.

Dennis's *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria* was the book that brought these "old far-off things" into the notice of English readers. Since it was written a good deal has been added to our knowledge of the subject. But it still remains the best introduction to the Etruscan question for the general reader, and perhaps for the student too. Its freshness and interest are as strong to-day as ever.

W. M. LINDSAY.

St. Andrews, Jan. 1907.

The following is a list of the published works of George Dennis :—

A Summer in Andalucia, 1839; The Cid, a short chronicle, founded on the early poetry of Spain (revised and enlarged from articles in the "Penny Magazine"), 1845; The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria, two vols., 1848; Revised Edition, recording the most recent discoveries, with Maps, etc., 1878; A Handbook for Travellers in Sicily (one of "Murray's Handbooks for Travellers"), 1864.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

THIS work is the fruit of several tours made in Etruria between the years 1842 and 1847. It has been written under the impression that the Antiquities of that land, which have excited intense interest in Italy and Germany during the last twenty or thirty years, deserve more attention than they have hitherto received from the British public ; especially from those swarms of our countrymen who annually traverse that classic region in their migrations between Florence and Rome. A few Englishmen, eminent for rank or acquirements, have long been practically acquainted with the subject—but till the appearance of Mrs. Hamilton Gray's work on "The Sepulchres of Etruria" the public at large was in a state of profound ignorance or indifference. That lady is deserving of all praise for having first introduced Etruria to the notice of her countrymen, and for having, by the graces of her style and power of her imagination, rendered a subject so proverbially dry and uninviting as Antiquity, not only palatable but highly attractive. Her work, however, is far from satisfactory, as all who have used it as a Guide will confess ; for there are many sites of high interest which she has not described, and on some of those of which she has treated many remarkable monuments have been subsequently discovered. It is to supply such deficiencies that I offer these volumes to the public. The interest and curiosity that lady has aroused in the mysterious race to which Italy is indebted for her early civilization, I hope to extend and further to gratify.

The primary object of this work is to serve as a Guide to those who would become personally acquainted with the extant remains of Etruscan civilization. The matter therefore is so arranged that the traveller may readily ascertain what monuments he will find on any particular site. I have deemed it

advisable to add succinct notices of the history of each city, so far as it may be learnt from ancient writers, with a view to impart interest to the traveller's visit, as well as to give the book some value to those who would use it, not as a Handbook, but as a work of classical and antiquarian reference. Yet as the former is its primary character, the traveller's wants and convenience have been particularly consulted—by statements of distances, by hints as to means of conveyance, as to the accommodation to be found on the road, and sundry such-like fragments of information, which, it is hoped, may prove the more acceptable to him, as they are intended for his exclusive use and benefit.

Some apology may be thought necessary for the copious annotations which give the work pretensions to something more than a mere Handbook. As in the course of writing it I have had occasion to make frequent references to the classics and to modern works on archæology, it seemed to me, that by the insertion of my authorities I should avoid the charge of loose and unfounded statements ; while at the same time, by collecting and arranging these authorities according to the several subjects on which they bore, and by pointing out the sources whence further information might be derived, I should be rendering service to the scholar and antiquary. Yet to avoid swelling the work to an undue extent, I have contented myself, for the most part, with simply indicating, instead of quoting. Though the exhibition of the process by which the work was constructed may be useless or even displeasing to the general reader, to the student of these matters it will not prove unwelcome.

The obligations I have been under to Cluver, Müller, and other writers, living as well as dead, I must here acknowledge in general terms, as it would be impossible to state the source whence every reference or suggestion has been derived. Yet wherever I have availed myself of the labours of others, I have carefully verified their authorities, or, very rarely, have transferred the responsibility to the proper quarter.

I must also take this opportunity of paying my personal

tribute of thanks to certain living antiquaries, whose names stand high in European estimation ; particularly to Doctors Braun and Henzen, the secretaries of the Archæological Institute of Rome, for their kindness in affording me facilities for the prosecution of my studies, especially by placing the copious library of the Institute at my command. To these I must add the names of Professor Migliarini of Florence, whose obliging courtesy has stood me in good stead when in that city ; and of Mr. Birch, of the British Museum, who has favoured me with his notes of two sarcophagi at Musignano, described at page 456 of this volume. Nor must I forget to mention my friend and fellow-traveller Mr. Ainsley, to whom I am indebted for the free use of the notes of his Etruscan tours, as well as for several sketches used in illustrating this work.

The drawings of masonry, tombs, and other local remains have been mostly made by myself with the camera lucida. Those of portable monuments are generally copied from various works little known in England. Most of the plans of ancient sites are also borrowed, but two have been made by myself, and though laying no claim to scientific precision, will be found sufficiently accurate for the purposes of the tourist. The general Map of Etruria has been formed principally from Segato's Map of Tuscany, aided by Gell's and Westphal's Campagna di Roma, and by the official maps of the Pontifical State.

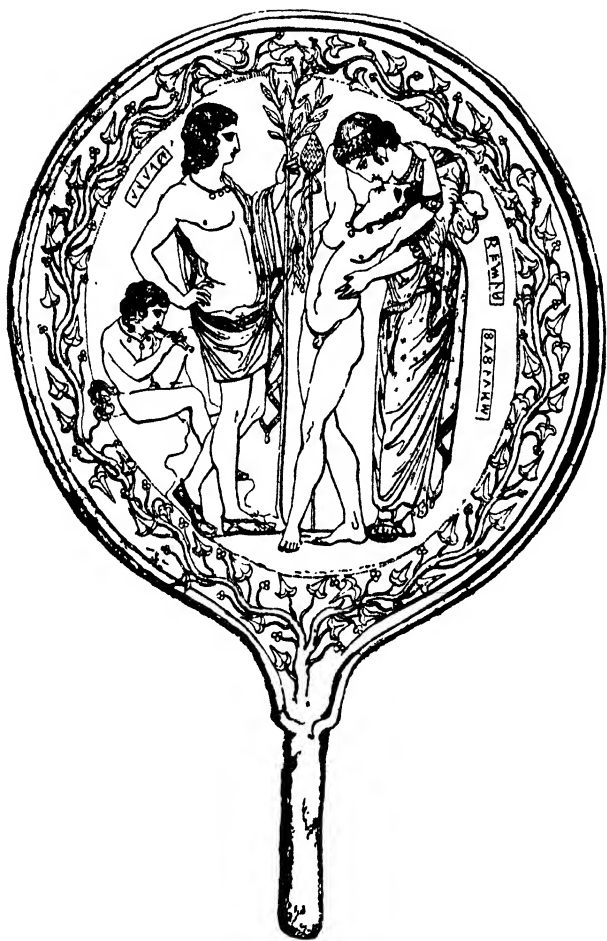
My chief aim throughout this work has been truth and accuracy. At least half of the manuscript has been written in Italy, and the greater part of it has been verified by subsequent visits to the scenes described. Notwithstanding, the book has, doubtless, its share of errors and imperfections. Those who take it up for mere amusement will think I have said too much, the scholar and antiquary that I have said too little, on the subjects treated,—on the one hand I may be accused of superficiality, on the other of prolixity and dulness. To all I make my apology in the words of Pliny—*Res ardua, vetustis novitatem dare, novis auctoritatem, obsoletis nitorem, obscuris lucem,*

fastiditis gratiam, dubiis fidem, omnibus vero naturam, et naturæ suæ omnia—"It is no easy matter to give novelty to old subjects, authority to new, to impart lustre to rusty things, light to the obscure and mysterious, to throw a charm over what is distasteful, to command credence for doubtful matters, to give nature to everything, and to arrange everything according to its nature."

CONTENTS OF VOL. I

CHAP.	PAGE
Introduction	I
I. Veii.—The City	81
II. Veii.—The Cemetery	118
III. Castel Giubileo.— <i>Fidenæ</i>	132
IV. Sutri.— <i>Sutrium</i>	144
V. Nepi.— <i>Nepete</i>	171
VI. Civita Castellana.— <i>Falerii (Veteres)</i>	176
VII. Falleri.— <i>Falerii (Novi)</i>	188
VIII. Fescennium	207
IX. Orte.— <i>Horta</i>	217
X. <i>Feronia and Capena</i>	225
XI. Monte Cimino.— <i>Mons Ciminus</i>	239
XII. Viterbo.— <i>Surrina</i>	243
XIII. Ferento.— <i>Ferentinum</i>	249
XIV. Bomarzo	258
XV. Castel d'Asso.— <i>Castellum Axia</i>	272
XVI. Norchia.— <i>Orcle?</i>	286
XVII. Bieda.— <i>Blera</i>	301
XVIII. Corneto. <i>Tarquiniî</i> .—The Cemetery	314
XIX. <i>Tarquiniî</i> .—The City	397
XX. <i>Gravisæ</i>	411
XXI. <i>Vulci</i>	420

	PAGE
Citharista and Saltatrix from the Grotta Marzi . . .	314
Map of Tarquinii and its Necropolis . . . <i>to face</i>	314
Saltatrix and Subulo	326
Etruscan Dancing-girl	328
Typhon, painted on Pillar, Grotta del Tifone . . .	340
Moulding of the Mausoleo	379
Il Mausoleo, on the Montarozzi	380
Bronze Disc, with the Head of the Horned Bacchus .	385
Half-buried Gateway in the Walls of Tarquinii . .	397
Ancient Cloaca on the Marta	411
Vulci and its Necropolis	419
Cylix, or Drinking-bowl, from Vulci	420
Ponte Della Badia, Vulci	422
Egyptian Vase, and Ostrich-egg painted	441
Statue of an Etruscan Lady	442
Bronze Bust of an Etruscan Lady	443
Spoon of Bone, found in the Isis Tomb	444
Unguent-pot in the Form of Isis	447
Scene from an Amphora found at Vulci	449
Creagræ, or Flesh-hooks	453
The Sarcophagus of the Niobids	458
Campanari's Garden, Toscanella	460
Etruscan Capital, Cippus, and Moulding	469
Rock-hewn Tomb called "La Fontana," at Sovana .	492
Façade of a Tomb at Sovana	503
Mouldings of Tombs at Sovana	507



ETRUSCAN MIRROR,
REPRESENTING "PHUPHLUNS" "SEMLA," AND "APULA,"
OR
BACCHUS, SEMELE, AND APOLLO.



ETRUSCAN AMPHORA.

INTRODUCTION

ANTIQUARIAN research, partaking of the quickened energy of the nineteenth century, has of late years thrown great light on the early history of Italy. It has demonstrated, in confirmation of extant records, that ages before the straw hut of Romulus arose on the Palatine, there existed in that land a nation far advanced in civilization and refinement—that Rome, before her intercourse with Greece, was indebted to ETRURIA for whatever tended to elevate and humanize her, for her chief lessons in art and science, for many of her political, and most of her religious and social institutions, for the conveniences and enjoyments of peace, and the tactics and appliances of war—for almost everything in short that tended to exalt her as a nation, save her stern

virtues, her thirst of conquest, and her indomitable courage, which were peculiarly her own; for verily her sons were mighty with little else but the sword—

stolidum genus—

Bellipotentes sunt magi' quam sapientipotentes.¹

The external history of the Etruscans, as there are no direct chronicles extant, is to be gathered only from scattered notices in Greek and Roman writers. Their internal history, till of late years, was almost a blank, but by the continual accumulation of fresh facts it is now daily acquiring form and substance, and promises, ere long, to be as distinct and palpable as that of Egypt, Greece, or Rome. For we already know the extent and peculiar nature of their civilization—their social condition and modes of life—their extended commerce and intercourse with far distant countries—their religious creed, with its ceremonial observances in this life, and the joys and torments it set forth in a future state—their popular traditions—and a variety of customs, of all which, History, commonly so called, is either utterly silent, or makes but incidental mention, or gives notices imperfect and obscure. We can now enter into the inner life of the Etruscans, almost as fully as if they were living and moving before us, instead of having been extinct as a nation for more than two thousand years. We can follow them from the cradle to the tomb,—we see them in their national costume, varied according to age, sex, rank, and office,—we learn their style of adorning their persons, their fashions, and all the eccentricities of their toilet,—we even become acquainted with their peculiar physiognomy, their individual names and family relationships,—we know what houses they inhabited, what furniture they used,—we behold them at their various avocations—the princes in the council-chamber—the augur, or priest, at the altar, or in solemn procession—the warrior in the battle-field, or returning home in triumph—the judge on the bench—the artisan at his handicraft—the husbandman at the plough—the slave at his daily toil,—we see them in the bosom of their families, and at the festive board, reclining luxuriously amid the strains of music, and the time-beating feet of dancers—at their

¹ Old Ennius (Ann. VI. 10) said this of the *Æacidæ*, or race of Pyrrhus, not perceiving how applicable it was to the Romans,

favourite games and sports, encountering the wild-boar, or looking on at the race, at the wrestling-match, or other palæstrie exercises,—we behold them stretched on the death-bed—the last rites performed by mourning relatives—the funeral procession—their bodies laid in the tomb—and the solemn festivals held in their honour. Nor even here do we lose sight of them, but follow their souls to the unseen world—perceive them in the hands of good or evil spirits—conducted to the judgment-seat, and in the enjoyment of bliss, or suffering the punishment of the damned.

We are indebted for most of this knowledge, not to musty records drawn from the oblivion of centuries, but to monumental remains—purer founts of historical truth—landmarks which, even when few and far between, are the surest guides across the expanse of distant ages—to the monuments which are still extant on the sites of the ancient Cities of Etruria, or have been drawn from their Cemeteries, and are stored in the museums of Italy and of Europe.

The internal history of Etruria is written on the mighty walls of her cities, and on other architectural monuments, on her roads, her sewers, her tunnels, but above all in her sepulchres; it is to be read on graven rocks, and on the painted walls of tombs; but its chief chronicles are inscribed on sarcophagi and cinerary urns, on vases and goblets, on mirrors and other articles in bronze, and a thousand *et cetera* of personal adornment, and of domestic and warlike furniture—all found within the tombs of a people long passed away, and whose existence was till of late remembered by few but the traveller or the student of classical lore. It was the great reverence for the dead, which the Etruscans possessed in common with the other nations of antiquity, that prompted them—fortunately for us of the nineteenth century—to store their tombs with these rich and varied sepulchral treasures, which unveil to us the *arcana* of their inner life, almost as fully as though a second Pompeii had been disinterred in the heart of Etruria; going far to compensate us for the loss of the native annals of the country,¹ of the chronicles of Theophrastus,² and Verrius

¹ Varro, ap. Censorin. de Die Natali, XVII.

² Schol. Pindar. Pyth. II. 3, cited by Müller, Etrusker, I. pp. 2, 197.

Flaccus,¹ and the twenty books of its history by the Emperor Claudius.²

“Parlan le tombe ove la Storia è muta.”

Etruria truly illustrates the remark, that “the history of a people must be sought in its sepulchres.”

The object of this work is not to collect the *dissecta membra* of Etruscan history, and form them into a whole, though it were possible to breathe into it fresh spirit and life from the eloquent monuments that recent researches have brought to light; it is not to build up from these monuments any theory on the origin of this singular people, on the character of their language, or on the peculiar nature of their civilization,—it is simply to set before the reader a mass of facts relative to Etruscan remains, and particularly to afford the traveller who would visit the Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria such information as may prove of service, by indicating precisely what is now to be found on each site, whether local monuments, or those portable relics which exist in public museums, or in the hands of private collectors.

Before entering, however, on the consideration of the particular antiquities of Etruria, it is advisable to take a general view of her geographical position and physical features, as well as to give a slight sketch of her civilization.

It is difficult to define with precision the limits of a state, which existed at so early a period as Etruria, ages before any extant chronicles were written—of which such scanty records have come down to us, and whose boundaries must have frequently varied during her continual struggles with her warlike neighbours.

We are told that in very early times the dominion of Etruria embraced the greater part of Italy,³ extending over the plains of Lombardy to the Alps on the one hand,⁴ and

¹ Interp. *Æn.* X. 183, 198, ed. Mai.

² Sueton. *Claud.* 42. Aristotle also wrote on the laws of the Etruscans *Athen. Deipn.* I. cap. 19, p. 23, ed. Cas.

³ In *Tuscorum jure pene omnis Italia fuerat.*—Serv. ad *Virg. Æn.* XI. 567; cf. *Liv.* V. 33.

⁴ *Usque ad Alpes tenuère.*—*Liv.* loc. cit.; *Polyb.* II. 17; *Justin.* XX. 5; *Diodor. Sic.* XIV. p. 321, ed. Rhod.; *Scylax, Periplus*, cited by Müller, *Etrusk. einl.* 3, 9. Catullus (*XXXI.* 13) calls the Benacus, now the Lago di Garda, a Lydian, *i. e.* an Etruscan lake.

to Vesuvius and the Gulf of Salerno on the other;¹ stretching also across the peninsula from the Tyrrhene to the Adriatic Sea,² and comprising the large islands off her western shores.³

¹ The Etruscans at one time possessed the land of the Volsci, and all Campania, as far as the Silarus in the Gulf of Pæstum, or, as one account states, as far as the Sicilian sea. They took this land from the Greek colonists, who had driven out the Osci, the original inhabitants; and then founded Capua and Nola. If Velleius Paterculus may be credited, this was 47 years before the foundation of Rome. Liv. IV. 37; Vell. Pat. I. 7; Cato, ap. eund.; Mela, II. 4; Polyb. II. 17; Strabo, V. pp. 242, 247; Plin. III. 9; Serv. ad Virg. Georg. II. 533; Cato, ap. eund. ad Æn. XI. 567.

² Liv. V. 33, 54; Strabo, V. p. 219; Plut. Camill. The Adriatic received its name from the Etruscan town of Atria. Plin. III. 20; Strabo, V. p. 214; cf. Justin. XX. 1. Müller (Etrusk. einl. 3, 5) interprets Pliny (III. 19) as saying that a large tract of the coast of Picenum was once in the possession of the Etruscans.

³ Elba, called Ilva by the Romans, and Æthalia or Æthale by the Greeks, is well known to have belonged to Etruria. Virgil (Æn. X. 173) classes it with the Etruscan states which sent assistance to Æneas. Diodorus (XI. p. 67) also mentions it as Etruscan. So the Pseudo-Aristotle, de Mirab. Auscult. c. 95; and Stephanus, *sub voce*. There was a close connection between it and the neighbouring maritime city of Populonia (Strabo, V. p. 223; Varro, ap. Serv. ad Virg. loc. cit.); and it is very probable, as Müller maintains (Etrusk. I. 2, 3), that Ilva was a possession of that city, unless indeed both were under the sway of Volaterræ. See Vol. II. pp. 128, 210.

Corsica, the Cyrnus of the Greeks, was originally colonized by the Phœceans of Massilia, then by the Ligurians, and Iberians, and ultimately by the Etruscans; whose dominion in the island was on the increase, thinks Müller (Etrusk. einl. 4, 6), between the 55th and 61st Olympiads (560—536 B.C.). About 305 B.C. Corsica was still in their hands, and probably continued so to the last days of their independence. Seneca, Cons. ad Helv. cap. VIII.; Pausan. X. 17; Diodor. Sic. V. p. 295, XI. p. 67; Herod. I. 165, 166; Isidor. Orig. XIV. 6. Müller takes the "Libyans," mentioned by Pausanias as inhabitants of the island, to be Ligurians. Callimachus (Delos. 19, cited by Müller) calls the island Phœnician at the time of the First Punic War. Herodotus (VII. 165) seems also to mark it as dependent on Carthage. It would seem that Corsica was never fully occupied by the Etruscans, for it was a wild, forest-grown, little populated, uncivilized land, and its inhabitants had the simple manners of a rude state of society (Strabo, V. p. 224; Diodor. V. p. 295; Theophrast. Hist. Plant. V. 8); and it is very likely, as Müller conjectures, that it was a mere nest of pirates. Niebuhr thinks this island, as well as Elba, was not under the dominion of the Etruscan nation, but merely of one of the adjacent maritime cities. I. p. 126.

That Sardinia was a possession of the Etruscans is not so clearly set forth. The earliest settlers were the Libyans, the Greeks, the Iberians,

This wide territory was divided into three grand districts—that in the centre, which may be termed Etruria Proper; that to the north, or Etruria Circumpadana; and that to the south, or Etruria Campaniana. And each of these regions was divided into Twelve States, each represented by a city,¹

and the Trojans, followers of Æneas. Then the Carthaginians, at the height of their maritime power, took possession of the island; apparently about the middle of the third century of Rome. Pausan. X. 17; Diod. Sic. V. p. 296; Justin. XIX. 1; Sil. Italic. XII. 358, *et seq.* No mention is made of its being under Etruscan domination, except by Strabo (V. p. 225), who says it was subject to the Tyrrheni, prior to the Carthaginian rule. By these Tyrrhenes Müller (Etrusk. einl. 4, 7) thinks Strabo meant Etruscans, not Pelasgi, because he always made a distinction between these races; but Niebuhr (I. p. 127, Engl. trans.) maintains that they were unquestionably Pelasgians.

¹ The Twelve Cities of Etruria Proper will be presently mentioned.

In Etruria Circumpadana there were Twelve cities. Liv. V. 33; Serv. ad Virg. Æn. X. 202. Plutarch (Camillus) however, asserts that there were eighteen cities of commercial and manufacturing importance in this region of Etruria. The capital appears to have been MANTUA (Virg. Æn. X. 203; Serv. ad Æn. X. 202), though Pliny asserts that FELSINA, now Bologna, was intitled to that honour. Plin. III. 20; cf. Liv. XXXVII. 57. A third city was MELPUM, of which we know no more than that it stood north of the Po, was renowned for its wealth, and was destroyed by the Gauls on the same day that Camillus captured Veii. Corn. Nepos, ap. Plin. III. 21. ATRIA, or Adria, was a noble city and port of the Etruscans which gave its name to the Adriatic sea. Plin. III. 20; Liv. V. 33; Strabo, V. p. 214; Varro, Ling. Lat. V. 161; Fest. v. Atrium. The notices of Justin (XX. 1), and Stephanus (*sub voce*) are referred by Müller to the Hadria of Picenum. Etrusk. einl. 3, 4; cf. Cramer, Anc. Italy, I. p. 116. And SPINA, at the mouth of the Po, though called a Greek city, was certainly a Pelasgic settlement, as Dionysius (I. p. 15, ed. Sylb.) affirms, and probably also Etruscan. See Niebuhr, I. p. 36; Müller, Etrusk. einl. 3, 4. Müller thinks, from Strabo's notice of it (V. p. 214), that RAVENNA is to be regarded as an Etruscan site; and CUPRA in Picenum was probably so, for its temple was built by the Etruscans and named after their goddess, Cupra, or Juno. Strabo, V. p. 241. Yet Niebuhr (I. p. 49) refers this statement to the Tyrrhene-Pelasgi, not to the Etruscans. We know the names of no other Etruscan cities beyond the Apennines.

There were Twelve chief cities also in Etruria Campaniana. Liv. V. 33; Strabo, V. p. 242. The metropolis was CAPUA, built by the Etruscans 800 years before Christ, and called by them Vulturum. Strabo, loc. cit.; V. Patere. I. 7; Liv. IV. 37; Mela, II. 4; Serv. ad Æn. X. 145. NOLA also was of Etruscan foundation. Vell. Pater. loc. cit. DICÆARCHIA, or Puteoli (Pausan. IV. 35, VIII. 7; Steph. Byz. v. Ποτίολοι), POMPEII, HERCULANEUM (Strabo, V. p. 247), and NUCERIA (Philistos, cited by Müller, einl. 4, 2) were all once possessed by the Etruscans; and MARINA in the Gulf of Pæstum was built by them. Strabo, V. p. 251. SURRENTUM, also, from the temple

as in Greece, where Athens, Sparta, Argos, Thebes—or in Italy of the middle ages, where Venice, Genoa, Pisa, Florence—were representatives of so many independent, sovereign states, possessed of extensive territory.

Such seems to have been the extent of Etruria in the time of Tarquinius Priscus, when she gave a dynasty to Rome, probably as to a conquered city. But ere long the Gauls on the north and east,¹ the Sabines, Samnites, and Greek colonists on the south,² succeeded in compressing this wide-spread dominion into the comparatively narrow limits of the central region. This may be called Etruria Proper, because it was the peculiar seat of the Etruscan power—the mother-country whence the adjoining districts were conquered or colonized—the source where the peculiar political and religious system of the nation took its rise—the region where the power of Etruria continued to flourish long after it had been extinguished in the rest of Italy, and where the name, religion, language and customs of the people were preserved for ages after they had lost their political independence, and had been absorbed in the colossal corporation of Rome.

It is Etruria Proper alone of which I propose to treat in the following pages.

It was still an extensive region of the Italian peninsula, comprehending almost the whole of modern Tuscany, the Duchy of Lucca, and the Transtiberine portion of the Papal State; being bounded on the north by the Apennines and the river Magra,³ on the east by the Tiber, on the west and south by the Mediterranean. This region was intersected by several ranges of mountains, lateral branches or offsets of the great spine-bone of the peninsula—in the northern part in long chains, stretching in various directions—in the of the Etruscan Minerva on its promontory, must have belonged to that people (Stat. Sylv. II. 2, 2; Steph. Byz. *sub voce*); and Müller (Etrusk. einl. 4, 2) would also include Salernum. Niebuhr (I. p. 73, *et seq.*), however, considers most of what is said of the Etruscan possessions south of the Tiber to refer to the Tyrrhene-Pelasgi, not to the Etruscans, properly so called.

¹ Liv. V. 35; XXXVII. 57; Polyb. II. 17; Diodor. Sic. XIV. p. 321; Plin. III. 19; Plut. Camill.; Isidor. Orig. XV. 1.

² Liv. IV. 37; Strabo, V. p. 247; Plin. III. 9; Dionys. Hal. VII. p. 420, *et seq.*

³ For the conflicting authorities as to the north-western boundary of Etruria, see Vol. II. p. 71.

south, of much inferior altitude, lying in detached masses, and separated, not by mere valleys, but by vast plains or table-lands. The geology of the two districts differs as widely as their superficial features. In the northern, the higher mountains, like the great chain of the Apennines, are chiefly composed of secondary limestone, and attain a considerable altitude ; the lower are formed of sandstone or marl. The southern district on every hand shows traces of volcanic action—in the abundance of hot springs and sulphureous waters—in vast plains of tufo and other igneous deposits, of even later date than the tertiary formations—and in the mountains which are chiefly of the same material, with beds of lava, basalt, or scorïæ, and which have been themselves volcanoes, their craters, extinct long before the days of history or even fable, being now the beds of beautiful lakes. Here and there, however, in this southern region, are heights of limestone ; now, like Soracte, rearing their craggy peaks from the wide bosom of the plain ; now, stretching in a continuous range along the coast. On these physical differences depend many of the characteristic features of northern and southern Etruria. The line of demarcation between these two great districts of Etruria is almost that of the modern frontier between the Tuscan and Roman States—*i. e.* from Cosa north-eastward to Acquapendente, and thence following the course of the Paglia till it mingles with the Tiber, near Orvieto.

Of the Twelve Cities or States of Etruria Proper, no complete list is given by the ancients, but it is not difficult to gather from their statements, which were the chief in the land. Foremost among them was TARQUINII, where the national polity, civil and religious, took its rise. This city was in the southern division of the land ; so also were VEII and FALERII, long the antagonists, with CÆRE, the ally, of Rome ; and VOISINII, one of the last to be subdued. In the northern region were, VETULONIA and RUSELLÆ on the coast, CLUSIUM and ARRETIIUM in the vale of the Clanis, and CORTONA and PERUSIA on the heights near the Thrasy-mene ; while VOLATERRÆ stood by herself and ruled over a wide tract in the far north.¹ Beside these, there were many

¹ The claims of these several cities will be discussed, when they are treated of respectively. The above is the classification which seems to me to be sanctioned by ancient writers ; it agrees with

other cities, renowned in history, or remarkable for their massive fortifications still extant, for their singular tombs, or for the wondrous treasures of their sepulchral furniture—all of which will be described in the course of this work.

Etruria was of old densely populated, not only in those parts which are still inhabited, but also, as is proved by remains of cities and cemeteries, in tracts now desolated by malaria, and relapsed into the desert; and what is now the fen or the jungle, the haunt of the wild-boar, the buffalo, the fox, and the noxious reptile, where man often dreads to stay his steps, and hurries away as from a plague-stricken land—

Rus vacuum, quod non habitet, nisi nocte coactâ,
Invitus—

of old yielded rich harvests of corn, wine, and oil,¹ and contained numerous cities, mighty, and opulent, into whose laps commerce poured the treasures of the East, and the more precious produce of Hellenic genius. Most of these ancient sites are now without a habitant, furrowed yearly by the plough, or forsaken as unprofitable wildernesses; and such as are still occupied, are, with few exceptions, mere phantoms of their pristine greatness—mean villages in the place of populous cities. On every hand are traces of bygone civilization, inferior in quality, no doubt, to that which at present exists, but much wider in extent, and exerting far

that of Cluver (*Ital. Ant.* II. p. 453), and Cramer (*Anc. Italy*, I.). Micali (*Ant. Pop. Ital.* I. p. 140) adopts it with the exception of Falerii, for which he offers no substitute. Niebuhr. (I. p. 118, *et seq.*) admits the claims of all, save Falerii and Cortona, and hesitates to supply the void with Fæsulæ, Cosa, or Capena. Müller (*Etrusk.* II. 1, 2; 1, 3), to those given in the text, adds five—Pisæ, Fæsulæ, Saturnia or Caletta, Vulci, and Salpinum—whose claims, he thinks, must be admitted, and suggests that they may have held that rank at different periods, or have been associated respectively with some one of the rest. Dempster (*de Etruriâ Regali*, II. p. 41) offers a singular list—Veii, Tarquinii, Falerii, Vetulonium, Corythus, Volsinii, Cære, Clusium, Fæsulæ, Populonia, Luca, Luna—substituting the last three for the much more important cities of Volaterræ, Perusia, and Arretium. The lists of the early Italian antiquaries will still less bear the test of examination.

¹ The fertility of Etruria was renowned of old. Diodorus (V. p. 316) says it was second to that of no other land. Liv. IX. 36; XXII. 3; Varro, *Re Rust.* I. 9, 44. The Romans, even in very early times, used to receive corn from Etruria, in times of famine. Liv. II. 34; IV. 12, 13, 25, 52.

greater influence on the surrounding nations, and on the destinies of the world. The glory has verily departed from Etruria.

The sites of the cities varied according to the nature of the ground. In the volcanic district, where they were most thickly set, they stood on the level of the plains, yet were not unprotected by nature, these plains or table-lands being everywhere intersected by ravines, the cleavings of the earth under volcanic action, which form natural fosses of great depth round the cliff-bound islands or promontories on which the towns were built. Such was the situation of Veii, Cære, Falerii, Sutrium, and other cities of historical renown. The favourite position was on a tongue of land at the junction of two of these ravines. In the northern district the cities stood in more commanding situations, on isolated hills; but never on the summits of scarcely accessible mountains, like many a Cyclopean town of Central Italy, which—

“ Like an eagle’s nest, hangs on the crest
Of purple Appennine.”

Low ground, without any natural strength of site, was always avoided, though a few towns, as Luna, Pisæ, Gravisçæ, Pyrgi, for maritime and commercial purposes, stood on the very level of the coast.

The position of the cities of Etruria is in some measure a key to her civilization and political condition.¹ Had they been on mountain-tops, we might have inferred a state of society little removed from barbarism, in which there was no security or confidence between the several communities. Had they stood on the unbroken level of the plains, we should have seen in them an index to an amount of internal security, such as nowhere existed in those early times. Yet is their medium position not inconsistent with a considerable degree of civilization, and a generally peaceable state of society. They are not such sites as were selected in later times, even by the Romans; but it should be borne in mind, that the political constitution of the people of early Italy, as of Greece, was entirely municipal—that cities were states, and citizens soldiers—and fortifications were therefore

¹ Strabo (XIII. p. 592) cites the position of cities as tests of civilization and social security.

as indispensable to the cities of old, as standing armies and fleets are deemed to be to the states of modern Europe.

Before we consider the institutions of Etruria, it may be well to say a word on the origin of the people, and the source of their civilization.

It must be remarked, that the people known to the Romans as Etruscans were not the original inhabitants of the land, but a mixed race, composed partly of the earlier occupants, partly of a people of foreign origin, who became dominant by right of conquest, and engrafted their peculiar civilization on that previously existing in the land. All history concurs in representing the earliest occupants to have been Siculi, or Umbri, two of the most ancient races of Italy, little removed, it is probable, from barbarism, though not nomade, but dwelling in towns. Then a people of Greek race, the Pelasgi, entered Italy at the head of the Adriatic, and crossing the Apennines, and uniting themselves with the Aborigines, or mountaineers, took possession of Etruria, driving out the earlier inhabitants, raised towns and fortified them with mighty walls, and long ruled supreme, till they were in turn conquered by a third race, called by the Greeks Tyrrheni, or Tyrseni, by the Romans Etrusci, Tusci, or Thusci,¹ and by themselves, Rasena,² who are supposed to have established their power in the land about 290 years before the foundation of Rome, or 1044 before Christ.³

¹ Plin. III. 8, 19; Dion. Hal. I. p. 20, *et seq.*; cf. Herod. I. 94. They were called Tyrseni, it is said, from the fortifications—*τύρραις*—they were the first to raise in Italy (Dion. Hal. I. p. 21); and Tusci, or Thusci, from their frequent sacrifices—*ἀπὸ τοῦ θύειν*—Serv. ad Virg. *Æn.* II. 781; X. 164; Plin. III. 8; cf. Fest. v. Tuscus. Etruria is said to be derived from *ἑτέρα ὄρια*—*alteri fines*—because it lay beyond the Tiber. Serv. ad *Æn.* XI. 598. But the etymologies of the Roman grammarians are rarely to be depended on. For Müller's derivation of Tyrrheni from Tyrrha, a town of Lydia, see Vol. I. p. 398. 'Thuscia' is a late word, not to be found in the earlier writers. "Turzunia" occurs as a proper name on a sepulchral urn of Chiusi. Bonarroti, ap. Dempst. II. tab. LXXXVI.

² Dion. Hal. I. p. 24. Some writers take Rasena to be but a form of Tyrseni, either a corruption from it, as Tyr—seni=Ra—seni; or a contraction of it, as Ty—raseni. Mannert, Geog. p. 308; Cramer, I. p. 161. The name "Rasna," or "Resna," is sometimes met with on the sepulchral urns of Etruria. Lanzi, II. p. 459. Bull. Inst. 1831, p. 10.

³ This is the period which Müller (*Etrusk. einl.* 2, 2; IV. 7, 8) con-

The threads of the history, however, of these races are so entangled, as to defy every attempt at unravelment; and the confusion is increased by the indiscriminate application of the word *Tyrrheni*, which was used by the ancients as a synonym, sometimes of *Pelasgi*, sometimes of *Etrusci*.

Amid this confusion, two facts stand out with prominence. First—that the land was inhabited before the Etruscans, properly so called, took possession of it. And secondly—that the Etruscans came from abroad. From what country, however, is a problem as much disputed as any in the whole compass of classical inquiry.

It is not compatible with the object of this work to enter fully into this question, yet it cannot be passed by in utter silence. To guide us, we have data of two kinds—the records of the ancients, and the extant monuments of the Etruscans. The native annals, which may be presumed to have spoken explicitly on this point, have not come down to us, and we have only the testimony of Greek and Roman writers. The concurrent voice of these—historians and geographers, poets and philosophers—with a solitary exception, marks the Etruscans as a tribe of *Lydians*, who, leaving their native land on account of a protracted famine, settled in this part of Italy.¹ The dissentient voice, however, is of

siders the commencement of the Etruscan era, referred to by Censorinus, *de Die Natali*, XVII. Niebuhr (I. p. 138), however, would carry the first Etruscan *seculum* as far back as 434 years before the foundation of Rome, or 1188 B C

¹ "The father of history" is the first that records this tradition. Herod. I. 94. It is repeated or alluded to also by Strabo, V. p. 219; Plutarch, *Romulus*; Cicero, *de Divin.* I. 12; Pliny, III. 8; Valer. Maximus, II. 4, 3; Vell. Paterculus, I. 1; Tacitus, *Annal.* IV. 55; Justin, XX. 1; Appian, *Reb. Punic.* LXVI.; Tertullian, *Spectac.* V.; Festus, *vv.* *Sardi*, *Turhenos*; Virgil, *Æn.* II. 781; VIII. 479; IX. 11; Servius, in loc. and I. 67; Horat. I. Sat. VI. 1; Lycophron, Cass. 1351-61; Sil. Italicus, IV. 721; V. 9; VIII. 485; X. 40, 485; XIII. 828; Statius, *Sylv.* I. 2, 190; IV. 4, 6; Catullus, XXXI. 13; Rutilius, I. 596; cf. Ovid. *Met.* III. 583; Seneca, *Consol. ad Helv.* VI. The tradition as related by Herodotus, echoed by Servius, is this:—In the reign of Atys there was a protracted famine in Lydia; and in order to forget their misery the people had recourse to games and amusements, and invented dice, and ball, the pipes and the trumpet; abstaining from food on alternate days when they gave themselves up to these new diversions. For eighteen years they thus continued to exist, but at length, their condition being in no way improved, it was agreed that half the nation should emigrate, under the conduct of Tyrrhenus, the king's son. After various wanderings, they reached the

great importance—that of Dionysius of Halicarnassus—one of the most accurate and diligent antiquaries of his times, and an authority considered by many as sufficient to outweigh the vast body of opposing evidence. His objections are two-fold. First—that Xanthus, an early native historian of Lydia, “particularly well versed in ancient history,” makes no mention of such an emigration. Secondly—that neither in language, religion, laws, nor customs, was there any similarity between the Lydians and Etruscans—*i. e.* as they existed in his day. He consequently broached a view entirely different from that recorded by other ancient writers, viz., that the Etruscans were an indigenous people of Italy, seeing that they were unlike every other race in language, manners, and customs.¹ This view has been adopted by a modern Tuscan writer of celebrity, who, however, may be suspected of national prejudice, when he attempts to prove that the early civilization of Italy was indigenous.²

A different opinion was held by the great Niebuhr—that the Etruscans were a tribe from the Rætian Alps, who conquered the Tyrrhene-Pelasgi, the earlier possessors of the land. This opinion is worthy of all respect, as coming from such a man, but seems to me to derive little support from ancient writers.³ Nor does the well-known fact that ancient monuments like the Etruscan, and inscriptions in a character very similar, have been found among the Rætian and Noric Alps, come to the aid of this theory. For though we are

coast of Umbria, and there established themselves, exchanging the name of Lydians for that of Tyrrhenians, in honour of their leader.

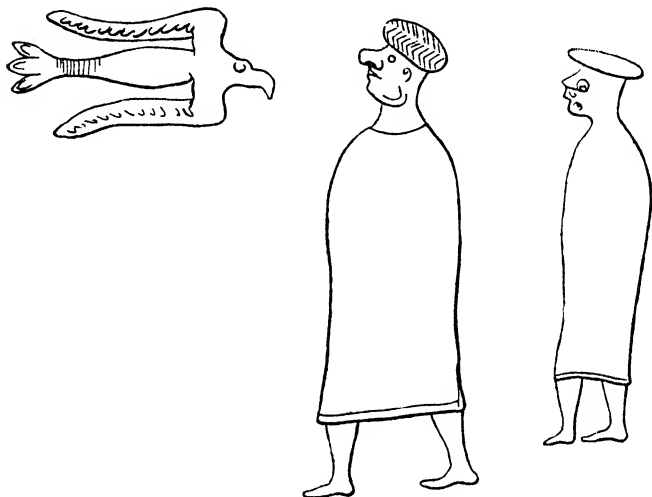
¹ Dion. Hal. I. pp. 22-24.

² Micali, Ant. Pop. Ital. I. cap. VII.

³ Niebuhr, I. p. 110, *et seq.* So great an authority naturally takes in its train a crowd of German writers, not unwilling to adopt an opinion so flattering to the *vaterland*. The view, however, of a Rætian origin of the Etruscan race had been previously held by Freret, and by Heyne. It is founded on the resemblance of the name “Rasena,” which the Etruscans gave themselves, to Ræti—on the statement of the Ancients that the Ræti were of Etruscan origin—on the analogy certain dialects now spoken in those regions bear to the Etruscan—and on the fact that no earlier population than the Etruscan is recorded to have inhabited those mountains.

Niebuhr (II. p. 525) even supposes that at one time the Etruscan race extended north of the Alps into Alsace and the plains of Germany, and cites, in confirmation of his view, the walls on Mont Sainte Odilie, in the former country, which are very similar to those of Volterra, and unlike the works of the Gauls or Romans.

told that the Etruscans occupied Rhætia, it was only when they had been driven by the Gauls from their settlements in the plains of the Po. All history concurs in marking the emigration to have been from the south northwards, instead



FIGURES ON ANCIENT BRONZES, FOUND IN THE TYROL.

of the contrary.¹ The subjoined specimen of Rhæto-Etruscan art confirms Livy's testimony as to the degeneracy and semi-barbarism of these Etruscan emigrants.²

¹ Livy decidedly asserts the emigration to have been from the plains to the mountains, on the invasion of the Povale by the Gauls. *Alpinis quoque ea gentibus haud dubie origo est, maxime Rhætis, quos loca ipsa efferârunt, ne quid ex antiquo præter sonum linguæ, nec eum in-corrumpum, retinerent.* V. 33. Galli . . . sedibus Tuscos expulerunt. Tusci quoque, duce Rhæto, avitis sedibus amissis, Alpes occupavêre; et ex nomine ducis gentes Rhætorum condiderunt.—Justin. XX. 5. Rhætos Thuscorum prolem arbitrantur, à Gallis pulsos, duce Rhæto. Plin. Nat. Hist. III. 24.

² These figures form part of a procession of relief found, in 1845, at Matrai, a village on the northern slope of Mount Brenner, in the Tyrol. Besides this were found other singular reliefs, one of which has pugilists contending with the *cestus*, very like the scenes in the tombs at Chiusi and Tarquinii; pieces of amber and coral, *fibulae* and rings of bronze.

A modification of Niebuhr's view was held by Otfried Müller—that the later element in the Etruscan nation was from Lydia, yet composed not of natives, but of Tyrrhene-Pelasgi who had settled on the coasts of Asia Minor; and that the earlier lords of the land were the Rasena, from the mountains of Rhætia, who driving back the Umbrians, and uniting with the Tyrrheni on the Tarquinian coast, formed the Etruscan race.¹

A more recent opinion, also of great weight, is that of

At Sonnenburg, 12 miles distant, many similar relics were in 1844 brought to light; together with cinerary urns of black ware, and knives of bronze. A few years previous, in a sepulchre at Zilli, in the ancient Noricum, were found two bronze casques, with inscriptions in a character very like the Etruscan. And in the valley of Cembra, 9 miles from Trent in the Tyrol, a bronze *situla*, or bucket, was discovered in 1828, bearing five inscriptions in a similar character; and it is remarkable that it was found near the torrent Lavis, and that that very word occurs in one of the inscriptions. Giovanelli, *Pensieri intorno ai Rezi, ed una iscrizione Rezio-Etrusca*. Trento, 1844; *Le antichità Rezio-Etrusche scoperte presso Matrai*. Trento, 1845; Micali, *Monumenti Inediti*, p. 331, *et seq.* tav. LIII. Relics of very similar character, however, are discovered in districts never possessed by the Etruscans. Such are the Euganean inscriptions found in the Venetian territory, in that corner of Italy which Livy tells us never belonged to the Etruscans. Liv. V. 33. Such are the helmets with similar inscriptions, discovered in 1812 between Marburg and Radkersburg in Styria. Micali, *Mon. Ined.* p. 331, *et seq.* And such is the gold torque, also with an Euganean inscription, found in 1835 in Wallachia. Micali, *op. cit.* p. 337; Bull. Inst. 1843, p. 93. But at Castel Vetro, near Modena, on the other hand, a mirror of bronze has been found with figures precisely in the same style as those of Rhætia, and apparently by the same artist. Cavedoni, *Ann. Inst.* 1842, p. 67 *et seq.* tav. d Agg. H.

In this northern district of Italy many relics have been found which substantiate its recorded possession by the Etruscans. At Castel Vetro, a number of tombs have been opened with similar furniture. Bull. Inst. 1841, pp. 75-79; *Ann. Inst.* loc. cit. At Marzabotta, 14 miles from Bologna, numerous bronzes were discovered in 1839, extremely like those from Monte Falterona, described in this work (Vol. II. p. 96). Micali, *Mon. Ined.* p. 111, tav. XVIII. At Verona, at Ravenna, at Busca, near Alessandria in Piedmont, and at Adria, genuine Etruscan inscriptions have been found (Lanzi. II. p. 649; Müller, I. pp. 140, 144, 164), and at the last-named place painted vases of great beauty, like those of Vulci and other cemeteries of Central Etruria, have been brought to light in abundance. Bull. Inst. 1834, pp. 135, 142; Micali, *Mon. Ined.* pp. 279-297, tav. XLV., XLVI. A collection of them is in the possession of Signor Bocchi of Adria.

¹ Müller, *Etrusk. einl.* 2, 4-12; 3, 10. This opinion is in part favoured by Plutarch (Romul.) who says the Tyrrheni passed from Thessaly into Lydia, and from Lydia into Italy. Cf. Strab. V. p. 221.

Lepsius,—that there was no occupation of the land by any foreign race after its conquest by the Pelasgi, but that the Umbrians, whom they had subdued, in time recovering strength, rebelled with success, and that this reaction of the early inhabitants against their conquerors produced what is known as the Etruscan people.¹

It would take too long to record all the opinions and shades of opinion held on this intricate subject. Suffice it to say that the origin of the Etruscans has been assigned to the Greeks—to the Egyptians—the Phœnicians—the Canaanites—the Libyans—the Cantabrians or Basques—the Celts, an old and favourite theory, revived in our own days by Sir William Betham, who fraternizes them with his pets, the Irish—and lastly, to the Hyksos, or Shepherd-Kings of Egypt. I know not if they have been taken for the lost Ten Tribes of Israel, but, *certainly*, a very pretty theory might be set up to that effect, and supported by arguments which would appear all-cogent to every one who swears by Coningsby.²

The reader, when he perceives how many-sided is this question, will surely thank me for not leading him deeply into it, yet may hardly like to be left among this chaos of opinions without a guiding hand. Amid the clash and conflict of such a host of combatants, who shall attempt to establish harmony?—and where there are “giants in the land,” who shall hope to prevail against them?

¹ Lepsius, Ueber die Tyrrhenischen-Pelasger in Etrurien. Nearly the same view was held by the late Mr. Millingen, Trans. Roy. Soc. Literat. II. 1834. Ann. Inst. 1834, p. 286.

² Not to mention minor analogies, there is one of so striking a character, as satisfactorily to prove, not a descent from Abraham, but an intercourse more or less direct with the Hebrews, and at least an oriental origin. It is in the cosmogony of the Etruscans, who are said, on the authority of one of their own writers, to have believed that the Creator spent 12,000 years in his operations; 6000 of which were assigned to the work of creation, and as many to the duration of the world. In the first thousand he made heaven and earth. In the second, the apparent firmament. In the third, the sea and all other waters. In the fourth, the great lights—sun, moon, and stars. In the fifth, every soul of birds, reptiles, and four-footed animals, in the air, earth, and waters. In the sixth, man. Suidas, *sub voce* Τυρρηνία. To say that we recognize here a blending of Etruscan doctrines with the Mosaic account of the Creation, as Müller (III. 2, 7) observes, does not make the analogy less remarkable, for there is no proof that this mixture is not legitimate,

I confess I do not perceive that the crowd of authorities who maintain the Lydian origin of the Etruscans have been put *hors de combat* by the dictum of Dionysius. There seems to be life in them yet. They clearly represent the popular traditions, not of the Romans only, but of the Etruscans also, for what was current on such a matter among the former, could not have been opposed to the traditions of the latter. Nay, we have it on record that the Etruscans claimed for themselves a Lydian origin. Tacitus tells us that in the time of Tiberius, deputies from Sardis recited before the Roman senate a decree of the Etruscans, declaring their consanguinity, on the ground of the early colonization of Etruria by the Lydians.¹ This popular tradition might not of itself be decisive of the question, but when it is confirmed by a comparison of the recorded customs and the extant monuments of the two people, as will presently be shown, it comes with a force to my mind, that will not admit of rejection.²

When a tribe like the Gypsies, without house or home, without literature or history, without fixed religious creed, but willing to adopt that of any country where their lot may be cast, with no moral peculiarity beyond their nomade life and roguish habits—when such a people assert that they come from Egypt or elsewhere, we believe them in proportion as we find their physiognomy, language, and peculiar customs, are in accordance with those of the land whence they claim their origin. Their tradition is credible only when confirmed from other sources. But when a people, not a mere tribe, but spread over a large extent of territory, not a nomade, semibarbarous, unlettered race, but a nation settled for ages in one country, possessing a literature and national annals, a systematic form of government and ecclesiastical polity, and a degree of civilization second to that of no contemporary people, save Greece,—a nation in constant

¹ Tacit. Ann. IV. 55.

² The argument of Dionysius rests on the authority of Xanthus; but why should he be preferred to Herodotus? They were contemporaries, or nearly so. Xanthus was a Greek of Sardis, not a native Lydian, and cannot be entitled to more credit than the truthful historian of antiquity, whose great merit is the simple, trusting fidelity with which he records what he heard or saw. Besides there is a doubt of the genuineness of the works attributed to Xanthus, as Athenæus plainly shows. Deipnos. XII. c. 3, p. 515.

intercourse with the most polite and civilized of its fellows, and probably with the very race from which it claimed its descent,—when such a people lays claim traditionally to a definite origin, which nothing in its manners, customs, or creed appears to belie, but many things to confirm—how can we set the tradition at nought?—why hesitate to give it credence? It was not so much a doubtful fiction of poetry, assumed for a peculiar purpose, like the Trojan origin of Rome, as a record preserved in the religious books of the nation, like the Chronicles of the Jews.

If this tradition of the Lydian origin of the Etruscans be borne out by their recorded manners, and by monumental evidence, it must entirely outweigh the conflicting and unsupported testimony of Dionysius. Nay, granting him to have spoken advisedly in asserting that there was no resemblance between the two people in language, religion, or customs, it were well explained by the lapse of more than a thousand years from the traditional emigration to his day,—a period much more than sufficient to efface all superficial analogies between people so widely severed, and subjected to such different external influences, and a period during which the Lydians were purposely degraded by Cyrus, till they had “lost all their pristine virtue,”¹ while the Etruscans, though also subjected to a foreign yoke, continued to advance in the arts of civilized life.²

No fact can be more clearly established than the oriental character of the civil and religious polity, the social and domestic manners, and many of the arts of the Etruscans; and traces of this affinity are abundant in their monuments.

Like the Assyrians, Babylonians, Egyptians, and Hindoos, the Etruscans were subject to an all-dominant hierarchy, which assumed to be a theocracy, and maintained its sway by its arrogant, exclusive claims of intimate acquaintance with the will of Heaven and the decrees of fate. But here this ecclesiastical authority was further strengthened by the

¹ Herod. I. 155, 156; Justin. I. 7. See Grote's Greece, III. p. 288, *et seq.*

² In customs, however, as will be presently shown, there existed strong analogies between the Lydians and Etruscans. And Dionysius' statement as to the dissimilarity of language is of no account, if Strabo's assertion be true, that in his day not a vestige remained of the Lydian tongue, even in Lydia itself. XIII. p. 631.

civil government, for the priests and augurs of Etruria were also her princes and military chiefs; so that with this triple sceptre of civil, religious, and military power, they ruled the people "as the soul governs the body." This state of things was purely oriental. It never existed among the Greeks or other European races; unless it find some analogy in the Druidical system. The divination and augury for which the Etruscans were renowned, and which gave them so peculiar a character among the nations of the West, were of oriental origin. Besides the abundant proofs given in Holy Writ of the early prevalence of soothsaying in the East, we have the authority of Homer and other pagan writers; and the origin of augury is particularly referred to Caria, an adjoining and cognate country to Lydia.¹ Cicero, indeed, classes the Etruscans with the Chaldees for their powers of divination, though they affected to read the will of heaven, not in the stars, or in dreams, so much as in the entrails of victims, the flight of birds, and the effects of lightning.²

The evidence of extant monuments seems to point to a close analogy between the Etruscan religious creed and those of oriental nations, but whether this is substantial or merely superficial we have no means of determining. Micali has written a work with the express purpose of

¹ Plin. VII. 57. Telmessus in Caria was particularly famed for its aruspices and soothsayers. Herod. I. 78, 84; Cicero, de Divin. I. 41, 42. Clemens of Alexandria (Strom. I. p. 306, ed. Sylb.) says the Carians were the first who divined from the stars, the Phrygians from the flight of birds, the Etruscans by aruspicy.

² Cicero, loc. cit. The same power was also possessed by other oriental people—the Phrygians, Cilicians, Pisidians, and Arabs. Cic. de Leg. II. 13. Divination by lightning was the branch in which the Etruscans were especially distinguished, and in which they excelled all other people. Diod. Sic. V. p. 316; Seneca, Nat. Quæst. II. 32; Dion. Hal. IX. p. 563; Claud. in Eutrop. I. 12; A. Gell. IV. 5; Lucan. I. 587. Even Cicero undoubtedly maintains their skill in soothsaying. De Divin. I. 18, 41, 42. Joannes Lydus in his work De Ostentis, c. 27, gives, on the authority of Nigidius Figulus, a "Diarium Tonitruale," or Etruscan "thunder-calendar," for every day in the year, taken, he says, from the books of Tages. The entire system of divination among the Romans, be it remembered, was derived from the Etruscans. It continued to be practised by them even to the close of the Empire, for we find the Etruscan *aruspices* consulted by Julian in the fourth (Amm. Marcell. XXV. 2, 7), and under Honorius in the fifth century of our era. Zosim. Hist. V. 41. For all that is known on this subject, see Muller, Etrusk. III.

establishing this analogy from the consideration of Etruscan monuments.¹ He contends that the antagonism of good and evil in the government of the universe, which entered so largely into the religious systems of the East, was held by the Etruscans also, and is set forth by the same external means of expression—either by the victories of deities over wild beasts or monsters, or by combats of animals of different natures. Such representations are seen in the colossal reliefs of Persepolis—on the monuments of Babylon and Nineveh—in the Osiris and Typhon of Egypt—and such abound on works of Etruscan art, particularly on those of most ancient character and date. But how far these representations on Etruscan monuments are symbolical, and how far they are parts of a conventional, decorative system derived from the East, it is not easy to pronounce. Such subjects are found also on works of primitive Hellenic art, and especially on those from lands of Greek colonization in Asia Minor. The same may be said of monsters of two-fold life—sphinxes, griffons, chimæras—and even of the four-winged demons of the Assyrian and Babylonian mythology, which abound also on Etruscan monuments, and are likewise found on Greek vases. Yet the doctrine of good and evil spirits attendant on the soul—obviously held by the Etruscans²—favours the supposition that they held the dualistic principle of oriental creeds.

The analogy of the Etruscan customs to those of the East did not escape the notice of ancient writers. And here let me remark that the Mysians, Lydians, Carians, Lycians, and Phrygians being cognate races, inhabiting adjoining lands, what is recorded of one is generally applicable to all.³ “The ascendancy of the Lydian dynasty in Asia Minor, with its empire (real or fabulous) of the sea during its flourishing ages, would naturally impart to any such tradition a Lydian form. In any attempt, therefore, to illustrate the Etruscan origin or manners from Asiatic sources, our appeals may

¹ Monumenti Inediti, a illustrazione della Storia degli Antichi Popoli Italiani. Firenze, 1844.

² Vol. I. p. 352, *et seq.* ; II. p. 173, *et seq.*

³ Herodotus (I. 171) calls the Carians, Mysians, and Lydians, *κασιγνήτοι*. Strabo (XIII. p. 628) says the boundaries between Lydia, Phrygia, Caria, and Mysia, could not be determined, and had given rise to great confusion. Cf. XIV. p. 678 ; Plin. V. 30.

safely be extended to the neighbouring, whether kindred, or merely connected, races.”¹ The sports, games, and dances of the Etruscans, adopted by the Romans, are traditionally of Lydian origin. The musical instruments on which they excelled were introduced from Asia Minor,—the double-pipes from Phrygia,² the trumpet from Lydia.³ Their luxurious habits were so strictly oriental, that almost the same language is used in describing them and those of the Lydians.⁴ Dionysius himself, after having stated that there was no resemblance whatever between the customs of the Etruscans and Lydians, points out that the purple robes worn in Etruria as *insignia* of authority, were similar to those of the Lydian and Persian monarchs, differing only in form.⁵ Even the common national robe, the *toga*, was of Lydian origin.⁶ The eagle, which Rome bore as her standard, and which she derived from Etruria, was also the military ensign of Persia.⁷ The young women of Etruria are said, like those

¹ Quarterly Review, No. CLI. p. 56.

² Plin. VII. 57. Clem. Alex. Strom. I. p. 306. The Lydian pipes were also famous. Pind. Olymp. V.

³ One tradition ascribes the invention of the trumpet to Tyrrhenus, the Lydian colonist of Etruria. Sil. Ital. V. 12; Pausan. II. 21; cf. Serv. ad Virg. Æn. I. 67. Another refers it to Maleus, the Etruscan prince of Regisvilla (Lactant. ad Stat. Theb. IV. 224); but as Maleus is also said to have been the son of Omphale, the two traditions are thus intimately connected. See Müller, Etrusk. IV. 1, 4. According to another tradition Pisæus was the inventor. Plin. VII. 57. The current belief, however, was that the *tuba* was of Etruscan origin. Virg. Æn. VIII. 526; Serv. in loc.; Strabo, V. p. 220; Diodor. V. p. 316; Sil. Ital. II. 19; Æschyl. Eumen. 570; Sophoc. Aj. 17; Athen. IV. p. 184; Clem. Alex. Strom. I. p. 306; Poilux, IV. 11. See Müller, Etrusk. IV. 1, 3-5. Silius Italicus marks Vetulonia as the site of its invention, VIII. 490.

⁴ Athen. XV. c. 12, p. 690; Theopomp. ap. eund. XII. c. 3, p. 515-518; Diod. Sic. V. p. 316; Posidon. ap. Athen. IV. c. 13, p. 153. So Anacreon uses *Ἀνδοπαθῆς* for *ἡδυνπαθῆς* (Athen. xv. p. 690), and Æschylus (Pers. 41) speaks of the *ἁβροδίατροι Ἀνδοί*.

⁵ Dion. Hal. III. p. 195. The oriental robe, he says, was square; the Etruscan *toga* or *τήβεννος*, which answered to it, was semicircular.

⁶ Tertull. de Pallio, I.; cf. Serv. ad Virg. Æn. II. 781. The Romans received it from the Etruscans, who have therefore a prior right to the title of *gens togata*. Liv. I. 8; Flor. I. 5; Plin. VIII. 74; IX. 53; Diodor. V. p. 316; Macrob. Sat. I. 6; Festus, v. Sardi. Tertullian says the Lydians received the *toga* from the Pelasgi, the Romans from the Lydians. Perhaps he took this tradition from some poet, who used the word Lydian for Etruscan.

⁷ Cf. Dion. Hal. loc. cit. and Xenoph. Anab. I. 10.

of Lydia, to have obtained their dowries by prostitution.¹ The singular custom of the Lycians, of tracing their descent by the maternal line, obtained also among the Etruscans, alone among the nations of antiquity.² And another custom which essentially distinguished the Etruscans from the Greeks, and assimilated them to the people of Asia Minor, was that they shared the festive couch with their wives.³ Their language and the character in which it was written have very marked oriental analogies. But in their tombs and sepulchral usages the affinity of Etruria to Lydia and other countries of the East is most strongly marked; and it is to be learned not only from extant monuments, but from historical records. These analogies will be pointed out in detail in the course of this work.

The relation and connection of Etruria with the East is an established fact, admitted on all hands but variously accounted for.⁴ To me it seems to be such as cannot be explained by commercial intercourse, however extensive, for it is apparent not merely on the surface of Etruscan life, but deep within it, influencing all its springs of action, and imparting a tone and character, that neither Greek example and preceptorship, nor Roman domination could ever entirely efface. So intimate a connection could only have been formed by conquest or colonization from the East. That such was possible all will admit,—that it was not improbable, the common practice of antiquity of colonizing

¹ Cf. Herod. I. 93, and Plaut. Cistell. II. 3, 20—

non enim hîc, ubi ex Tusco modo
Tute tibi indigne dotem quæras corpore.

Chastity, if we may believe the accounts of the ancients, was little valued by either people; and this is a point in which they differed widely from the Greeks and early Romans. Strabo, V. pp. 532-3; Theopomp. ap. Athen. XII. c. 3, p. 515, *et seq.* Horace complains of his Lyce as being much too obdurate for an Etruscan. Od. III. 10, 11.

² See Vol. I. p. 191, n. 3.

³ See Vol. I. p. 324. Herodotus (I. 172) mentions that the Caunians, a people of Asia Minor, were accustomed to hold *symposia*, or drinking-bouts, with their wives and families. Cf. I. 146.

⁴ Müller (Etrusk. einl. 2, 7) asserts "the unmistakable connection between the civilization of Etruria and Asia Minor." Even Micali, who maintains the indigenous origin of the Etruscans, sets forth their relation with the East in a prominent light, though explaining it as the result of their commercial intercourse with the Egyptians, Phœnicians, Carthaginians, and other oriental people.

distant lands is evidence enough ; sublime memorials of which we still behold on the shores of Italy and Sicily, in those shrines of a long-perished creed, now sacred to the divinity of Hellenic genius. Had we been told that Mysia, Caria, Phrygia, or Lycia, was the mother-country of Etruria, we might have accepted the tradition, but as Lydia is definitely indicated, why refuse to credit it? To what country of the East we may be inclined to ascribe this colonization, is of little moment. We must at least admit, with Seneca, that "Asia claims the Etruscans as her own."—*Tuscos Asia sibi vindicat*.¹

That which in an investigation of this kind would prove of most service is here unfortunately of no avail. The language of Etruria, even in an age which has unveiled the Egyptian hieroglyphics and the arrow-headed character of Babylon, still remains a mystery. This "geological literature," as it has been aptly termed, has baffled the learning and research of scholars of every nation for ages past ; and though fresh treasures are daily stored up, the key to unlock them is still wanting. We know the characters in which it is written, which much resemble the Pelasgic or early Greek,²—we can learn even somewhat of the genius of the language and its inflections ; but beyond this, and the proper names and the numerals on sepulchral monuments, and a few words recorded by the ancients,³ the wisest must admit their

¹ Seneca, Consol. ad Helv. VI. 9.

² To the Pelasgi was referred the introduction of letters into Latium. Solin. Polyhist. VIII. Another tradition says they were brought to the Aborigines by Evander from Arcadia, and that the ancient Latin characters were the same as the earliest Greek. Tacit. Ann. XI. 14. The Etruscans are said by the same authority to have received their characters from Corinth. It is certain that all the ancient alphabets of Italy—the Umbrian, Oscan, Euganean, Messapian, as well as the Etruscan—bear an unmistakable affinity to the early Greek.

³ All we know of the language from the ancients is confined to the following words, many of which are manifestly disguised by the foreign medium through which they have come down to us :—

ETRUSCAN.	LATIN.	ETRUSCAN.	LATIN.
Æsar	Deus	Arse Verse	Averte ignem
Agalletor	Puer	Ataison	Vitis
Andas	Boreas	Burros	Poculum
Anhelos	Aurora	Balteus	} as in Latin
Antar	Aquila	Capra	
Aracos	Accipiter	Cassis	
Arimos	Simia	Celer	

ignorance, and confess that all they know of the Etruscan tongue, is that it is unique—like the Basque, an utter alien to every known family of languages. To the other early tongues of Italy, which made use of the same or nearly the same character, we find some key in the Latin, especially to the Oscan, which bears to it a parental relation. But the Etruscan has been tested again and again by the Greek, Latin, Hebrew, and every other ancient language, and beyond occasional affinities which may be mere coincidences, such as occur in almost every case, no clue has yet been found to its interpretation,—and unless some monument like the Rosetta-stone should come to light, and some Young or Champollion should arise to decipher it, the Etruscan must ever remain a dead, as it has always emphatically been, a sepulchral language.¹ Till then, to every fanciful theorist,

ETRUSCAN.	LATIN.	ETRUSCAN.	LATIN.
Capys	Falco	Lanista	Carnifex
Damnus	Equus	Lar	Dominus
Drouna	Principium	Lucumo	Princeps
Falando	Cœlum	Mantisa	Additamentum
Gapos	Currus	Nanos	Vagabundus
Hister	Ludio	Nepos	Luxuriosus
Iduare	Dividere		(doubtful)
Idulus	Ovis	Rasena	Etrusci
Itus	Idus	Subulo	Tibicen
Læna	Vestimentum		
	(doubtful)		

Besides these, the names of certain Etruscan deities are known, either from ancient writers or from monuments. The formula “Ril avil” is ascertained to signify *vixit annos*, and the general, if not precise, meaning of two or three other sepulchral formulæ can be guessed at. If to this we add that “Clan” seems to mean *filius*, and “Sec” *filia*, we have the full extent of our knowledge of the Etruscan vocabulary.

¹ Lanzi (Saggio, I. p. 35) states that in his day, “sixty years since,” besides the three classic languages, “the Ethiopic, the Egyptian, the Arabic, the Coptic, the Chinese, the Celtic, the Basque, the Anglo-Saxon, the Teutonic, the Runic, and what not,” had been consulted in vain for the key to the Etruscan. Lanzi thought he had discovered it in the Greek, and to establish his theory put that noble language to sad torture, from which sounder criticism has released it. Dr. Arnold (History of Rome, pref. p. XIII.) expected the interpretation of the Etruscan to be discovered. And Müller (Etrusk. einl. 3, 10) entertained the hope that in some secluded valley of the Grisons or of the Tyrol, a remnant of the old Rætian dialect might be discovered which would serve as a key to the Etruscan. He adds that Von Hormayr held the Surselvisch dialect to be Etruscan. Within the last few years Müller’s hope has been in some degree realized by the labours of a

who fondly hugs himself into the belief that to him it has been reserved to unravel the mystery, or who possesses the Sabine faculty of dreaming what he wishes, we must reply in the words of the prophet—"It is an ancient nation, a nation whose language thou knowest not."

Were it not for this mystery of the language, the oriental analogies on the one hand, and the Greek features on the other, which are obvious in the recorded customs of Etruria and the monuments of her art, might be reconciled by the theory of a Pelasgic colony from Asia Minor. But the language in its utter loneliness compels us to look further for the origin of the Etruscan people.

For the benefit of travellers, who would spell their way through epitaphs, I subjoin the Etruscan alphabet, confronting the characters with the Greek.

A	AAA	Π	11
E	EE	P	ΔD9
Z	±‡, rarely	Σ	MM22
Θ	◊◊○○	T	ΥΥΤΥΥ
I	I	Υ	ΥV, rarely
K	>>, rarely	Φ	Θ8
Λ	√√	X	↓↓↓, rarely
M	WWM	Aspirate	Θ
N	WHN	Digamma	711

German scholar, who, though he has found no key to the interpretation of the Etruscan, has at least shown that some remnants of a dialect very like it remain among the Alps of Rhatia. Steub, *Ueber die Urbewohner Ratiens und ihren Zusammenhang mit den Etruskern*. München, 1843. In travelling in 1842 among these Alps he was struck with the strange-sounding names, on the high-roads as well as in the most secluded valleys. Mountains or villages bore the appellations of Tilisuna, Blisadona, Naturns, Velthurns, Schluderns, Schlanders, Villanders, Firmisaun, Similaun, Gufidaun, Altrans, Sistrans, Axams,—wherever he turned, these mysterious names resounded in his ears; and he took them to be the relics of some long perished race. He tested them by the Celtic, and could find no analogy; but with the Etruscan he had more success, and found the ancient traditions of a Rhæto-Etruria confirmed. Like many of his countrymen he rides his hobby too hard;

The Etruscan alphabet, it will be seen, wants the B, Γ, Δ, Ξ, Ψ, the H, and both the O and Ω. In the custom of writing from right to left, and of frequently dropping the short vowels, the Etruscan bears a close oriental analogy. Indeed, it is clear that, like the Pelasgic, the Greek, and other kindred alphabets, this had its origin from Phœnicia.¹

The numerals known to us by the name of Roman, are in reality Etruscan; and were originally not only read from right to left, but were inverted.

The government of Etruria in external form bore some resemblance to a federal republic, each of its Twelve States or Cities having a distinct internal sovereignty, yet combining in a league of amity and mutual assistance—such a confederation, in fact, as existed in early times among the states of Greece. Yet the internal government of each state was an aristocracy, for the kings we read of occasionally in Roman history were either the chief rulers of each state, or one chosen out of this body to preside over all, like the Doges of Venice or the Popes of Rome. Indeed, the analogy in the latter case is strengthened by the double functions, political and ecclesiastical, of the Etruscan Lucumones. For these princes were all augurs, skilled in divination and the mysteries of “the Etruscan Discipline;” and when they met in solemn conclave at the shrine of the great goddess Voltumna, to deliberate on the affairs of the Confederation, one was chosen from among them as high-priest or pontiff.² In Etruria, as in the modern Papal State, and seeks to establish analogies which none but a determined theorist could perceive. What resemblance is apparent to eye or ear between such words as the following, taken almost at random from his tables?—Carcuna = Tschirgant; Caca = Tschätsch; Velacarasa = Vollgröss; Caluruna = Goldrain; Calusa = Schleiss; Calunuturusa = Schlanders; Velavna = Plawen.

¹ Whether these characters came directly from Phœnicia into Etruria, or were received through Greece, is a disputed point. Müller maintains the latter. Etrusk. IV. 6, 1. Mr. Daniel Sharpe, who has had more sources of information in the recent discoveries in Lycia, declares, that “it may be proved, from a comparison of the alphabets, that the Etruscans derived their characters from Asia Minor, and not from Greece.” Fellows’ Lycia, p. 442. The resemblance, indeed, of the Etruscan alphabet to the Lycian is striking—still more so that which it bears to the Phrygian, such as it is seen on the tombs of Dogan-lû. See Walpole’s Travels, and Steuart’s Lydia and Phrygia.

² Liv. V. 1; Serv. ad Virg. Æn. X. 202. Porsena, be it remembered, in his sovereign capacity brought down fire from heaven. Plin. II. 54.

the same will decreed civil laws, and prescribed religious observances and ceremonies, all on the assumption of an unerring interpretation of the will of heaven.

Political freedom was a plant which flourished not in Etruria. The power was wholly in the hands of the priestly nobles; the people had no voice in the government, not even the power of making themselves heard and respected, as at Rome. Whatever may have been the precise relation between the ruling class and their dependents, it is clear that it was akin to the feudal system, and that the mass of the community was enthralled. The state of society was not precisely that of the middle ages, for there was more union and community of interest and feeling than among the feudal lords of Germany, France, or England. The commons must have been a conquered people, the descendants of the early inhabitants of the land, and must have stood in a somewhat similar relation to their rulers, to that which the Periceci of Laconia held to their Dorian lords, or the subjugated Saxons of England bore to their Norman conquerors. That they were serfs rather than slaves seems evident, from the fact that they formed the class of which the Etruscan armies were composed. The Etruscans possessed slaves, like the other nations of antiquity;¹ nay, their bondage was proverbially rigorous,²—but these were captives taken in war, or in their piratical expeditions. Niebuhr shows that “the want of a free and respectable commonalty—which the Etruscans, obstinately retaining and extending their old feudal system, never allowed to grow up—was the occasion of the singular weakness dis-

When Veii set up a real king it gave offence to the rest of the Confederation.

¹ Liv. V. 1, 22. Dionysius (IX. p. 562) speaks of the Etruscan nobles leading their *πενέσται*, or serfs, out to battle against the Romans; and the “agrestium cohortes” mentioned by Livy, (IX. 36) were probably of the same class. The rebellious slaves who usurped the supreme power at Volsinii are shown by Niebuhr to have been also serfs, not domestic slaves. See Vol. I. p. 514 of this work. Cf. p. 518.

² This would appear from Martial, IX. 23, 4. —

Et sonet innumerâ compede Tuscus ager.

Cicero says the Etruscan pirates used to tie their living captives to the bodies of the dead (ap. Serv. ad Æn. VIII. 479); and Virgil relates the same of Mezentius, the tyrant of Agylla. Æn. VIII. 485. See Müller, cinl. 2, 6, p. 84.

played by the great Etruscan cities in their wars with the Romans, where the victory was decided by the number and strength of the infantry."¹ It was also the cause of the inferiority of the Etruscan to the Greek civilization—of its comparatively stationary and conventional character. Yet had there been no slaves, and had the entire population been of one race, the lower classes could hardly have escaped enthrallment, for it is difficult to conceive of a system of government more calculated to enslave both mind and body than that of the aristocratical augurs and aruspices of Etruria.

The religion of Etruria in her earliest ages bore some resemblance to that of Egypt, but more to the other theological systems of the East. It had the same gloomy, unbending, imperious character, the same impenetrable shroud of mysticism and symbolism; widely unlike the lively, plastic, phantasy-full creed of the Greeks, whose joyous spirit found utterance in song. The one was the religion of a caste, imposed for its exclusive benefit on the masses, and therefore not an exponent of national character, though influencing it; the other was the creed of an entire people, voluntarily embraced from its adaptation to their wants—nay, called into being by them—and necessarily stamped with the peculiar impress of their thoughts and feelings. In consequence of increased intercourse with other lands, in subsequent times, the mythology of Etruria assimilated, in great measure, to that of Greece; yet there was always this difference, that she held her creed, not as something apart from all political systems, not as a set of dogmas which deep-probing philosophy and shallow superstition could hold in common, and each invest with its peculiar meaning. No; it was with her an all-pervading principle

¹ Niebuhr, I. p. 123. Engl. trans. The great historian, however, goes too far in asserting that the extant works of the Etruscans could not have been executed without taskmasters and bondmen (p. 129). Indeed the distinction between the public works of the Egyptians and Etruscans, admitted by Niebuhr himself—that all the works of the latter we are acquainted with have a great public object—is a sufficient refutation of this position. The works of the Etruscans are not ostentatious, useless piles, but such as might be produced in industrious, commercial, yet warlike communities, of no great extent, and under the influence of more popular freedom than was ever enjoyed in Etruria. The temples of Pæstum, Agrigentum, and Selinus, are examples of this.

—the very atmosphere of her existence—a leaven operating on the entire mass of society—a constant presence ever felt in one form or other—a power admitting no rival, all-ruling, all-regulating, all-requiring. Such was its sway, that it moulded the national character, and gave the Etruscans a pre-eminent religious reputation among the people of antiquity.¹ Like the Roman Catholic in after times, it was renowned as the religion of mysteries, of marvels, of ceremonial pomp and observances. Its dominance was not without one beneficial effect. It bound its votaries in fetters, if not of entire harmony, at least of peace. Those civil contests which were the disgrace of Greece, which retarded her civilization, and ultimately proved her destruction, seem to have been unknown in Etruria. Yet the power of her religion was but negative; it proved ineffectual as a national bond, as an incitement to make common cause against a common foe. The several States were often at variance, and pursued independent courses of action, and thus laid themselves open to be conquered in detail.² But as far as we can learn from history, they were never arrayed in arms against each other; and this must have been the effect of their religion. Yet it was her system of spiritual tyranny that rendered Etruria inferior to Greece. She had the same arts—an equal amount of scientific knowledge—a more extended commerce. In every field had the Etruscan mind liberty to expand, save in that wherein lies man's

¹ Liv. V. 1—*Gens ante omnes alias eo magis dedita religionibus, quod excelleret arte colendi eas.* Arnob. VII.—*Genetrix et mater superstitionis Etruria.*

² Five only of the Twelve assisted the Latins against Tarquinius Priscus. Dion. Hal. III. p. 189. Arretium, in 443, refused to join the rest in their attack on Sutrium, then in the power of the Romans. Liv. IX. 32. Veii just before her capture estranged herself from the rest of the Confederation, which refused succour in her need. Liv. V. 1, 17. When Sutrium and Nepete are called the allies of Rome, and are said to have besought assistance against the Etruscans (Liv. VI. 3, 9, 10), this must refer to the Roman, not the Etruscan population, for the latter, from the small size of the towns, might easily be outnumbered by a garrison. That the conquered portion were ready to unite with their Etruscan brethren when occasion offered, is proved in the case of Nepete. Liv. VI. 10. Cære, however, was in more independent alliance with Rome, but even she at one time was urged by the sympathy of blood to sever this alliance; and it does not appear that she was ever in arms against her fellow cities of the Etruscan Confederation. See Vol. II. pp. 22, 23.

highest delight and glory. Before the gate of that paradise where the intellect revels unfettered among speculations on its own nature, on its origin, existence, and final destiny, on its relation to the First Cause, to other minds, and to society in general—stood the sacerdotal Lucumo, brandishing in one hand the double-edged sword of secular and ecclesiastical authority, and holding forth in the other the books of Tages, exclaiming, to his awe-struck subjects, “Believe and obey!” Liberty of thought and action was as incompatible with the assumption of infallibility in the governing power in the days of Tarchon or Porsena, as in those of Gregory XVI.

The mythological system of Etruria is learned partly from ancient writers, partly from national monuments, particularly figured mirrors. It was in some measure allied to that of Greece, though rather to the early Pelasgic system than to that of the Hellenes; but still more nearly to that of Rome, who in fact derived certain of her divinities and their names from this source.

The three great deities, who had temples in every Etruscan city, were TINA or TINIA—CUPRA—and MENRVA, or MENERVA.¹

TINIA was the supreme deity of the Etruscans, analogous to the Zeus of the Greeks, and the Jupiter of the Romans—“the centre of the Etruscan god-world, the power who speaks in the thunder and descends in the lightning.” He is always represented on Etruscan monuments with the thunder-bolt in his hand.²

CUPRA was the Etruscan Hera or Juno, and her principal shrines seem to have been at Veii, Falerii, and Perusia. Like her counterpart among the Greeks and Romans, she appears to have been worshipped under other forms, according to her various attributes—as Feronia, Thalna or Thana, Ilithyia-Leucothea.³

¹ Serv. ad Virg. *Æn.* I. 422.

² He is sometimes represented as a beardless youth. Gerhard, *Etrusk. Spieg.* I. taf. XIV. Some have sought an etymological relation between Tina and Zeus; others to Tonans, and others even to the Odin of the northern mythology, though this is pronounced by Müller to be accidental. *Etrusk.* III. 3, 1. Gerhard, *Gottheit.* p. 27.

³ We learn the name of Cupra from Strabo, V. p. 241. It has not been found on Etruscan monuments, where the goddess is generally called Thalna, though Gerhard (*Gotth. d. Etrusk.* p. 40) thinks this name is descriptive of her as a goddess of births and light. Feronia is

MENRVA, as she is called on Etruscan monuments, answers to the Pallas-Athene of the Greeks. It is probable that the name by which the Romans knew her was of purely Etruscan origin.¹ She seems to have been allied to NORTIA, the Fortuna of the Etruscans.² Like her counterpart in the Greek and Roman mythology, she is represented armed, and with the ægis on her breast, but in addition has sometimes wings.³

There were Twelve Great Gods, six of each sex, called *Dii Consentes* or *Complices*. They composed the council of Tinia, and are called "the senators of the gods"—"the Penates of the Thunderer himself." They were fierce and pitiless deities, dwelling in the inmost recesses of heaven, whose names it was forbidden to utter. Yet they were not deemed eternal, but supposed to rise and fall together.⁴

Still more awful and potent were "the shrouded Gods,"—*Dii Involuti*—whose appellation is suggestive of their mysterious character; they ruled both gods and men, and to their decisions even Tinia himself was obedient.⁵

The Etruscans believed in Nine Great Gods, who had the power of hurling thunderbolts; they were called *Novensiles*

said by Varro (V. 74) to be a Sabine goddess. Gerhard (Goth. p. 8) takes her to be equivalent to Juno, Müller (III. 3, 8) to Tellus or Mania. See Vol. I. p. 231. For Ilithyia, see Vol. II. p. 14. The rites of the Etruscan Juno are described by Ovid, *Amor.* III. eleg. 13; cf. *Dion. Hal.* I. p. 17.

¹ So thinks Müller (Etrusk. III. 3, 2), notwithstanding that Varro asserts it to be Sabine. *Ling. Lat.* V. 74.

² Gerhard (Gothheit. p. 10) thinks the relation between Minerva and Nortia is shown by the fact of the annual nail being driven into the temple of the latter at Volsinii and of the former on the Capitol.

³ As in a bronze figure from Orte, in the Museo Gregoriano, see Vol. II. p. 451.

⁴ Arnob. *adv. Nat.* III. 40; Varro, *de Re Rust.* I. 1; Martian Capella, *de Nupt.* I. 14. Gerhard thinks they must include the eight thunder-wielding gods known to us, to which he would add Vertumnus, Janus or Apollo, Nortia or Fortuna, and Voltumna. Goth. d. Etrusk. p. 23.

⁵ They were also called *Dii Superiores*. Seneca, *Nat. Quæst.* II. 41; Festus, *v. Manubiæ*. Gerhard (Gothheit. Etrusk. taf. VII.) gives a singular plate of two veiled figures, sitting back to back, and with their hands to their mouths, which he thinks may represent "the shrouded gods." They are taken from a drawing in the public archives of Viterbo, supposed to be a copy from some Etruscan monument, found in former times; perhaps a mirror, as Gerhard suggests, but more probably a bas-relief.

have been of foreign introduction. Then there were four gods called Penates—Ceres, Pales, Fortuna, and the Genius Jovialis ;¹ and the two Penates of Latium,—the Dioscuri,—CASTOR and PULTUKE—were much worshipped in Etruria, as we learn from monuments.² The worship of the mysterious Cabiri testified to the Pelasgic origin of a portion of the Etruscan population.³

All these deities are more or less akin to those of other ancient mythological systems, and what were of native origin and what of foreign introduction, it is not always easy to determine. But there were others more peculiarly Etruscan. At least if their counterparts are to be found in the Greek and Roman Pantheons, they had a wider influence in Etruria, and occupied a more prominent place in the Etruscan mythology. Such is the goddess of Fate, who is generally represented with wings, sometimes with a hammer and nail, as if fixing unalterably her decrees—an idea borrowed by the Romans ; but more frequently with a bottle in one hand and a *stylus* in the other, with which to inscribe her decisions. She is found with various names attached ; but the most common are LASA, and MEAN.⁴ A kindred goddess is frequently introduced in the reliefs on the sepulchral urns, as present at the death of some individual, and is generally armed with a hammer, a sword, or torch, though sometimes brandishing snakes like a Fury.

What gives most peculiarity to the Etruscan mythology is the doctrine of Genii. The entire system of national divination, called “the Etruscan Discipline,” was supposed to 608 ; Macrob. Sat. I. 9) ; and a double head of the same deity is a common device on the Etruscan coins of Volaterræ and Telamon. Silvanus was a Pelasgic god, who had a celebrated shrine at Cære. Virg. Æn. VIII. 600 ; cf. Liv. II 7.

¹ Arnob. loc. cit. ; Serv. loc. cit.

² As the Dioscuri are not recorded as Etruscan by ancient writers, Müller did not regard them as such, but they are so frequently and distinctly represented on the mirrors, that it is impossible not to recognize them as Etruscan ; indeed, they are often mentioned by name. Gerhard, Gottheit. pp. 2, 22, 46.

³ The Cabiri were the great gods of the Pelasgic Samothrace, and certain passages (Dion. Hal. I. p. 19 ; Macrob. Sat. III. 8) which ascribe their worship to the Tyrrhenes, or Etruscans, may refer to the Pelasgi. See Müller, III. 3, 10. Gerhard, however, sees in the three heads on the Gate of Volterra, and in certain scenes on mirrors, the three mysterious deities of Lemnos. Gottheit. p. 13.

⁴ See Vol. II. p. 62.

have been revealed by a Genius, called Tages—a wondrous boy with a hoary head and the wisdom of age, who sprung from the fresh-ploughed furrows of Tarquinii.¹ But the system of Lares and Penates, the household deities who watched over the personal and pecuniary interests of individuals and families, was the most prominent feature in the Etruscan mythology, whence it was borrowed by the Romans.² Thence it was also, in all probability, that the Romans obtained their doctrine of an attendant genius watching over every individual from his birth—

Genius natale comes qui temperat astrum,

who was of the same sex as the individual, and was called Genius when male, and Juno when female. Yet we find no positive proof of this doctrine among the Etruscans.³

Last, but brought most prominently before the eye in Etruscan sepulchral monuments, are the dread powers of the lower world. Here rule MANTUS and MANIA, the Pluto and Proserpine of the Etruscan creed, never mentioned, though sometimes figured in the native monuments. Mantus is represented as an old man, wearing a crown, with wings at his shoulders, and a torch, or it may be large nails in his hands, to show the inevitable character of his decrees.⁴ Of Mania we have no decided representation, but

¹ See Vol. I. p. 398.

² Müller, Etrusk. III. 4, 6, 7; Gerhard, Gottheit. d. Etrusk. p. 15.

³ The Genii or demons who are introduced to indicate a fatal event, are generally females—at least their sex often does not correspond with that of the defunct. For the Genii and Junones see Vol. II. pp. 59–62.

⁴ Mantus is the Etruscan Dispatēr. Serv. ad Æn. X. 199. From him the city Mantua received its name. Müller (III. 4, 40) thinks that the figure often introduced on Etruscan sepulchral urns in charge of the dead, is Mantus; though generally called Charun. Gerhard (Gottheit. taf. VI. 2, 3) gives two figures from urns in the Museum of Volterra, which, being crowned, most probably represent the King of Shades. When two Charontic males are introduced into the same scene, as on the vase illustrated facing page 1 of Vol. II. of this work, one may be intended for Mantus, or that which is not Charun may be a Thanatos, a personification of Death, or its messenger. Müller (III. 4, 9) suggests a relation to the Mundus, the pit in the Comitium, which was regarded as the mouth of Orcus, and was opened three days in the year, for the souls to step to the upper world. Varro, ap. Macrob. I. 16; Fest. vv. Mundus, Manalem Lapidem.

she is probably figured in some of the female demons who were supposed to be present at scenes of death and slaughter. She was a fearful deity, who was propitiated by human sacrifices.¹ Intimately connected with these divinities was CHARUN, the great conductor of souls, the infernal Mercury of the Etruscans, the chief minister of Mantus, whose dread image, hideous as the imagination could conceive, is often introduced on sepulchral monuments; and who, with his numerous attendant demons and Furies, well illustrates the dark and gloomy character of the Etruscan superstition.²

The government and religion of a country being ascertained, much may be inferred of the character of its civilization. With such shackles as were imposed on it, it was impossible for the Etruscan mind, individually or collectively, to reach the highest degree of cultivation to which society, even in those early ages, attained. The intellect of Etruria, when removed from the sciences and arts, and purely practical applications, was too much absorbed in the mysteries of divination and the juggleries of priestcraft. Even art was fettered by conventionalities, imposed, it seems, by her religious system. Yet there is recorded evidence that she possessed a national literature—histories,³

¹ Mania is called the mother of the Lares (Varro, L. L. IX. 61; Macrob. I. 7; Arnob. adv. Nat. III. 41), or the mother or grandmother of the Manes (Festus, *sub voce*). Boys used annually to be offered to her at the festival of the Compitalia, till, on the expulsion of Tarquinius Superbus, the heads of garlic and poppies were substituted. Macrob. Sat. I. 7. Müller (Etrusk. III. 4, 12, 13) thinks she is almost identical with Acca Larentia, the foster-mother of Romulus, a divinity who was transferred from the Etruscan into the Roman mythology; and that she answers also to the Lara or Larunda of the Romans. Cf. Gerhard, Gottheit. p. 36. The Roman grammarians, ever forcing etymological analogies, interpreted Manius (or Mania) as “qui mane natus” (Varro, L. L. IX. 61), or derived it from “manare” (Fest. v. Maniæ; Serv. ad Æn. III. 63). “Manum” was an old word for “good” (Serv. ad Æn. I. 139; III. 63), used, as Servius says, by antiphrasis or euphemism. Gerhard (Gottheit. p. 16) hints at *maneo* as the origin of Mantus, but if the name of this deity be Etruscan it is useless to seek its source in other languages.

² See Vol. II. pp. 183–86.

³ Varro, ap. Censorin. XVII. 6. Polybius (II. 17) speaks of histories of the Etruscan dynasties. There was also an historian of the name of Vegoja, a fragment of whose work is extant. See Müller, IV. 5, 3; 7, 8.

tragedies,¹ poems ;² besides religious and ritual books ;³ and the Romans used to send their sons into the land of their hereditary foes to study its literature and language,⁴ just as in later times the "old Christians" of Spain sent their youth to receive a knightly education at the Moslem courts of Cordoba and Granada.

History, moreover, attests the eminence of the Etruscans in navigation and military tactics,⁵ agriculture, medicine, and

¹ Varro (Ling. Lat. V. 55) mentions Volnius, or Volumnius, a writer of Etruscan tragedies.

² The Fescennines, or songs of raillery, were Etruscan. See Vol. I. p. 208. The Etruscan *histriones* or actors, danced and sang to the sound of the double-pipes. Liv. VII. 2. In their religious services also the Etruscans sang hymns to the honour of their gods or heroes. Dion. Hal. I. p. 17; Serv. ad Æn. VIII. 285. Lucretius (VI. 381) speaks of "Tyrrhena carmina" on divination by lightning. Müller, IV. 5, 1.

³ The sacred or ritual books of the Etruscans are mentioned under many names by ancient writers—libri Etrusci—chartæ Etruscae—scripta Etrusca—Tusci libelli—Etruscae disciplinae libri—libri fatales, rituales, haruspici, fulgurales—libri Tagetici—sacra Tagetica—sacra Acherontica—libri Acherontici—Liv. V. 15; Cicero de Divin. I. 12, 33, 44; II. 23; Juven. Sat. XIII. 62; Festus, v. rituales; Macrobi. Sat. III. 7; V. 19; Serv. ad Virg. Æn. I. 42; III. 537; VIII. 398; Plin. II. 85; Arnob. adv. Nat. II. 62; Fulgent. v. Manales (cited by Müller, III. 2, 6); Amm. Marcell. XVII. 10. The author of these sacred works on the "Etruscan Discipline," was supposed to be Tages. The names of Tarquiti, Cæcina, Aquila, Labeo, Begoë, Umbricius, are given as writers on these subjects, probably commentators on Tages.

⁴ Liv. IX. 36; Cicero, de Divin. I. 41; Val. Max. I. 1, 1.

⁵ The Etruscans were for ages "lords of the sea." Diod. Sic. V. pp. 295, 300, 316; Strabo, V. p. 222. They rivalled the Phœnicians in enterprise, founding colonies in the islands of the Tyrrhene Sea, and even on the coast of Spain, where Tarraco, now Tarragona (in whose name we recognize that of Tarchon), appears to have been one of their settlements (Auson. Epist. XXIV. 88)—a tradition confirmed by its ancient fortifications. Müller, Etrusk. I. 4, 6; Abeken, Mittelitalien, p. 129. Nay, the Etruscans would fain have colonized the far "island of the blest," in the Atlantic Ocean, probably Madeira or one of the Canaries, had not the Carthaginians opposed them. Diod. Sic. V. p. 300. It was this mutual spirit of maritime enterprise that led to a treaty between Carthage and Etruria, which probably defined the limits of each people's commerce. Aristot. Polit. III. 9.

The military tactics of the Etruscans were also celebrated. Diodor. V. p. 316. They fought in phalanx, and from them the Romans derived this their earliest military arrangement. Diod. Sic. XXIII. 1. Excerpt. Mai; Athen. VI. p. 273; cf. Liv. VIII. 8. Their large circular shields were also adopted by the Romans. Diod. Sic. loc. cit. Another account which Niebuhr (III. p. 99) calls in question, ascribes the origin

other practical sciences;¹ above all in astronomy, which was brought by them to such perfection, that they seem to have arrived at a very close approximation to the true division of time, and to have fixed the tropical year at precisely 365 days, 5 hours, 40 minutes.²

If we measure Etruria by the standard of her own day, we must ascribe to her a high degree of civilization—second only to that of Greece. It differed indeed, as the civilization of a country under despotic rule will always differ from that of a free people. It resided in the mass rather than in the individual; it was the result of a set system, not of personal energy and excellence; its tendency was stationary rather than progressive; its object was to improve the physical condition of the people, and to minister to luxury, rather than to advance and elevate the nobler faculties of human nature. In all this it assimilated to the civilization of the East, or of the Aztecs and Peruvians. It had not the earnest germ of development, the intense vitality which existed in Greece; it could never have produced a Plato, a Demosthenes, a Thucydides, or a Phidias. Yet while

of the Roman armour and weapons to the Samnites. Sall. Catil. 51. The Romans probably borrowed the helmet from the Etruscans, as well as the word for it—*cassis*. Isid. Orig. XVIII. 14. An interesting specimen of an Etruscan helmet, with a Greek inscription, showing it to be of the spoils taken from the Etruscans by Hiero of Syracuse, is preserved in the British Museum. Dionysius (V. p. 294) says the Etruscans were inferior to the Romans in military skill.

¹ Virgil (Georg. II. 533) tells us that to agriculture Etruria owed her greatness—

sic fortis Etruria crevit.

The skill of the Etruscans as physicians is celebrated by Æschylus, ap. Theophrast. Hist. Plant. IX. 15; and Mart. Capella, de Geomet. VI. Their acquaintance with the vegetable world is recorded by Diodorus, V. p. 316. Cf. Plin. XXIV. 95. It must have been with the aid of science that they were enabled to bring down lightning from heaven; though the priests made the people believe it was by religious rites. Thus Porsena is said to have brought down thunderbolts by invocation. Plin. II. 54. And though Numa is said to have exercised the same power, which proved fatal to Tullus Hostilius, it was probably derived from Etruria. Plut. Numa; Ovid. Fast. III. 327; Plin. loc. cit.; XXVIII. 4.

² This is Niebuhr's opinion (I. p. 279). The ancient Aztecs of Mexico, and the Muyscas of South America, before their intercourse with Europe, had arrived at a still nearer approach to truth in their computation of time. Prescott's Mexico, I. p. 98, *et seq.*; Conquest of Peru, I. p. 117.

inferior to her illustrious contemporary in intellectual vigour and eminence, Etruria was in advance of her in her social condition and in certain respects in physical civilization, or that state in which the arts and sciences are made to minister to comfort and luxury. The health and cleanliness of her towns were insured by a system of sewerage, vestiges of which may be seen on many Etruscan sites ; and the Cloaca Maxima will be a memorial to all time of the attention paid by the Etruscans to drainage. Yet this is said to have been neglected by the Greeks.¹ In her internal communication Etruria also shows her advance in physical civilization. Few extant remains of paved ways, it is true, can be pronounced Etruscan, but in the neighbourhood of most of her cities are traces of roads cut in the rocks, sometimes flanked with tombs, or even marked with inscriptions, determining their antiquity ; and generally having water-channels or gutters to keep them dry and clean.² The Etruscans were also skilled in controlling the injurious processes of nature. They drained lakes by cutting tunnels through the heart of mountains, and they diverted the course of rivers, to reclaim low and marshy ground, just as the Val di Chiana has been rescued in our own times.³ And

¹ Strabo, V. p. 235. Strabo says that the Greeks, in founding their cities, considered principally the strength and beauty of site, the advantages of ports, and the fertility of the soil ; whereas the Romans paid most attention to what the others neglected—paved roads, aqueducts, and common sewers. This distinction the Romans, in all probability, owe to the Etruscans. However, it is certain that many vestiges of conduits and sewers are extant in the cities of Greece, though inferior, it is said, to those of Rome. Mure, *Tour in Greece*, II. p. 47. And there are remains of ancient Greek roads, both in Greece and her colonies in Sicily and Asia Minor.

² The Romans are said to be indebted to the Carthaginians for their paved roads. Isidor. Orig. XV. 16 ; cf. Serv. ad *Æn.* I. 422. But from the little intercourse the Romans maintained with that people in early times, it seems more probable that they derived this art from the Etruscans, who were their great preceptors in all works of public utility. There is no positive evidence of this ; but it is the opinion now generally entertained. Micali (*Ant. Pop. Ital.* I. p. 150 ; II. p. 307) indeed maintains that there are remains of Etruscan paved roads still extant, such as that from Cære to Veii, and thence to Capena, constructed before the domination of the Romans.

³ Such is the interpretation put by Niebuhr (*I.* p. 132) on Plin. III. 20—*Omnia ea flumina, fossasque, primi a Sagi fecère Thusci : egesto amnis impetu per transversum in Atrianorum paludes.* Niebuhr declares the channels by which the Po still discharges itself, to be the work of

these grand works are not only still extant, but some are even efficient as ever, after the lapse of so many centuries.

That the Etruscans were eminently skilled in tunnelling, excavating, and giving form and beauty to shapeless rocks, and for useful purposes, is a fact impressed on the mind of every one who visits the land. Their tombs were all subterranean, and, with few exceptions, hewn in the rock, after the manner of the Egyptians and other people of the East. In truth, in no point is the oriental character of the Etruscans more obviously marked than in their sepulchres; and modern researches are daily bringing to light fresh analogies to the tombs of Lycia, Phrygia, Lydia, or Egypt.

In physical comfort and luxury the Etruscans cannot have been surpassed by any contemporary nation. Whoever visits the Gregorian Museum of the Vatican, or that of the Cavaliere Campana at Rome, will have abundant proofs of this. Much of it is doubtless owing to their extensive commerce, which was their pride for ages. In their social condition they were in advance of the Greeks, particularly in one point, which is an important test of civilization. In Athens, woman was always degraded; she trod not by the side of man as his companion and helpmate, but followed as his slave; the treatment of the sex, even in the days of Pericles, was what would now be called oriental. But in Etruria, woman was honoured and respected; she took her place at the board by her husband's side, which she was never permitted to do in Athens;¹ she was educated and accomplished, and sometimes even instructed in the mysteries of divination;² her children assumed her name as well as their father's;³ and her grave was honoured with even more

the Etruscans. And in the territory of Perugia, and in Suburbicarian Tuscia, are traces of many lakes drained by the Etruscans, and now dried up; "the tunnels are unknown and never cleared out, but still work." The Emissary of Albano, which there is every reason to regard as an Etruscan work, is a triumphant memorial of their skill in such operations.

¹ See Vol. I. p. 324.

² Two illustrious examples of this are Tanaquil, the wife of Tarquinius Priscus, and the nymph Begoë. See Vol. I. p. 465; cf. II. pp. 170-1. Tanaquil is also said to have been deeply versed in mathematics and medicine (Schol. ad Juven. Sat. VI. 565; Fest. v. Prædia). Yet she was an industrious house-wife, a great spinner of wool (Plin. VIII. 74; Fest. v. Gaia Cæcilia), and an excellent helpmate to her husband. Polyb. VI. 2, ap. Suid. v. *Δεύκλιος*.

³ See Vol. I. p. 191.

splendour than that of her lord. It is not easy to say to what Etruria owed this superiority. But whatever its cause, it was a fact which tended greatly to humanize her, and, through her, to civilize Italy—a fact of which Rome especially reaped the benefit by imitating her example.

We have now to consider the arts of the Etruscans, from the remains of which we gather our chief knowledge of this people. That which is most peculiarly their own, and has partaken least of foreign influence, is their

ARCHITECTURE.

From history we learn very little of this art among them. We know that they were the chief architects of early Rome, that they built the great temple of Jupiter on the Capitol, and constructed the Cloaca Maxima,¹ and that Rome, whenever she would raise any public building, sent to Etruria for artificers. But of the peculiarities of Etruscan architecture we know from history little more than Vitruvius tell us of the plan and proportions of a temple in the Tuscan style.² We know too that Etruscan houses had frequently porticoes,³ and a court, called *atrium* or *cavædium*, within them, so arranged that the water from the roof fell into a tank in the centre—a plan adopted by the Romans.⁴ Unfortunately, not a vestige of an Etruscan temple, beyond some doubtful foundations, is now extant, to compare with Vitruvius' description;⁵ yet numerous models of temples and houses

¹ Liv. I. 56.

² Vitruv. IV. 7. Müller (IV. 2, 3) thinks Vitruvius took his rules of an Etruscan temple from that of Ceres in the Circus Maximus, dedicated in the year of Rome 261. It is still disputed whether the so-called Tuscan order is an invention of the Etruscans, or a mere variety of the Doric. For notices of the Etruscan temple, see Müller, *Etrusk.* III. 6; IV. 2, 3-5; Inghirami, *Mon. Etrus.* IV. pp. 1-51; Abeken, *Mittelitalien*, pp. 202-233.

³ Diodor. Sic. V. p. 316.

⁴ Vitruv. VI. 3; Varro, *L. L.* V. 161; Festus, *v.* Atrium; Serv. ad *Æn.* I. 726.

⁵ The reason why no Etruscan temples are standing, while so many of Egypt, Greece, and Rome are yet extant, seems to be that they were constructed principally of wood, which may be learnt from Vitruvius (IV. 7), who represents the *epistylia* as of wood, and the intercolumniations on that account much wider than in temples of the Greek orders. Something may also be learned from the analogy of the tombs, whose ceilings are generally cut into the form of beams and rafters, or into coffers—*lacunaria*—as in the Pantheon.

are to be seen in Etruscan tombs, either hewn from the rock, or sculptured on sepulchral monuments; and there is no lack of materials whence to learn the proportions, style, and decorations of the former, and the arrangements, conveniences, and furniture of the latter. In truth Etruria presents abundant food to the inquiring architect; and he who would make the tour of her ancient cities and cemeteries, might add much to our knowledge of the early architecture of Italy. He would learn that the architecture of the Etruscans bore sometimes a close affinity to that of Egypt, sometimes to that of Greece or Rome, but had often remarkable native peculiarities. He would learn, also, beyond what Vitruvius tells him of the practice of the Etruscans to decorate the pediments of their temples with figures of clay or of bronze gilt,¹ that they must also have been adorned internally with paintings and reliefs, and that the whole, both within and without, must have glowed with colour, according to the polychrome system set forth in the tombs and sepulchral monuments.

The remains of Etruscan architecture yet extant are found in the walls and gates of cities, in sewers, bridges, vaults, and tombs.

Nothing gives a more exalted idea of the power and grandeur of this ancient people than the walls of their cities.² These enormous piles of masonry, uncemented, yet so solid as to have withstood for three thousand years the destroying hand of man, the tempests, the earthquakes, the invisible yet more destructive power of atmospheric action, seem destined to endure to the end of time; yet often show a beauty, a perfection of workmanship, that has never been surpassed. The style of masonry differs in the two great divisions of the land, and is determined in part by the nature of the local materials. In the northern district, where the rock is difficult to be hewn, being limestone, hard sandstone, or travertine, the walls are composed of huge blocks, rectangular in general, but of various sizes, and irregular arrangement, according as the masses of rock were hewn or split from the quarry; and in some instances small

¹ Vitruv. III. 3.

² There was a tradition, recorded by Dionysius (I. p. 21), that the Tyrrheni were the first who raised fortresses in Italy, and that thence they received their name. Cf. Tzet. in Lycoph. 717.

pieces are inserted in the interstices of the larger blocks. There are also a few instances of the irregular, polygonal style, as in the Cyclopean cities of Central Italy. In the southern district the masonry is less massive and very regular, being composed of tufo or other volcanic rock, which admits of being easily worked.¹

In the earliest fortifications the gates were square-headed, spanned by lintels of stone or wood, and the arch, when found in connection with such masonry, must be considered of subsequent construction. But in walls of later date the gates were arched on the perfect cuneiform system, the massive *voussoirs* holding together without cement. Indeed there is abundant evidence in the architectural remains of Etruria that the perfect arch was known and practised in that land at a very early period; and that the Romans, who have too long enjoyed the credit of its invention, derived it from the Etruscans, is now set beyond a doubt.

That the world is indebted to Etruria for the discovery of the principle of the arch would be difficult of proof. The existence of arches among the tombs of Thebes and in the pyramids of Nubia on the one hand,² and of a bridge in

¹ The masonry most common in this district is that to which I have applied the name *emplecton*, described Vol. I. pp. 153, 169.

The peculiar ceremonies which the Romans observed in founding their cities, and which were observed in the case of Rome itself, they received from the Etruscans, with whom this was a very sacred rite. A day was chosen that was pronounced auspicious by the augurs. The founder, having yoked a bull and cow to a brazen plough, the bull outside, the cow within, ploughed a deep furrow round the intended city, while his followers turned all the clods inward to the city. The ridge thus raised marked the line of the future walls, and the furrow that of the fosse. Wherever the site of a gate was reached, the plough was lifted from the earth, and carried over the proposed roadway; for the walls were deemed to be consecrated by the ceremony of ploughing, and had not the gateways been omitted, they could not have answered the intended purpose. On either side of the walls a space called the *pomerium* was also marked out, which was ever after sacred from the plough, and from habitation. Virgil (*Æn.* V. 755; Serv. in loc.) represents Æneas as founding a city according to the same rite. For authorities, see Vol. II. p. 221, n. 1; to which add, Dio Cass. Excerpt. Mai, II. p. 527; Serv. ad *Æn.* V. 755; Isid. Orig. XV. 2.

² Sir G. Wilkinson (*Mod. Egypt*, II. pp. 189, 218) speaks of some tombs vaulted with sun-dried bricks, which are "proved" by the hieroglyphic inscriptions they bear, to be as old as 1540 years B.C. For two tombs with stone arches, one at the foot of the Pyramids, the other at Sakkara, he does not claim an antiquity higher than 600 years before

Laconia and a gateway in Acarnania on the other,¹ raises two rivals to contest the honour of originality with Etruria; and a third may perhaps be found in Assyria, if Mr. Layard's views of the date of the monuments at Nimroud be correct. But whichever of these leading nations of antiquity may have discovered the principle, there can be no doubt that it was the Etruscans who first practised it in Italy; and, considering the inventive turn of this people and their acknowledged skill in architecture, it is probable that the principle of cuneiform sustentation was worked out by them, whether prior or subsequently to its discovery in Egypt, Greece, or Assyria it is impossible to determine.² As in

our era (op. cit. I. pp. 357, 368), or a period about coeval with the Cloaca Maxima. This, I believe, is also the antiquity claimed by Mr. Layard for the Assyrian arches he has discovered. Cavaliere Canina, the celebrated Roman architect, doubts of the antiquity of the Egyptian arches. *Cere Antica*, p. 67. And Mr. Wathen, also a professional authority, who speaks from careful examination, while admitting that the tomb at the foot of the Pyramids presents an instance of a perfect arch, declares that in that of Sakkara, and in the earlier tombs referred to by Wilkinson, the supposed vaulting is a mere lining to the roof of the tomb, hollowed in a friable rock, and does not hold together on the wedge-principle. *Ancient Egypt*, p. 234. His testimony is confirmed by other architects who have assured me, from personal inspection, that these very ancient arches are apparent merely, not real. There is no evidence to prove the arch earlier than six centuries before Christ.

¹ The bridge referred to is that of Xerokampo, in the neighbourhood of Sparta, discovered by Dr. Ross of Athens. It is on the true arch-principle, and surrounded by polygonal masonry; but it has been pronounced to be of late date and Roman construction. See Vol. II. p. 242. The gateway is a postern in the city of Œniadæ, whose walls are also of polygonal masonry. Indeed, this city is remarkable for exhibiting in its several gates the progress from the flat lintel to the perfect arch. See Vol. II. p. 242. There are also some perfect arches in the polygonal walls of Œnoanda, in the Cibyratis, in Asia Minor.

² The earliest arched structure mentioned in history, and now extant, is the Cloaca Maxima—unless the vault of the upper prison of the Mamertine be really that ascribed by Livy (I. 33) to Ancus Martius, which is very doubtful—and it dates from the early part of the third century of Rome, or nearly five hundred and fifty years before Christ. How much earlier the principle of the arch may have been discovered, it is impossible to say; but the perfection of the Cloaca Maxima might lead us to suppose a long previous acquaintance with this construction. Canina (*Cere Antica*, p. 66) refers the first use of the true arch in Italy to the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, or about six centuries before Christ; to which conclusion he arrives from a comparison of the Cloaca with the Tullianum; and he thinks that Tarquin must have brought the knowledge of it from Tarquinius, and that it was introduced there from

those countries, there are here also instances of pseudo-vaults, prior to the invention of the arch, formed by the gradual convergence of blocks laid in horizontal courses. These structures must be of very remote date, probably before the foundation of Rome.¹

So much will be said in the course of this work about the Sepulchres of the Etruscans, that it is not necessary to say much here. But it may be well to point out a few of their characteristics. A leading feature is, that they are always subterranean, in which they resemble the Greek rather than the Roman, being hollowed in the living rock, either beneath the surface of the ground, or in the face of a cliff, or at the foot of a cliff, which was shaped by the chisel into a monument, and inscribed with an epitaph.² Where the rock would not readily admit of such excavation, or where the soil was too loose and friable, the tomb was constructed with masonry, and heaped over with earth into the form of a tumulus. There is nothing in all Etruria like Roman sepulchres, built up above the surface of the ground; indeed, the object of the Etruscans, as of the Greeks, seems to have been rather to conceal their tombs than to display them, as it was with the Romans.³

Another characteristic of Etruscan tombs, which distinguishes them from the Roman, and allies them intimately with those of Egypt and Asia Minor, is that they generally show an imitation, more or less obvious, of the abodes of the living. Some display this analogy in their exterior; others in their interior; a few in both. Some have more resemblance to temples, and may be the sepulchres of augurs or aruspices, or of families in which the sacerdotal office was hereditary. Even in cases where the analogy is not at first apparent, it will generally be found to exist, as in the tumular sepulchres, which are like the huts of ancient

Corinth by his father Demaratus; but for this there is no authority in ancient writers.

¹ The most remarkable instances in Etruria are the Regulini-Galassi tomb at Cervetri, and the Grotta Sergardi, near Cortona.

² The only tomb of purely Roman times that I remember to resemble the Etruscan, is that of the Nasones, on the Via Flaminia, a few miles from Rome.

³ Etruscan tombs, however, were often by the way-side, like the Greek and Roman, real monuments—*monimenta*—warnings and admonitions to the living. Varro, Ling. Lat. VI. 45.

Phrygia.¹ It is most probable that the paintings on the walls of Etruscan tombs show the style, though perhaps not the exact subjects, of the internal decorations of their houses. The ceilings are sometimes adorned with coffers, and the walls with panelling—benches and stools surround the chambers—weapons and other furniture are suspended from the walls—and easy arm-chairs, with foot-stools attached, all hewn from the living rock, are found in the subterranean houses of these Etruscan “cities of the dead.” The analogy to houses has been truly and pointedly said to hold in everything but the light of day.

In this respect alone, Etruscan tombs have a peculiar interest and value, as illustrative of the plan, arrangements, and decorations, external and internal, of Etruscan houses; of which, as time has left us no trace, and history no definite description, we must gather what information we may from analogical sources. In the Etruscan temples and houses, be it remembered, we view those of early Rome, ere she had sat at the feet of her more accomplished preceptor, Greece.

PLASTIC ARTS.

Of the plastic and pictorial arts of the Etruscans it is difficult to treat, both on account of the vast extent of the subject, and more particularly because it demands an intimate acquaintance with ancient art in general, such as can be acquired only by years of study and experience, and by the careful comparison of numerous works of various ages and countries. It has been laid down as an axiom, that “He who has seen one work of ancient art has seen none, he who has seen a thousand has seen but one.”² I feel, therefore, somewhat reluctant to enter on a ground to which I cannot pretend to do justice, especially in the narrow limits to which I am confined. Yet it is incumbent on me to give the reader a general view of the subject, to enable him to understand the facts and observations he will meet with in the course of these volumes.

¹ Vitruv. II. 1, 5. See Vol. II. p. 56. The idea of representing the abodes of the living in the receptacles for the dead, which is quite oriental, was not confined to the Etruscans among the early people of Italy, as is proved by the curious urns of Albano, which are imitations of rude huts formed of boughs and covered with skins. See Vol. II. p. 431.

² Gerhard, *Ann. Inst.* 1831, p. 111.

As the fine arts of a country always bear the reflex of its political and social condition, so the hierarchical government of Etruria here finds its most palpable expression. In the most ancient works the influence of the national religion is most apparent; deities or religious symbols seem the only subjects represented, so that some have been led to the conclusion that both the practice and theory of design were originally in the hands of the priests alone.¹ These early Etruscan works have many points in common with those of the infancy of art in other lands, just as babes are very similar all the world over: yet, besides the usual shapelessness and want of expression, they have native peculiarities, such as disproportionate length of body and limbs, an unnatural elongation of hands and feet, drapery adhering to the body, and great rigidity, very like the Egyptian, yet with less parallelism. In truth, in both style and subjects, the earliest works of Etruria betray the great influence of Egypt, which continued to be exerted even after Etruscan art had cast aside its leading-strings.² By degrees, however, whether from increased intercourse with Greece, or from the natural progress common to all civilized countries, Etruscan art stepped out of the conventionalities which confined it, and assumed a more energetic character, more like the Greek than the Egyptian, yet still rigid, hard, and dry, rather akin to the Æginetic than the Athenian school, displaying more force than beauty, more vigour than grace, better intention than ability of execution, an exaggerated, not a truthful representation of nature. It was only when the triumph of Greek art was complete, and the world acknowledged the transcendency of Hellenic genius, that Etruria became its humble disciple, and imitated—copied sometimes to servility—the grand works of the Greek chisel and pencil. A distinctive national character is, however, generally preserved.³ Thus the three styles into which

¹ Micali, *Ant. Pop. Ital.* II. p. 222.

² Strabo, who was personally acquainted with the antiquities of the respective lands, remarks the analogy between the art of Egypt, Etruria, and early Greece. XVII. p. 806. Lanzi (*Saggio*, II. p. 172) maintains that this rigid and rectilinear Etruscan style was not necessarily imported from the Nile; but that nature in the infancy of art taught it alike to the Egyptians, Greeks, and Etruscans, for it was not so much art, as the want of art.

³ The specimens of Etruscan art that have come down to us confirm

Etruscan art may be divided are—1st, The Egyptian, which has also Babylonian analogies; 2nd, The Etruscan, or Tyrrhene, as it is sometimes called, perhaps in compliment to its more than doubtful Greek character; 3rd, The Hellenic. To these might be added a fourth—that of the Decadence.

This classification pertains to all the imitative arts of the Etruscans. Of these the working in clay was the most ancient,¹ as moulding naturally precedes casting, chiselling, or painting. For their works in terra-cotta the Etruscans were renowned in ancient times,² and early Rome contained numerous specimens of them.³ The Veientes in particular were famed for their works in clay.⁴

Then followed the arts of casting and chiselling in bronze, for which the Etruscans were greatly renowned; ⁵ and their

the assertion of Quintilian (XII. 10), that the statues of Etruria differed from those of Greece in *kind*, just as the eloquence of an Asiatic did from that of an Athenian. The Etruscan style, says Lanzi, was the primary and almost only one in Italy; it seems as though the artists made choice, as was said of Michel Angelo, of the most difficult attitudes, in order to make their works tell more effectively. II. p. 186. Very similar in style are the few works of Volscian art preserved to us, if indeed these be not Etruscan, either imported, or executed when the land of the Volsci was subject to Etruria. See the singular painted reliefs in terra-cotta, found at Velletri in 1784, and illustrated by Becchetti, and by Inghirami, Mon. Etrus. VI. tav. T 4—X 4; cf. Micali, Ant. Pop. Ital. tav. LXI.

¹ Plin. XXXIV. 16. The Etruscans have even the renown of being the inventors of the plastic arts. Clem. Alex. Strom. I. p. 306.

² Præterea elaboratam hanc artem Italiæ, et maxime Etruriæ. Plin. XXXV. 45.

³ The most celebrated were the *quadriga* on the *fastigium* of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and the statue of Summanus on the same temple. The fictile statue of Jupiter was also by an Etruscan artist. Plin. XXVIII. 4; XXXV. 45; Vitruv. III. 3; Cicero, de Divin. I. 10; Serv. ad Æn. VII. 188; Plutarch, Public.; Festus, v. Ratumena; cf. Propert. IV. 1. 5.

⁴ See Vol. I. p. 128.

⁵ Athenæus (XV. c. 18, p. 700), speaking of the skill of the Etruscans in making lamps, calls them *φαιστέχνοι*. They obtained this metal from their own mines, probably from those of Montieri—*Mons Æris*—near Massa; and worked in it earlier than in iron, which, as Lucretius (V. 1286) tells us, is a later discovery.

Et prior æris erat, quam ferri, cognitus usus.

They had also abundance of iron in the mines of Elba.

statues in metal not only filled the temples of Rome,¹ but were also exported to other lands.² In truth the Etruscans have the renown of being the inventors of this art in Italy.³ Innumerable are the specimens of Etruscan toreutic statuary that have come down to us, and widely different are the degrees of excellence displayed, from the rudest, most uncouth attempts at the human form, to the ideal glorification of its beauties, wrought with all

“The cunning they who dwell on high
Have given unto the Greek.”—

In size they varied no less: from the minute figures of deities, or *lares*,⁴ to statues of colossal dimensions, like that of the Apollo on the Palatine, which was fifty feet in height, and was as wonderful for its beauty as for its mass of metal.⁵ One of the most interesting monuments of this art extant is the she-wolf of the Capitol, which has an historical renown.⁶

Not only in the representation of life, but in instruments for domestic and warlike purposes, did the Etruscan metal-workers excel.⁷ Even in the time of Pericles, the Athenian poet Pherecrates sang of the Etruscan *candelabra*; ⁸ “and what testimony,” asks Müller, “can be more honourable for Etruscan art than the words of the elegant-minded Athenian,

¹ *Tuscanica omnia in ædibus.* Varro, ap. Plin. XXXV. 45. Tertullian (Apologet. 25) says they inundated the City.

² Plin. XXXIV. 16. One city alone, Volsinii, is said to have contained 2000 statues, which Müller (Etrusk. IV. 3, 3) takes to have been of metal.

³ Cassiodor. Var. VII. 15.—*Statuas primum Thusci in Italiâ invenisse referuntur.* Müller (IV. 3, 3) refers this to casting in metal.

⁴ These are the “*Tyrrhena sigilla*” of Horace, Ep. II. 2, 180; though Micali (Ant. Pop. Ital. II. p. 243) thinks the term refers to gems and scarabæi. The “*Tuscanica signa*” of Pliny (XXXIV. 16), which were exported to many lands, were probably statues of larger size.

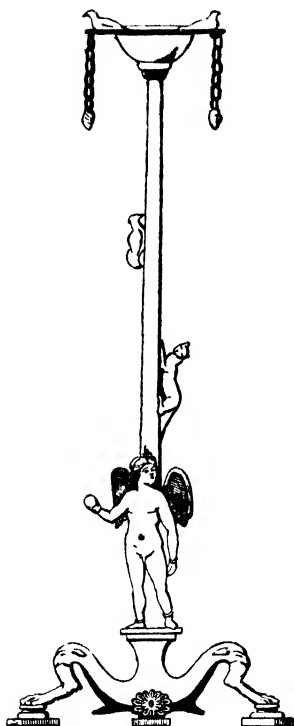
⁵ Plin. XXXIV. 18.

⁶ There is no doubt that it is either the figure mentioned by Dionysius (I. p. 65) as *χάλκεα ποτήματα παλαιᾶς ἐργασίας*, and by Livy (X. 23) as existing in the year of Rome, 457, or that recorded by Cicero as having been struck by lightning. De Divin. II. 20; in Catil. III. 8.

⁷ The brass gates from the spoils of Veii, which Camillus was accused of appropriating to himself (Plutarch, Camil.), were probably adorned with reliefs. Müller, Etrusk. IV. 3, 4.

⁸ Ap. Athen. XV. c. 18, p. 700. For *candelabra* see Vol. II. pp. 181, 447.

Critias, the son of Callæschrus, a contemporary of Mys, who reckons as the best of their sort the Etruscan gold-wrought cups, and bronzes of every sort for the decoration and service of houses;¹ by which we must understand *candelabra*, *crateres*, goblets, and even weapons?"²



ETRUSCAN CANDELABRUM.

Even Phidias himself gave to his celebrated statue of Minerva sandals of the Etruscan fashion.³ From all this we learn, that if Etruria was indebted to Greece for the excellence she attained in the representation of the human form, the latter was ready to admit, and to avail herself of the native skill and taste of her pupil. And well may it have been so; for it were impossible that the Greeks should not admire such works as the bronze lamp in the Museum of Cortona, the casket from Vulci, and the golden wreaths in the Museo Gregoriano, or the exquisite specimens of gold filagree-work in the same collection, and in that of Cavaliere Campana.

The art of statuary was very ancient in Italy. It was

¹ Athen. I. c. 22, p. 28.

² Müller, Etrusk. IV. 3, 4. Gerhard (Ann. Inst. 1837, 2, p. 143), however, is of opinion that these bronze works of the Etruscans had their origin in Greece. But the fact that Greek inscriptions have never been found on any of the Etruscan bronzes, seems opposed to this opinion. For the painted vases, which confessedly have a Greek origin, have almost invariably inscriptions in that language.

³ Pollux, VII. 22; cf. Plin. XXXVI. 4, 4. The Etruscans indeed paid particular attention to their feet—much more than the Greeks, who often went barefooted, whereas the former wore shoes or sandals, richly embossed and gilt, or fastened by gilt thongs. Pollux, loc. cit.; Plin. loc. cit.; Ovid. Amor. III. 13, 26. Thus Etruscan figures are often

either in wood or stone, the first being applied in very remote times to the images of the gods.¹ The Etruscans also made use of this primitive material ; for a very ancient Jupiter at Populonia was carved from the trunk of a vine.² Of their works in stone numerous specimens have come down to us, some on the façades or walls of their rock-hewn sepulchres, others in detached statues, but chiefly on sarcophagi and cinerary urns : for it was their custom to decorate these monuments with the effigies of the deceased, and with reliefs of various descriptions. The extant sculpture of Etruria is indeed almost wholly sepulchral. It is not in general so archaic or so peculiarly national in character as the works in metal, and betrays rather the influence of Greek than of Egyptian art. Yet it is from works of this description that we learn most of the manners, customs, inner life, and religious creed, as well as of the costume and personal characteristics of this singular people. The most archaic works of Etruscan sculpture are the *cippi*, or so-called "altars," of fetid limestone, from Chiusi and its neighbourhood, whose bas-reliefs show a purely native style of art ; together with a few full-sized figures in relief, like the warrior in the Museum of Volterra.³ The latest are the cinerary urns of Volterra and Perugia, which have often more of a Roman than a Greek character, and may sometimes be of Imperial times.⁴ There is often great boldness and expression in Etruscan sculpture, sometimes even higher qualities ; but it rarely attains the beauty and grace which are found in the pictorial and toreutic works of this people, and never the perfection of this art among the Greeks, to whom alone, it has been said, did heaven reveal the full sentiment of human beauty.⁵

represented naked in every other part but the feet. As in other articles of costume, the Etruscans here set the fashion to the Romans. It is probable that the sort of Etruscan *calceus*, which Servius (ad *Æn.* VIII. 458) says was worn by Roman senators, was the boot or buskin represented on the figures of the tombs of Tarquinii. For further notices on this subject, see Müller, *Etrusk.* I. 3, 10-11.

¹ Plin. XXXIV. 16.

² Plin. XIV. 2.

³ For the *cippi* of Chiusi, see Vol. II. p. 296, *et seq.* For the warriors in the Museum of Volterra and in the Palazzo Bonarroti of Florence, see Vol. II. pp. 96, 180.

⁴ Micali (*Ant. Pop. Ital.* II. p. 246) takes the Volterra urns to be, some of the seventh or eighth century of Rome, others as late as the Antonines, and others of still later date. See Vol. II. p. 179.

⁵ The inferiority of Etruscan sculpture may be partly attributed to

The sculpture of these sarcophagi and urns is often painted, not so much in imitation of nature, as in accordance with native conventionalities; for though a better taste is occasionally displayed, there is too often a total disregard of harmony, very unfavourable to the polychrome system of Etruria.

It may be well here to notice those works of the Etruscans which have been distinguished as sculptural, or graven, such as gems or *scarabæi* in stone, and *specula* or mirrors in bronze.

SCARABÆI.

Numerous as are Etruscan gems, none of them are cameos, or with figures cut in relief; all are intaglios; and all are cut into the form of the *scarabæus* or beetle. Nothing seems to indicate a closer analogy between Etruria and Egypt than the multitude of these curious gems found in this part of Italy. The use of them was, doubtless, derived from the banks of the Nile; but they do not seem to stand in the same archaic relation to Etruscan art as the other works which betray an Egyptian analogy. They appear, however, to have served the same purpose as in Egypt—to have been worn as charms or amulets, generally in rings; yet it is probable that the Etruscans adopted this relic of foreign superstition without attaching to it the same religious meaning as the Egyptians did, who worshipped it as a god—as a symbol of the great Demiurgic principle.¹ The Etruscan *scarabæi* have a marked difference from the Egyptian, in material, form, and decoration;² and the frequent repre-

the local stone, which except in the case of alabaster and travertine, neither used in very early times, was too coarse or too friable to do justice to the skill of the artist. The marble of Carrara, to which Rome was so much indebted, does not appear to have been known to the Etruscans, though that of the Maremma was; yet very few works of the Etruscan chisel in marble have come down to us. See Vol. II. p. 75.

¹ Pliny (XXX. 30) tells us the beetle received this adoration because it rolled balls of dirt, alluding to its habit of pushing backwards with its hind feet small bits of dung or earth—verily the most grovelling idea of Deity that the human mind ever conceived. Pliny adds that Apion, the Egyptian, who sought to excuse the degraded rites of his countrymen, explained the worship of the beetle by some similarity in it to the operations of the sun—"a curious interpretation," as Pliny remarks.

² The genuine Egyptian *scarabæi* are of smalt, porphyry, basalt, or some very hard stone; the Etruscan are of cornelian, sardonyx, and

sentations from the Greek mythology prove them to have no very early date.¹ From the heroic or palæstic subjects on these *scarabæi*, it is thought that they were symbols of valour and manly energy, and were worn only by the male sex.²

Scarabæi have rarely been found on more than two sites in Etruria—Chiusi and Vulci. At the latter they are always in tombs, but at Chiusi they are found on the soil in a certain slope beneath the city, called, from the abundance of such discoveries, “The Jewellers’ Field,” where they are turned up by the plough, or washed to light by the rains.³

SPECULA,

or mirrors, are round or pear-shaped plates of bronze, often gilt, or silvered, flat, but with the edge turned up, or slightly

agate, rarely of chalcedony; a few have been found of smalt. The Egyptian are truthful representations of the insect; the Etruscan are exaggerated resemblances, especially in the back, which is set up to an extravagant height. The flat or under part of the stone, which is always the side engraved, in the Egyptian bears hieroglyphics, or representations of deities; in the Etruscan, though sometimes with imitations of Egyptian subjects, it has generally figures or groups taken from the Greek mythology, of which the deeds of Hercules, or of the heroes of the Theban and Trojan wars, are the favourite subjects. More rare are figures of the gods, and of the chimæras and other symbols of the Etruscan creed. And not a few have palæstic representations. They often bear designatory inscriptions in Etruscan characters.

¹ Great difference of opinion has been entertained as to the date of these gems. Gori (Mus. Etrus. II. p. 437) supposed them to be coeval with, or even anterior to, the Trojan War. Winckelman, though maintaining their high antiquity, took more moderate views. But it is now the general opinion, founded on a more intimate acquaintance and a wider range of comparison, that they must be referred to a late, rather than to a very early period of Etruscan art.

² One, however, now in the possession of the Canon Pasquini of Chiusi, was found set in an earring of gold. Bull. Inst. 1837, p. 46.

³ See Vol. II. p. 329. *Scarabæi* are also found, though rarely, in other parts of Italy, as at Palestrina in Latium (Abeken, Mittelitalien, p. 325). They have also been discovered in Greece, *e.g.* a celebrated one, bearing a Greek inscription, found among the ruins of Ægina (Bull. Inst. 1840, p. 140), and one from Attica, now in the Museum of Athens (Ann. Inst. 1837, 2, p. 144). In the British Museum are two found at Leucas in Acarnania. Gerhard (Ann. Inst. loc. cit.) is even of opinion that these gems may have had their origin in Greece. They have been found also in Asia Minor (Bull. Inst. 1839, p. 104); and some have decided marks of a Babylonian or Phœnician origin. Bull. Inst. 1840, p. 141.

concave, having the outer side highly polished, and the inner adorned with figures scratched upon it. To the plate is attached a handle, often carved into some elegant form of life. The disk is seldom more than six or seven inches in diameter; it is generally encircled by a wreath of leaves, as shown in the specimen engraved for the illustration facing page 1 of this volume.¹

For a long time these instruments went by the name of *patera*, and were supposed to have served as ladles for flour, or other light dry substances, used in sacrifices. Inghirami was among the first to reject this idea, and show them to be mirrors²—a fact now established beyond a doubt.³ It is proved by representations of them, either on their own disks or on painted vases, in the hands of females, who are using them as such—by the high polish they often retain, so bright indeed, as sometimes to fit them for their original purpose,—and by the discovery of them in caskets, with other articles of the female toilet.⁴

¹ A few mirrors have been found without handles, but these are liable to be confounded with the *capsule*, or cases for these instruments, which are formed of two round plates ornamented in a similar manner, or sometimes with reliefs, and hinged together like the valves of an oyster-shell. No instances have been found of Etruscan mirrors in the precious metals, or adorned with precious stones, or of so vast a size as were used by the luxurious Romans—*Specula totis paria corporibus auro argenteoque cælata sunt, denique gemmis adornata.* Seneca, *Nat. Quæst.* I. 17.

² Inghir. *Mon. Etrus.* II. pp. 1-77.

³ Micali alone, to the last of his life, held to the old doctrine of *patera*, a word now so completely superseded by *specula*, that he who would use it in reference to these instruments would scarcely be intelligible.

⁴ *Ann. Inst.* 1840, p. 150; see also Gerhard's *Etruskische Spiegel*, pp. 82-4, for proofs of these instruments being mirrors. It would seem, however, from certain scenes on painted vases, where women washing at fountains are represented with these instruments in their hands, that they served a secondary purpose of casting water over the body, the concave side serving as a bowl to hold the liquid. *Ann. Inst.* 1840, p. 150—Braun. These mirrors are generally designated "mystic" by the Italians; and verily if mystic be synonymous with everything unreal, unlike nature, and incomprehensible, the term is often not misapplied, for never were there more grotesque and ludicrous distortions of form and feature than are to be found on many of them. He who turns over Gerhard's illustrated volumes will find amusement, as well as instruction. That learned antiquary, however, gives solid grounds for his belief that these mirrors have no mystic import, that they were instruments of personal rather than of sacred use, and served no other mysteries than those of the bath and toilet (p. 76).

Etruscan *specchj* may be divided into three classes.

First—those without any design on the inner surface. More than ordinary decoration is in these cases expended on the handles. Such mirrors, however, are very rare.

Secondly—those with figures in relief. These are also met with but seldom.¹

Thirdly—those with designs scratched on the inner surface. These may be subdivided according to the subjects which they bear. First, and most numerous, are those which have scenes taken from the cycle of Greek mythology, or heroic fable, always, however, illustrated by Etruscan inscriptions, and often nationalized by the introduction of Etruscan demons. Then those which bear representations or symbols of the divinities of the national creed, from the Nine Great Gods who wielded the thunder, through all the grades of their wild and multiform demonology, to the lowly Penates, the protectors of the individual hearth.² The last class portrays scenes of Etruscan life and manners; but of this a few instances only are known.

Every style of art will be found on these disks, from the feeblest and rudest efforts of its infancy to the free but careless outlines of the decadence; but it must be confessed that, except in a very few cases, such as that represented in the frontispiece to this volume, the elevation and perfection of the high style are not displayed.³ Yet there is no branch of Etruscan antiquities more genuinely native—none more valuable to the inquirer, for the information it yields as to the language and creed of that ancient race; for the inscriptions being always in the native character, and designatory of the individual gods or heroes represented, these mirrors

¹ A beautiful specimen of this class is that in the Museo Gregoriano, representing Aurora carrying Menion. See Vol. II. p. 452. Another, in the British Museum, represents Minerva overcoming Hercules.

² The most frequent representation is that of the winged goddess of Fate, sometimes called "Lasa" (Vol. II. p. 62), or of the Dioscuri.

³ The beautiful mirror, reproduced facing page 1, which formed the frontispiece to the original edition, represents "Phuphluns," or Bacchus, embracing his mother "Semla," or Semele. It was found at Vulci, and is in the possession of Professor E. Gerhard of Berlin, who has illustrated it in his *Etruskische Spiegel*, taf. LXXXIII; cf. *Mon. Ined. Inst. I. tav. LVI. A.* The illustration here presented to the British public is drawn by Mr. George Scharf, from a cast of the original, reduced to half its size. It is perhaps the most beautiful specimen of Etruscan design on metal that has come down to us.

become a sure index to the Etruscan creed,—“a figurative dictionary,” as Chevalier Bunsen terms it, of Etruscan mythology; while at the same time they afford us the chief source and one of the most solid bases of our acquaintance with the native language.¹

The art in which Etruscan genius and skill have achieved their greatest triumphs is PAINTING. This art is of very ancient date in Italy; for we hear of paintings at Cære, in Etruria, which were commonly believed to be earlier than the foundation of Rome.²

The pictorial remains of the Etruscans are of two kinds:—the scenes on the walls of sepulchres, and those on pottery.

PAINTED TOMBS.

This is a most important class of monuments, for the variety and interest of the subjects represented, and the light they throw on the customs, domestic manners, and religious creed of the Etruscans, as well as on the progress and extent of the pictorial art among them. We find these “chambers of imagery” chiefly in the cemeteries of Tarquinii and Clusium, though two have also been found at Cervetri, and a solitary one at Veii, Bomarzo, Vulci, and Vetulonia respectively,—all of which will be duly treated of in the course of this work. They show us Etruscan art in various periods and stages of excellence, from its infancy to its perfection; some being coeval, it may be, with the

¹ Bull. Inst. 1836, p. 18. Hitherto these mirrors have been considered as peculiarly Etruscan, but of late years others precisely like them have been found in the tombs of Athens and Ægina. Gerhard, *Ann. Inst.* 1837, 2, p. 143. Gerhard even supposes them to have had a Greek origin; but it is remarkable that though they have often Greek myths, and Greek names, not one has ever been found in Etruria with a Greek inscription, though the painted vases are almost invariably inscribed in that language. The same may be said of the other Etruscan works in bronze. *Ann. Inst.* 1834, p. 57—Bunsen. Several mirrors, however, have been found with Latin epigraphs. Gerhard. *Etrusk. Spieg. taf.* 147, 171, 182; Inghirami, *Mon. Etrus.* II. tav. 41.

² Plin. XXXV. 6. These paintings were extant in Pliny's day; so also some in temples at Ardea and Lanuvium, of nearly equal antiquity. He remarks on the speedy perfection this art attained, as it seemed not to have been practised in Trojan times.

foundation of Rome, others as late as the Empire; some almost Egyptian in character, others peculiarly native; some again decidedly Greek in imitation, if not in execution; others like the Roman frescoes of Pompeii and Herculaneum. There is the same wide range as exists between the works of Giotto or Cimabue, and those of Raffaello or the Caracci. In the tomb of Veii we have the rudeness and conventionality of very early art—great exaggeration of anatomy and proportions—and no attempt to imitate the colouring of nature, but only to arrest the eye by startling contrasts. In the earliest tombs of Tarquinii, though of later date, the Egyptian character and physiognomy are still most strongly pronounced. Of better style are other tomb-paintings on the same site, which have a native character, though preserving much conventionality of form and colouring. And better still are some which breathe of Greece, of the spirit and feeling of the Hellenic vases, where there is a grace of outline, a dignity and simplicity of attitude, and a force of expression, which prove the limner to have been a master of his art, though this was not wholly freed from conventional trammels. Later, more free and careless, are most of the paintings at Chiusi, where power is weakened by negligence, as though the artist scarcely regarded such work to be worthy of his pencil. Still later, with yet more freedom, mastery, and intelligence, are some of the scenes at Tarquinii, and one, not now extant, at Vulci, where rigidity and severity are laid aside, where foreshortening, grouping, composition, and even *chiaroscuro* are introduced; which display, in a word, all the ease and power of Roman frescoes of the close of the Republic or commencement of the Empire.

PAINTED VASES.

The painted vases form the most comprehensive and difficult subject connected with Etruscan art. The vast multitude that have been brought to light, the great variety of form, of use, of story and myth, of degree of excellence in the workmanship and design, the numerous questions connected with their origin and manufacture not yet satisfactorily answered, the wide diversity of opinions respecting them, render it impossible to treat fully of so extensive a

subject in a narrow compass. My remarks, then, must necessarily be brief, and are offered for the sake of elucidating the frequent references to Etruscan pottery made in the course of this work: and rather with the hope of exciting interest in this subject than with the expectation of satisfying inquiry.

The most ancient pottery of Etruria was not painted, but adorned with figures, either scratched on the moist clay, as in that of Veii, or left in flat relief, as in that of Cære, or in prominent and rounded relief, as in that of Clusium and its neighbourhood. The subjects represented are figures of deities, chimæras, and other symbols of the Etruscan creed: more rarely myths, and scenes illustrative of native life and customs. Though the most ancient in style, this pottery is not necessarily so in fact; as the peculiarities of a remote period may have been conventionally preserved, especially on sepulchral or sacred vessels, through a long course of ages.

The painted vases may be divided into three grand classes.

First—the EGYPTIAN, or, as it is sometimes called from the oriental deities and chimæras represented, the Phœnician or Babylonian-Phœnician style. By others, however, it is regarded as not of Egyptian or oriental origin, but as a variety of archaic Greek, particularly Doric;¹ and the fact of its being found in abundance in Sicily and Magna Græcia, and even in Greece itself, strongly confirms this view. Yet the term Egyptian does not seem misapplied, for the resemblance of the figures to that rigid style of art is obvious to the casual observer. This class of vases is undoubtedly the earliest; a fact proved by the rudeness of the design, the inferiority in form and workmanship, and the general primitive character.

The figures, which are painted on the pale yellow ground of the clay, are arranged in several bands round the vase, and are brown rather than black, varied occasionally with purple, white, or red. They consist chiefly of wild beasts—lions, panthers, wolves, boars; or of cattle—bulls, goats, rams, antelopes; or of chimæras—sphinxes, sirens, griffons, centaurs, and other compound, mystic beings; arranged in pairs of opposite natures, either facing each other or engaged

¹ Gerhard, *Ann. Inst.* 1831, pp. 15, 201; Bunsen, *Ann. Inst.* 1834, pp. 63–70.

in combat—the principle of antagonism being obviously set forth.¹ Mixed with them are quaint foliage and flowers, especially the lotus. If other figures are introduced, they are generally demons or genii, or the four-winged divinities of oriental worship.

The design on these vases corresponds in great part with that on the earliest painted tombs, such as that of Veii, and also with the most archaic Etruscan bronzes. Were we to seek analogies to the works of foreign lands, it would be to the earliest works of the Greek chisel—the reliefs in the metopes of the temple of Jupiter Agoræus, at Selinus, now in the Museum of Palermo, or to the Agamemnon, Talthybius, and Epeus, from Samothrace, now in the Louvre.

The Second Class of vases is that commonly designated ETRUSCAN, as though it were peculiar to this part of Italy; but it is found also in Campania, where it is called “Sicilian,” from its still greater abundance in that island. The more correct appellation would be “Archaic Greek,” for such is the character of the design; and the subjects and inscriptions attached are equally Hellenic.² This style is found on vases of much more beauty of form and workmanship, and of much greater variety than the former class; but the most common descriptions are the *amphora*, or wine-jar; the *hydria*, or water-jar, and the *celebe*, or mixing-vase.

This style is recognizable by its black figures on the ground of the clay, which is yellow, warming to red. The

¹ The favourite representation is that of a lion and boar, glaring angrily on each other. The notion of encounters between these animals must have been prevalent in very ancient times, as such representations are frequent on the most archaic vases, and on other early works of Greek art (Hesiod. Scut. Herc. 168). Nor is it yet obsolete, as we learn from the curious story of a combat between a lion and a boar, told by Mr. Hay in his entertaining work on “Western Barbarity” (Murray’s Colonial Library), of which the scenes on these Etruscan vases might serve as illustrations.

“‘God is great!’ said the lioness;—‘O God! all merciful Creator! What an immense boar! What an infidel! What a Christian of a pig!’

“‘May God burn your great-great-grandmother!’ said the boar.

“On hearing the creature curse her parent, the lioness stopped, and, lashing her tail, roared with a voice that the whole wood re-echoed, and she said, ‘There is no conqueror but God.’”

² So Gerhard designates it in his *Rapporto Volcente*, Ann. Inst. 1831, p. 18. Bunsen calls it Attic, in distinction to the Doric character of the preceding style.

flesh of females, the hair of old men, the devices on shields, and a few other objects, are painted white; the armour, also, is sometimes tinted purple, and red is occasionally introduced on the drapery.¹ The design is stiff, hard, severe, and full of conventionality; the attitudes are rigid and constrained, often impossible; the muscles are amusingly exaggerated; the hands and feet preposterously elongated. Yet there is frequently great spirit displayed, especially in the better works of this style, which are more free from the above defects, and show great truth and expression, remarkable vigour of conception, with a conscientious carefulness and neatness of execution quite surprising. As an instance of the latter qualities, I may cite the beautiful vase in the Gregorian Museum, representing Achilles and Ajax playing at dice.² Yet none of this class are wholly free from the severity of early art. The figures bear the same relation to the sculptures of Ægina that those of the later class of vases do to the marbles of the Parthenon; indeed, these may be called of the Æginetic school, for they correspond in date as well as in style.³ And though it may be doubted if all the extant pottery of this class can claim so remote an antiquity, and may not rather be a more recent imitation, the type of it indisputably belongs to a very early period of Greek art. It will be understood that whenever vases with *black figures* are mentioned in the course of this work, a strong degree of archaicism of design is always implied.⁴

The subjects on vases of this class are generally Greek—the deeds of Hercules or Theseus—scenes from the Trojan war—combats of the gods with the giants, and similar fables from the Hellenic mythology. Very numerous,

¹ In this class of vases, though the faces are invariably in profile, the eyes of the males are always round, those of the females long and almond-shaped, just of that form usually represented in Egyptian paintings.

² See Vol. II. p. 435. Vases with this same subject have been found in Greece, and Magna Græcia, as well as in Etruria. Professor Ross thinks it is copied from some famous picture. It is a proof of the unity of Greek art in different countries. Bull. Inst. 1841, p. 85.

³ As the art of the former class of vases resembles that of the metopes of Selinus mentioned above, the figures on this class may be said to correspond with two metopes from another temple at the same place, which represent Minerva overcoming a warrior.

⁴ It is this class of vases which is most abundant at Vulci.

also, are those of Dionysiac character. Sileni and Mænades dancing round the jolly god, who stands in the midst, crowned with ivy, and holding a vine-branch, a *thyrsus*, and a goblet of wine. Another common class of subjects is Panathenaic; representing on one side the great goddess of Attica brandishing her lance, between two Doric columns crowned with cocks; and on the other, foot, horse, or chariot-races, or the wrestling, boxing, or hurling-matches, which took place at the Attic festivals. Such vases, from the inscriptions they bear, are proved to have been given as prizes in the public games.¹ These subjects are peculiar to vases of this second class.

The third class of vases is justly denominated GREEK, as it partakes of the best art of that wonderful people. These vases are pre-eminent in elegance of form, in fineness of material and brilliancy of varnish, and in exquisite beauty of design, divested of that archaic severity and conventionality which distinguish the earlier styles. In this class the ground is always painted black, the figures being left of the natural reddish yellow of the clay.² The subjects are very similar to those of the second class, with the exception

¹ The inscription is TONAΘENEΘENAΘAON—τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἕθλων—sometimes with the addition of EMI for εἰμι, as in the first of these vases found at Athens, and now in the British Museum. It stands by the side of several similar vases found at Vulci in Etruria, and it is well to compare one of the original type with the foreign copies, which differ in several respects. For notices of the Panathenaic vases see Böckh, *Bull. Inst.* 1832, pp. 91–98; Ambrosch, *Ann. Inst.* 1833, pp. 64–89. The learned Padre Secchi, of Rome, maintains that this inscription intimates rather an imitation of the Athenian contests, than of the Athenian vases, and would interpret it, “one of the contests from Athens,” instead of “one of the prizes from Athens,” as is usually done. *Bull. Inst.* 1843, p. 75. Instead of the cocks on the columns, there are sometimes owls, panthers, or vases.

² The forms with which this style is associated are generally the *amphora*, the *calpis*, an elegant variety of the water-jar, the *crater*, or mixing-vase, the *olpe*, or jug, the *cylix* or drinking-bowl, and the *lecythus*, or cruet. It is for vases of this style that Nola is particularly renowned. These vases were often given as nuptial presents, or as prizes at the palæstric games; and are to be distinguished from the Panathenaic, or those given at the solemn public games, which had invariably black figures on a yellow ground. Vases of this third style with coloured figures on a white ground, like the *Silenus-crater* in the Gregorian Museum (Vol. II. p. 433), are very rare in Etruria, though not uncommon in Greece and her colonies; beautiful specimens of them are among the Athenian *lecythi* in the British Museum.

of the Panathenaic scenes; those of Bacchic character are also of less frequent occurrence, the predominating subjects being Greek myths, or representations of Greek manners. Little or nothing is to be learned from any of these painted vases of the customs, habits, traditions, or creed of the Etruscans;—with very few exceptions all are purely Greek.

No one can casually view the best works of this style without delight; and a more intimate acquaintance with them begets in the man of taste an unbounded admiration. They are the originals, in style at least, I say not in conception, of Flaxman's glorious outlines, and well would it be for the student of art to follow that master's example, and imbue his mind deeply with their various excellences. The dignity of the conception and force of expression, not unfrequently rising into the sublime, the purity and chasteness of taste, the truth and simplicity of the design, the delicacy of the execution, well entitle the best vases of this style to the appellation of "Perfect."¹ Rarely, indeed, perhaps never, do they attain the exalted excellence of the highest works of the Greek chisel, the perfection of the sculptures of the Parthenon; yet there is a mastery, a spirit of beauty about them which warrants us in regarding them as of the happiest and purest period of Hellenic art.

There is a fourth class of vases, rarely found in Etruria, but abundant in the Greek colonies of Italy, especially in the districts of Puglia and Basilicata. Like the last class, it has yellow figures on a black ground, but differs widely in style. The vases are often of enormous size and exaggerated proportions. The multitude of figures introduced, the complexity of the composition, the general inferiority and carelessness of the design, the flourish and lavishness of decoration—in a word, the absence of that chasteness and purity which give the Perfect style its chief charm, indicate these vases to belong, if not always to the period of decadence, at least to the verge of it, when art was beginning to trick herself out in meretricious embellishments, and to forget her sublime and godlike simplicity. The more recent date of this class is admitted on every hand.²

This is the name given them by Gerhard, *Ann. Inst.* 1831, p. 24.

² One of the most beautiful vases of this style, from Magna Græcia, is in the British Museum. It represents the Garden of the Hesperides. This style seems to bear the same relation to the preceding that the

What use can this multitude of vases have served? Though now found only in tombs, it must not be supposed that they were all originally of sepulchral application. Those with Panathenaic subjects were probably given, full of oil, as prizes at the national games, just as in Greece. Others may have been given at the palæstic fêtes, or as nuptial presents, or as pledges of love and friendship; and these are generally marked by some appropriate inscription. Many were doubtless articles of household furniture, for use or adornment;¹ and a few seem to have been expressly for sepulchral purposes, either as decorations of the tomb, or to contain the wine, honey, and milk, left as offerings to the *manes*,² or to make the customary libations, or more rarely to hold the ashes of the dead.³ There can be little doubt,

Phigaleian marbles do to those of the Parthenon. It is admitted to be as late as the sixth century of Rome, or two hundred years before Christ.

¹ Yet many of them are only varnished outside, and but partially—not at all within; so that they could not have served for liquids. Ann. Inst. 1831, p. 97. Many may have been used by the relatives at the *parentalia*, or funeral feasts, and left as sacred in the tomb.

² The notion of feeding the souls of the departed was very general among the ancients. In Egypt, for instance, the tomb of Osiris, in the Isle of Philæ in the Nile, contained 360 vessels—*choai*—which were daily filled with milk by the priests. Diod. Sic. I. p. 19, ed. Rhod. In Greece the souls were supposed to be fed by the libations and feasts held at the sepulchre. Lucian, de Luctu, p. 809, ed. 1615. And so in Italy, where the *manes* were appeased by libations of wine, milk, and blood; and the wailing-women therefore beat their breasts to force out the milk, and tore their flesh to make the blood flow; all for the satisfaction of the departed. Serv. ad Æn. V. 78. A similar custom, probably of equal antiquity, prevails in China, of making an annual “feast for the hungry ghosts.” It was the custom of the ancients to burn on the funeral pyre the vases containing oil, honey, or other offerings to the dead. Hom. Iliad. XXIII. 170; Virg. Æn. VI. 225; Serv. in loc. Vases are often found in the tombs of Etruria, as well as of Greece, and her colonies in Italy, which retain manifest proofs of subjection to fire.

³ This is sometimes the case with those of Sicily and Magna Græcia, especially of Apulia and Lucania; more rarely with those of Etruria. A curious but beautiful conceit on certain of these cinerary vases is uttered by Sir Thomas Browne, in his *Hydriotaphia*, chap. III. “Most imitate a circular figure, in a spherical and round composure; whether from any mystery, best duration, or capacity, were but a conjecture. But the common form with necks was a proper figure, making our last bed like our first; nor much unlike the urns of our nativity, while we lay in the nether part of the earth, and inward vault of our microcosm.”

whatever purposes they originally served, that these vases were placed in the tomb by the ashes of the deceased, together with his armour and jewellery, as being among the articles which he most prized in life.

That these vases are found in such multitudes in Etruria is the more astonishing when we remember that almost all the tombs which contain them bear manifest proofs of having been rifled in bygone times. It is extremely rare to find a virgin sepulchre. At Vulci, where the painted vases are most abundant, not more than one tomb in a hundred proves to be intact. It is obvious that those who in past ages violated these sepulchres were either ignorant of the value of the vases, or left them from superstitious motives—most probably the former, for they are often found broken to pieces, as though they had been dashed wantonly to the earth in the search for the precious metals. We know that the sepulchres of Corinth and of Capua were explored by the Romans in the time of Julius Cæsar, for the sake of these painted vases, which were called *necro-Corinthian*, and were then highly prized and of immense value; the art of making them having been lost;¹ but how it came to pass that the Romans never worked the vast mines of the same treasures in Etruria, some almost within sight of the Seven-hilled City, it is difficult to comprehend. They could hardly have been ignorant of the custom of the Etruscans to bury these vases in their sepulchres, and religious scruples could not have deterred them from spoliation in Etruria more than in Greece or the south of Italy. Such, however, is the fact, and the abundance of these vases in Etruscan tombs forbids us to believe that the extensive system of rifling, to which they have evidently been subjected, was by Roman hands. It was more probably carried forward at the

¹ Strabo (VIII. p. 381) says the Romans did not leave a tomb untouched at Corinth in their search for the vases and bronzes. Sueton., J. Cæs. LXXXI. Robbers of tombs were not uncommon in ancient times, in Egypt and Greece as well as in Italy, and were execrated, as resurrectionists are at the present day.

Pliny states that in his time fictile vases, by which he probably means those that were painted, fetched more money than the celebrated Murrhine vases, the cost of which he records (XXXV. 46; XXXVII. 7); and which are supposed to have been of porcelain. That these painted vases were very rare in his day is confirmed by the fact that not one has been discovered among the ruins of Pompeii or Herculaneum.

close of the Empire, or by the barbarian hordes who overran Italy in the early part of our era.¹ Plunder was obviously the sole object, for the tombs of the poor, though opened, are left untouched; while those of the rich have been despoiled of the precious metals, the vases have been thrown down, the sarcophagi and urns overturned, and everything left in confusion, as though no corner had been unransacked. In the middle ages, traditions of subterranean treasures were rife in this land, and sorcerers were applied to for their discovery,² but it does not appear that any systematic researches were carried forward, as in earlier times, and again in our own day.

In the consideration of these vases the question naturally arises—if they are mostly of so foreign a character, either oriental or Greek, how came they in Etruscan tombs? This is a question which has puzzled many a learned man of our age. At the first view of the matter, when the purely Hellenic nature of the design and subjects, and especially the inscriptions in the Greek characters and language, are regarded, the natural response is that they must have been imported; a view which receives confirmation from the recorded fact of an extensive commerce in pottery in ancient times.³ Yet when, on the other hand, the enormous quantities of these vases that have been found in the Etruscan soil, are borne in mind—when it is remembered

It is known that Theodoric, the Goth, sanctioned the spoliation of ancient sepulchres, yet restricted it to the precious metals, commanding the ashes to be left—"quia nolumus lucra quæri, quæ per funesta scelera possunt reperiri;" and he justified his decree on the ground that that was not stolen which had no owner, and that that ought not to be left with the dead, which would serve to keep the living—"aurum enim sepulcris juste detrahitur, ubi dominus non habetur: immo culpæ genus est inutiliter abditis relinquere mortuorum, unde se vita potest sustentare viventium. Non est enim cupiditas eripere quæ nullus se dominus ingemiscat amisisse." Cassiodor. Var. IV. 34. The same feeling was shown in the laws of the Twelve Tables, which forbade the burial of gold in sepulchres,—"*Neve aurum addito*,"—unless the teeth of the corpse happened to be fastened with it. "*Quoi auro dentes vincti escunt, ast im cum illo sepelire urereve, se fraude esto.*" Cicero, de Leg. II. 24.

¹ Micali, Mon. Ined. p. 362.

² Plin. XXXV. 46.—*Hæc per maria terrasque ultro citroque portantur, insignibus rotæ officinis.* The pottery of Athens was carried by the Phœnician traders to the far western coast of Africa, and bartered for leopard-skins and elephant-teeth. See Grote's Greece, III. p. 364.

that these spoils of the dead that within the last twenty years only have been reaped by the excavator, may be reckoned, not by hundreds, or even thousands, but by myriads, and that what have hitherto been found on a few sites only, can bear but a very small proportion to the multitudes still intombed,—when the peculiarities of style attaching to particular localities are considered, the pottery of each site having its distinguishing characteristics, so that an experienced eye is seldom at a loss to pronounce in what cemetery any given vase was found—it must be admitted that there are strong grounds for regarding them as of native manufacture.¹ Antiquaries, however, are much divided in opinion as to the origin of these vases; some maintaining them all to be imported from Greece or her colonies; others, to be of Etruscan manufacture; and others, again, endeavouring to reconcile conflicting facts by imagining an extensive population of Greeks settled for ages in Etruria, or at least bodies of Hellenic artists, like the masonic corporations of the middle ages.

But after all what are the speculations of most antiquaries worth, where there are no historic records for guidance, and few other palpable data from which to arrive at the truth—where, in a word, the question resolves itself into one of artistic feeling, as much as of archæological erudition?²

¹ There are, moreover, facts which confirm this view. The inscriptions, though in Greek characters, are not unfrequently utterly unintelligible—such collocations of letters as are foreign to every dialect of Greek. Half a dozen consonants, for instance, occur in juxtaposition. *Ann. Inst.* 1831, pp. 72, 122, 171, *et seq.* This unknown tongue, which is frequently found on vases of the Archaic style, may, in some cases, thinks Gerhard, be Etruscan in Greek letters. *Ann. Inst.* 1831, p. 171. In the place of characters a row of dots is sometimes found, as though the copyist would not venture to imitate what he did not comprehend, or as though it were an attempt of the blind to mislead the blind. Yet from the extensive commercial intercourse of Etruria with Greece and her colonies, many of the Etruscans must have known Greek. Sometimes a genuine inscription appears to have been incorrectly copied, the blunders being such as could hardly have been made by Greeks. Many of the vases also have Etruscan monograms, beneath the foot, scratched in the clay apparently before it was baked. On the vases of Nola such monograms are also found, but in Oscan characters. Gerhard, *Ann. Inst.* 1831, pp. 74, 177. Another argument for the Italian manufacture of these vases is that the shields of Minerva, on those of Panathenaic character, often bear the devices of the Italian cities. *Bull. Inst.* 1843, p. 75.

² “Des jugemens qui émanent du sentiment,” observes a shrewd and

Not to every man is it given to penetrate the mysteries of art—to distinguish the copy from the original in painting or sculpture. Long experience, extensive knowledge, and highly-cultivated taste, are requisite for the discernment of those minute, indefinite, indescribable, but not less real and convincing differences between the original and the imitation. So it is with the ceramographic art. When men, who to vast antiquarian attainments add the experience of many years, whose natural taste has led them to make ancient art in general, but vases in particular, their express study—who have visited every collection in Europe, and have had thousands of specimens year after year submitted to their inspection and judgment—when such men as Gerhard and Braun, renowned throughout Europe for their profound knowledge of the archæology of art, give their opinion that there is something about most of the vases of Etruria, something in form, design, or feeling, which stamps them as imitations of those of Greece, obviously distinguishable, by them, from the genuine pottery of Attica—we may be content to receive their opinion as decisive, though unable personally to verify it.¹

It is worthy of remark that most of the painted vases of Etruria are imitations of those of Athens. The deities represented are chiefly Attic—Minerva, Neptune, Apollo Diana, Mercury, Bacchus, and Ceres. The myths also are

learned Frenchman, “peuvent difficilement se réduire en règle, et, sous ce rapport, beaucoup d’amateurs presque ignorans l’emporteraient sur les plus célèbres antiquaires, parceque, pour l’antiquité figurée, les livres et les plus vastes études suppléent moins au goût, que le goût et l’intelligence ne peuvent suppléer à l’érudition.” Duc de Luynes, *Ann. Inst.* 1832, p. 146.

¹ This does not preclude the supposition that some of the vases found in Etruria are of Greek manufacture, either imported from Greece or her colonies, or made by Greek residents in the former land. Gerhard would divide Etruscan vases into three classes.

I. Those purely Greek in character.

II. Those also Greek, but modified as if by Greek residents in Etruria.

III. Those of Etruscan manufacture, in imitation of Greek.

It is clear that though the art of painted pottery originated in Greece, it was more highly developed in Etruria and other parts of Italy. For there is a much greater variety of form and style in the vases of these countries than in those of Greece, and those descriptions common to both lands are carried to a much larger size in Italy. Gerhard, *Bull. Inst.* 1832, p. 75; *Ann. Inst.* 1837, 2, pp. 134, *et seq.*

generally Attic; so are the public games, and the scenes taken from ordinary life. Even the inscriptions, with a few exceptions, are in Attic Greek,¹ and belong, says Gerhard, to a period of short duration, and which can be determined with precision, being confirmed by the forms of the vases, by the design, and subjects represented. It was not prior to the 74th Olympiad (484 B.C.), nor later than the 124th (284 B.C.)—or between the third and fifth centuries of Rome, when the Greek colonies of Italy were in the height of their power, and before Etruria had lost her independence.² The Attic character of these vases is the more remarkable, as from the only record we have of Greek artists emigrating to Etruria—namely, with Demaratus, the Corinthian—we might have expected that Doric inscriptions would have prevailed, as on the vases of Sicyon, whereas the fact is that such inscriptions are of very rare occurrence, found only on pottery of the most archaic character.

But there are certain vases not mentioned above, because of so rare occurrence as hardly to form a class, which are undoubtedly of Etruscan manufacture; as they bear both Etruscan subjects and Etruscan inscriptions.³ I am enabled

¹ The inscriptions are for the most part designatory; the several figures having their appellations attached. The names of the potter and painter are also not unfrequently recorded; the former being united with ΕΠΟΙΕΙ or ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ; the latter with ΕΓΡΑΦΕ. Other inscriptions refer to the possessor of the vase, and either mention his name with the addition of ΚΑΛΟΣ, or have merely the latter word alone, or ΗΟ ΠΑΙΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ, showing the vase to have been a gift to some "beautiful youth." When this inscription is repeated in the feminine, it probably marks a nuptial present. Other salutatory expressions are sometimes found, such as ΧΑΙΠΕ ΣΥ "hail to thee!" or ΗΟΖΟΝΔΕΠΟΤΕΕΥΦΟΝ "happy as possible!" On those of domestic use we often find ΧΑΙΠΕΚΑΙΠΙΕΙ—"hail, and drink!" or sometimes ΠΙΕΙΜΕ "drink me!" as though the goblet itself were speaking. The inscription on the Panathenaic vases has already been mentioned. The places where the vases were made are never indicated, as on the red pottery of Arretium.

² Ann. Inst. 1831, pp. 99, *et seq.* 201; Bull. Inst. 1831, pp. 164-7. Bunsen assigns the vases of the best or latest style to a period between the 74 and 94 Olympiads (484-404 B.C.). Ann. Inst. 1834, p. 62. Those of the first or Egyptian style must be of much higher antiquity, perhaps as early as the 50th Olympiad, or 580 B.C.; and some may even belong to the time of Demaratus, or 660 B.C. Abeken, *Mittelitalien*, p. 292.

³ In 1834 very few of this class were known. One was an *amphora* of ancient style, having birds with human heads—and the inscription in Etruscan letters "Kape Mukathesa." Another, a *stamnos* in the third

to offer to the notice of the reader a specimen of these vases more remarkable than any yet discovered. It is an *amphora*, in the late style, with a Bacchic dance on one side,¹ and on the other a striking scene of the parting of Admetus and Alcestis, whose names are attached, between the figures of Charun armed with his hammer, and another demon brandishing serpents. I have given it, as a very rare and curious specimen of undoubted Etruscan ceramography, as a frontispiece to the second volume of this work.²

style, showed a Victory writing the Etruscan word "Lasna" in an open book. Two other *amphoræ* of late style had inscriptions in a mixture of Greek and Etruscan, and one had the name "Aruns" in Etruscan on the handle. Two others were *crateres*—one with Ajax, Penthesilea, and Actæon in Etruscan characters; the other with Ajax slaying a Trojan captive, and "Charun" standing by, ready to seize his victim. Ann. Inst. 1831, pp. 73, 175; 1834, pp. 54-56; pp. 264-294; Mon. Ined. Inst. II. tav. VIII. IX.

¹ See the woodcut at the head of the Introduction.

² This *amphora* was found at Vulci, and is now in the possession of Dr. Emil Braun of Rome, through whose kindness I am enabled to offer this illustration, reduced from a tracing of the original, reproduced facing page I of Vol. II. The scene represents Admetus—"ATMITE"—at his last hour, when the winged messenger of Death is come to claim him, and threatens him with serpents. As it had been decreed by the Fates that if one of his nearest relatives would become his substitute his life would be spared, his wife Alcestis—"ALCSTI," in Etruscan—comes forward to devote herself in his room, and takes a farewell embrace, while a second demon, apparently Charun himself, stands behind her with his mallet raised, about to strike the fatal blow.

The inscription between the last two figures would run thus in Roman letters—"ECA. ERSCE. NAC. ACHRUM. PHLERTHRCE." It has been considered by Dr. Braun (Bull. Inst. 1847, pp. 81-86) to imply that Eca (a proper name) dedicated this vase to Acheron. But if I may suggest another version, in a matter which must be principally conjecture, I would say that "Eca" can hardly be a proper name, for it is found frequently in connection with Suthi, as a formula, on sepulchral monuments, and is probably equivalent to *hæc*, or *ecce*. "Ersce," in which Dr. Braun finds an analogy to *ἐργον*, I would interpret by one of the few Etruscan words whose meaning has come down to us from the ancients—*arse*, which Festus says meant *averte*. "Nac" is a particle, to which we have no clue, and whose meaning must be learned from the rest of the sentence. "Achrum" is apparently Acheron. Whether "Phlerthrc" be one word or two, its meaning is pretty obvious, for "Phlere," or "Phleres," occurs frequently on votive bronzes, and in connection with "Turce," and is generally admitted to be a dedicatory formula. The meaning of the whole, then, I take to be this—"Lo! she saves him from Acheron, and makes an offering of herself." For another interpretation see Bull. Inst. 1847, pp. 86-88.

With the vases I close my notices of Etruscan art.

Such is the people to whose Cities and Cemeteries I propose to conduct the reader. From what has been already stated, he will expect to find traces of no mean degree of civilization, and should he test my descriptions with his own eyes, I think he will not be disappointed. The Etruscans were undoubtedly one of the most remarkable nations of antiquity—the great civilizers of Italy—and their influence not only extended over the whole of the ancient world, but has affected every subsequent age, and has not been without effect, however faint, on the civilization of the nineteenth century, and of regions they never knew.

When we consider the important part they played among the nations of old, it is astonishing that the records of them are so vague and meagre. They did not, it is true, like the Greeks and Romans, trumpet their own fame to posterity, or at least, if it cannot be said

—nulli nota poetæ
Illa fuit tellus, jacuit sine carmine sacro,

none of the works of their poets and historians have come down to us.¹ And thus, had it not been for their tombs, we should have known them only through the representations of the Greeks and Romans, which would give us a false and most unfavourable impression. For the Greeks describe them as pirates and robbers,² or as effeminate debauchees;³

¹ "Troy herself," says Philostratus, "would not have been, had not Homer lived. He was verily the founder of Ilium" (cited by Lanzi, *Sagg.* II. p. 174).

² Many of the passages containing this charge refer doubtless to the Tyrrhene-Pelasgi rather than to the Etruscans, properly so called, but as the former race formed an ingredient in the population of Etruria, it is difficult always to draw the distinction. Yet there is still evidence enough to convict the Etruscans of this practice. Strabo, V. pp. 219, 220; VI. p. 267; Diod. Sic. V. p. 292; XI. p. 66. The Romans also laid this charge distinctly to the Etruscans. Cicero, *de Repub.* II. 4; Serv. ad *Æn.* VIII. 479; X. 184. See Niebuhr, I. p. 127, *et seq.* Piracy, however, in those days, he it remembered, was an honourable profession—a legitimate field for glory. Thucyd. I. 5; Justin. XLIII. 3.

³ For the charges of inordinate luxury see the statements of Timæus, Posidonius, and Theopompus, ap. Athen. IV. c. 13, p. 153; XII. c. 3, pp. 517, 518; Diod. Sic. V. p. 316; Dion. Hal. II. p. 105; IX. p.

the Romans brand them as sluggards,¹ gluttons, and voluptuaries.² Yet the former acknowledged their power at sea, their commercial importance, and their artistic skill; and the latter were forced to confess that to Etruria they owed most of their institutions and arts: still neither have paid that tribute to her civilization which we have now learned to be due, and the Romans have not acknowledged their full amount of "indebtedness" to it—a fact which is seen in the silence or merely incidental acknowledgment of their historians and poets, who would willingly have referred all the refinement of Rome to a Hellenic source.

Though the ancients were reluctant to admit the full worth of Etruria, I can scarcely think with Niebuhr, that she has received from the moderns more than her due share of attention and praise. How far we Transalpiners of the nineteenth century are indebted to her civilization is a problem hardly to be solved; but indelible traces of her influence are apparent in Italy. That portion of the Peninsula where civilization earliest flourished, whence infant Rome received her first lessons, has in subsequent ages maintained its pre-eminence. It was on the Etruscan soil that the seeds of culture, dormant through the long winter of barbarism, broke forth anew when a genial spring smiled on the human intellect: it was in Etruria that immortality

575. Niebuhr (I. p. 141) rejects the statements of Theopompus on this head, not only on account of his being unworthy of credit, but because "there are no licentious representations on any Etruscan works of art." Though the accounts of Theopompus may be exaggerated, as Müller (Etrusk. I. 3, 12) supposes, yet Niebuhr is greatly mistaken as to the purity of the Etruscans. For to say nothing of the painted vases, which are illustrative rather of Greek than Etruscan manners, and on which the most abominable indecencies ever conceived are sometimes represented, there is evidence enough on works of undoubtedly Etruscan art, such as sepulchral paintings and bronze mirrors, to convict the Etruscans of being little or no better than their neighbours in purity of life.

¹ Virg. *Æn.* XI. 732—*Semper inertes Tyrrheni!*

² Virg. *Æn.* XI. 736—

At non in Venerem segnes nocturnaque bella;
Aut, ubi curva choros indixit tibia Bacchi,
Expectare dapes, et plenæ pocula mensæ.
Hic amor, hoc studium.

was first bestowed on the lyre, the canvass, the marble, the science of modern Europe. Here arose

“the all Etruscan three—
Dante and Petrarch, and scarce less than they,
The Bard of Prose, creative spirit ! he
Of the Hundred Tales of love.”

It was Etruria which produced Giotto, Brunelleschi, Fra Angelico, Luca Signorelli, Fra Bartolemeo, Michel Angelo,¹ Hildebrand, Macchiavelli, “the starry Galileo,” and such a noble band of painters, sculptors, and architects, as no other country of modern Europe can boast. Certainly no other region of Italy has produced such a galaxy of brilliant intellects. I leave it to philosophers to determine if there be anything in the climate or natural features of the land to render it thus intellectually prolific. But much may be owing to the natural superiority of the race, which, in spite of the revolutions of ages, remains essentially the same, and preserves a distinctive character ;² just as many traits of the ancient Greek, Gaul, German, and Spaniard may be recognized in their modern descendants. The roots of bygone moral, as well as physical, culture, are not easily eradicated. The wild vine and olive mark many a desert tract to have been once subject to cultivation. And thus ancient civilization will long maintain its traces even in a degenerate soil, and will often germinate afresh on experiencing congenial influences—

“The wheat three thousand years interred
Will still its harvest bear.”

How else comes it that while the Roman of to-day preserves much of the rudeness of modern times—while the Neapolitan in his craft and wiliness betrays his Greek origin—the Tuscan is still the most lively in intellect and imagination, the most highly endowed with a taste for art and literature? May it not be to the deep-seated influences of early civilization that

¹ Raffaello also, if he does not belong strictly to Etruria Proper, was born not far from the frontiers, and in a region that was possessed by the Etruscans. Besides he was educated in the Perugian school. Yet if we were to claim as the sons of Etruria the natives of those lands beyond the Apennines and the Tiber which once belonged to her, there would be very few illustrious Italian names, either of ancient or modern times, which would be excluded from the category.

² Micali (Ant. Pop. Ital. I. p. 101 ; III. p. 11, maintains the analogy, in physiognomy and craniological development, between the ancient Etruscans and the modern inhabitants of Tuscany.

he owes that superior polish and blandness of manner, which entitle Tuscany pre-eminently to the distinction claimed for it of being "a rare land of courtesy"?

APPENDIX TO THE INTRODUCTION

VASES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO FORM AND USE

THE Vases found in Etruscan tombs are of various forms, and served different purposes; therefore, to enable the reader to understand the frequent mention made of them under their technical names in the course of this work, I here arrange them under their respective classes.

The names of these vases are ascertained, sometimes from the descriptions of the ancients, sometimes from monumental sources, being attached to vases in ancient paintings (see Vol. II. p. 104); but it must be confessed that in many cases they are applied conventionally.

Class I.—Vases for holding wine, oil, or water—*amphora*, *pelice*, *stamnos*.

II.—Vases for carrying water—*hydria*, *calpis*.

III.—Vases for mixing wine and water—*crater*, *celebe*, *oxybaphon*.

IV.—Vases for pouring wine, &c.—*amphora*, *olpe*, *prochous*.

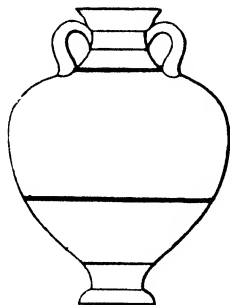
V.—Vases for drinking—*cantharus*, *cyathus*, *carchesion*, *holcion*, *scyphus*, *cylix*, *lepaste*, *phiale*, *ceras*, *rhyton*.

VI.—Vases for ointments or perfumes—*lecythus*, *alabastron*, *ascos*, *bombylios*, *aryballos*, *cotylicosc*.

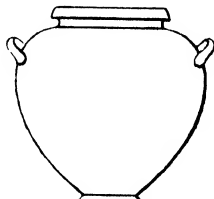
Class I.—VASES FOR HOLDING OR PRESERVING LIQUIDS.



PELICE



AMPHORA.



STAMNOS.

The *amphora* is a two-handled vase of various forms and sizes, but is generally tall and full-bellied. That in the above woodcut is one of the Panathenaic vases, which taper below more than those of the later style. The *amphora* represented at the head of this Introduction is of a form not usual in Etruria, as regards the width of the mouth and the elevation of the handles, though common enough in Magna Græcia. It is seen, however, in the Monarch of Etruscan vases, found at Chiusi, and now in the Uffizj, at Florence. The *amphoræ* of the south of Italy are generally more slender, and with more fanciful handles, than those of Etruria. This is perhaps the most common of all vases ; it is found in connection with every style of art.

The *pelice* is distinguished from the *amphora* by narrowing upwards to the mouth. It is of comparatively rare occurrence in Etruria, and found chiefly in connection with the Third or Perfect style.

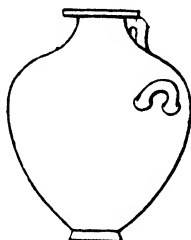
The *stamnos* is principally connected with the same style, and is a very high-shouldered, short-necked, plethoric vase. By Gerhard this is referred to the class of mixing-jars.

Class II.—WATER-JARS.

The characteristic of water-jars is that they have three handles, two at the shoulders, and one at the neck. *Hydria*



HYDRIA.



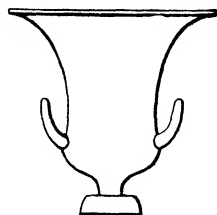
CALPIS.

is the generic term, but when used specifically this is applied to those vases with a squareness about the shoulders, as shown in the woodcut ; while the *calpis* is a more elegant variety, with the shoulders rounded off. See Vol. II. p. 427. But this distinction is conventional. The *hydria* is generally in connection with the earlier

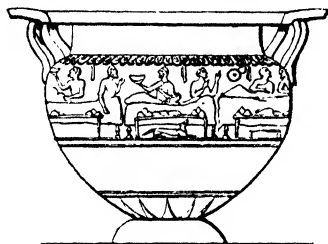
styles, with black figures, the *calpis* with the later, with red figures on a black ground. These water-jars were used by females alone ; for whenever men are represented carrying water, it is invariably in an *amphora*.

Class III.—MIXING-JARS.

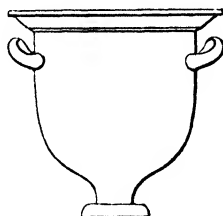
These are characterized by their wide mouths, for the convenience of dipping the cups or ladles ; for the wine having been brought in the *amphora* to the banquet, was there mixed with water, and handed round to the guests. *Crater* is the generic term, its name being expressive of its use ; but it is applied specifically to the elegant form shown in the woodcut, which is confined to the third style of painting. The more archaic style is generally connected in Etruria with the *celebe*, which is known by its peculiar pillared handles. Vases of this form are more commonly found in Sicily and Magna Græcia than in Etruria. The *oxybaphon* is another bell-shaped vase, not of frequent occurrence in Etruria, though common in Magna Græcia. By some the name has been supposed to mark it as a vinegar-cup,—being derived from $\omicron\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\varsigma$ and $\beta\acute{\alpha}\pi\tau\omega$; but as its form and size establish an



CRATER.



CELEBE.



OXYBAPHON.

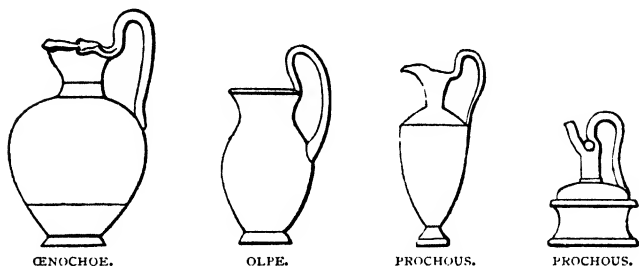
analogy to the *crater*, the “sharpness” in its etymology must refer rather to time than to taste, and its name must be significant of “dipping quickly.” It is found only in connection with the later styles.

Class IV.—JUGS.

The *anochoe*, or “wine pourer,” is the jug in which the wine was transferred from the *crater* to the goblets of the guests ; but the term is used generically in reference to any pitcher or ewer. The annexed woodcut shows its ordinary form in painted pottery ; varieties in the black relieved ware of Chiusi are shown, Vol. II. pp. 83, 309 ; and others of fantastic description

are not uncommon, like that in bronze represented in the woodcut, Vol. II. p. 451.

The *prochous* is but a smaller variety of the *anochoë*, being

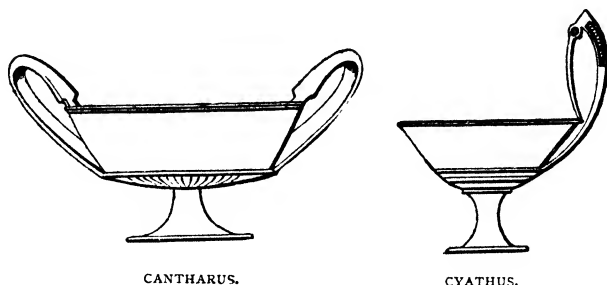


used for the same purpose, or as a water-jug; though some varieties of it, as the long-beaked one in the above woodcut, seem better adapted to the pouring of oil at the palæstic exercises.

The term *olpe*, properly designatory of a leathern oil-flask, is conventionally applied to that description of jug which has no spout, but an even rim or lip, as shown in the above illustration. This form is generally associated with the most archaic styles of painting.

These three terms are all of generic application, and the distinction here drawn is conventional.

Class V.—CUPS AND GOBLETS.



The drinking bowls of the ancients were of various forms. The most ordinary, perhaps, is the *cantharus*, or two-handled cup, which was particularly sacred to Bacchus. Plin. XXXIII. 53; Macrob. Saturn. V. 21. This is rarely found with paintings,

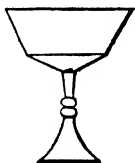
in Etruria at least, where it is generally of plain ware. The vase takes its name from some fancied resemblance in its form to that of the beetle—*κάνθαρος*—though some derive it from the name of its inventor. Philetærus, ap. Athen. XI. p. 474.

The *cyathus* has a single handle, and like the *cantharus*, is often represented in the hands of Bacchus on the painted vases. Unlike the *cantharus*, it is frequently found in painted pottery, an instance of which is given Vol. II. p. 442. The *cyathus* was also a measure among the Greeks and Romans, equal to $\frac{2}{3}$ of a pint.

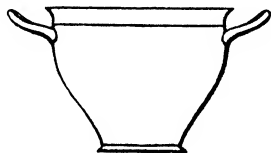
The *carchesion* much resembled the *cantharus*, but was larger, heavier, and compressed in the middle. It is very rarely met with. Macrobius (V. 21) says it was extremely rare among the Greeks, and never found among the Latins. The finest specimen I have seen in Etruria is in the black ware of Chiusi, in the possession of Cavalier Terrosi of Cetona. It is represented below. See Micali, Mon. Ined. tav. XXXI. 7.

The term *holcion* is applied to a bowl like the *cantharus*, but without handles.

The *scyphus* was a full-bellied bowl used by the lower orders.



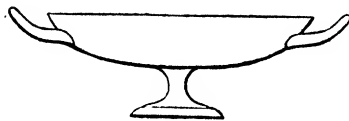
HOLCION.



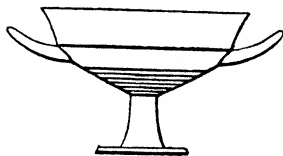
SCYPHUS.

It was the cup of Hercules, as the *cantharus* was that of Bacchus. Menander, ap. Macrob. V. 21. It has often a pointed bottom, so that to be laid down it must be inverted. This sort of goblet, however, from the thing it resembled, was called *mastos*. Apollod. ap. Athen. XI. p. 487.

The *cylix*, the most elegant of all these goblets, is a wide flat



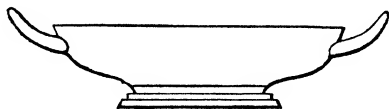
CYLIX.



CYLIX.

bowl on a slender foot. Another illustration of this sort of vase is given, Vol. I. p. 420. These vases are generally painted

inside as well as out ; but in the more compact variety, shown in the woodcut, the paintings are mostly confined to the interior. The Romans called these vases *calices*, and they are now generally termed *patera*, though that word applies more strictly to the *phiale*, or bowl without any stand, such as are shown in the



LEPASTE.

banqueting scene on the *celebe*, at page 75. The *lepaste* differs from the *cylix* in having a much shorter foot ; it borrows its name from the limpet — *λεπάς*. This form is

rare in Etruria. When the bowl was deeper, more like a basin than a saucer, and had a lid, it was called *lecane*.

The *ceras* was originally the horn of some animal adapted as a drinking cup ; it was succeeded by the *rhyton*, a fantastic goblet terminating in some animal's head ; which is more particularly described in Vol. II. p. 85. The *rhyton* is said by Athenæus (xi. p. 497) to have been invented by Ptolemy Philadelphus, scarcely three centuries before Christ, yet he also cites the word as used by Demosthenes (p. 496). But it is never found in connection with the earlier styles of vase-painting.



RHYTON.

Class VI.—OINTMENT AND PERFUME VASES.

Of this class the generic term is *lecythus*, but this is specifically applied to tall slender-necked vases of elegant forms, which are much more abundant in the tombs of Greece, Sicily, and Magna Græcia, than in those of Etruria, and present some of the most exquisite specimens of Hellenic ceramography.



LECYTHUS.

Most Etruscan tombs, indeed, are without vases of this description, but in those of Greece they were always placed by the corpse. Aristoph. Eccles. 534, 988, 1024. And in the Greek sepulchres of Sicily and Italy they are found not only arranged round the body, but also laid on the breast, while *cylices* were placed between the legs. See Stackelberg's *Graeber der Hellenen*, taf. VIII. In Sicily they are often of large size. Many beautiful *lecythi* from the tombs of Athens are preserved in the British Museum. Some are painted with various colours on a white ground ; a description very rare in Etruria. Others retain manifest proofs of having been burnt on the funeral pyre.

The *aryballos* receives its name from its resemblance to a purse. Three varieties of it are shown in the annexed woodcut. The first is often, and not improperly, called a *lecythus*; it is much more abundant in Magna Græcia[†] than in Etruria. When the second is without a handle, it is termed *cymbe*.



ARYBALLI.

Not unlike the *aryballos* is the *bombylios*, a narrow-necked pot, so called from the gurgling sound caused by the flow of the liquid from it.

The *ascos* is so called from its resemblance to a leathern bottle.



BOMBYLIOS.



ASCOS.



COTYLISCOS.

Pots of this form are still common in the south of Europe, especially in Spain and Portugal, where they are used for water. I have two on my table; one I brought from Cadiz, the other from

an Etruscan tomb; which, though very different in size and material, are precisely alike in form, so that it is difficult to believe that more than two thousand years have intervened between the dates of their manufacture.

The *cotyliscos* is a small pot with a single handle, in other respects like an *amphora* in miniature. Panofka, however, considering the etymology of this term, would apply it to vases of the form designated above by the name of *scyphus*. Bull. Inst. 1832, p. 67.



ALABASTRON.

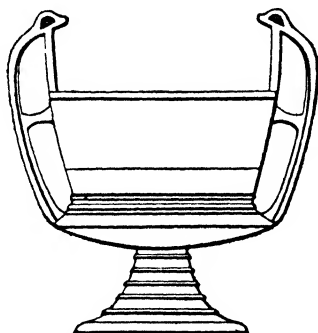
The *alabastron* is a name applied to those forms of ointment-vases, which have no feet; and to such as are in the shape of animals—hares, monkeys, ducks—or of heads and limbs of the human body. An instance is given in the annexed woodcut of an *alabastron* of stone from Chiusi, carved into female faces above, and having a hole in the crown for pouring out the ointment or perfume. Another example of an *alabastron* in the shape of a figure of Isis is given in the cut, Vol.



ALABASTRON.

I. p. 447. The most ordinary form of this pot, especially when of glass, is shown in the small cut annexed.

In the nomenclature of these vases I have mostly followed Gerhard, as his system is now generally adopted by antiquaries in Germany and Italy.



CARCHESION

THE CITIES AND CEMETERIES OF ETRURIA

CHAPTER I

VEII.—THE CITY

Hoc tunc Veii fuêre : quæ reliquæ ? quod vestigium ?—FLORUS.

Sic magna fuit censuque virisque
Perque decem potuit tantum dare sanguinis annos ;
Nunc humilis veteres tantummodo Troja ruinas,
Et pro divitiis tumulos ostendit avorum.—OVID. Met.

OF all the cities of Etruria, none takes so prominent a place in history as Veii. One of the earliest, nearest, and certainly the most formidable of the foes of Rome—for nearly four centuries her rival in military power, her instructress in civilization and the arts—the southern bulwark of Etruria—the richest city of that land—the Troy of Italy—Veii excites our interest as much by the length of the struggle she maintained, and by the romantic legends attending her overthrow, as by the intimate connection of her history with Rome's earliest and most spirit-stirring days. Such was her greatness—such her magnificence—that, even after her conquest, Veii disputed with the city of Romulus for metropolitan honours ; and, but for the eloquence of Camillus, would have arisen as Roma Nova to be mistress of the world.¹ Yet, in the time of Augustus, we are told that the city was a desolation,² and a century later its very site is said to have been forgotten.³ Though re-colonized under the Empire, it soon again fell into utter decay, and for ages Veii was blotted from the map of Italy. But when, on the revival of letters, attention was recalled to the subject of Italian antiquities, its site became a point of dispute. Fiano, Ponzano, Martignano, and other places, found their

¹ Liv. V. 51–55.

² Propert. IV. Eleg. x. 29.

³ Florus, I. 12.

82 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

respective advocates. Some, with Castiglioni, placed it at Civita Castellana; others, with Cluverius, at Scrofano, near Monte Musino; Zanchi at Monte Lupolo, above Baccano; while Holstenius, Nardini, and Fabretti assigned to it the site which more recent researches have determined beyond a doubt to belong to it. This is in the neighbourhood of Isola Farnese, a hamlet about eleven miles from Rome, on the right of the Via Cassia.¹

The ancient road from Rome seems to have left the Via Cassia about the fifth milestone, not far from the sepulchre vulgarly, but erroneously, called that of Nero; and to have pursued a serpentine course to Veii; but this road, Sir William Gell thinks, has been little travelled since the formation of the Via Cassia (A.U. 629), yet it must have been the way to the Municipium that subsequently arose on the site. Instead of pursuing this ancient track, now distinguishable only to a practised eye by the sepulchres and tumuli at its side, travellers usually push on to La Storta, the first post-house from Rome, and beyond the ninth milestone on the Via Cassia. Hence it is a mile and a half to Isola by the carriage road; but the visitor, on horse or foot, may save half a mile by taking a pathway across the downs. When Isola Farnese comes into sight, let him halt awhile to admire the scene. A wide sweep of the Campagna lies before him, in this part broken into ravines or narrow glens, which, by varying the lines of the landscape, redeem it from the monotony of a plain, and by patches of wood relieve it of its usual nakedness and sterility. On a steep cliff, about a mile distant, stands the village of Isola—a village in fact, but in appearance a large château, with a few outhouses around it. Behind it rises the long, swelling ground, which once bore the walls, temples, and palaces of Veii, but is now a bare down, partly fringed with wood, and without a single habitation on its surface. At a few miles' distance rises the conical, tufted hill of Musino, the supposed scene of ancient rites, the Eleusis, or Delphi, it may be, of Etruria. The

¹ This agrees with the distance indicated by Dionysius (II. p. 116, ed. Sylburg), who says Veii is 100 stadia from Rome, or more than twelve miles, the distances being anciently reckoned from the Forum. The Peutingerian Table also gives twelve miles as the distance. Livy (V. 4) speaks of it in round terms as "within the twentieth milestone, almost in sight of the City." Eutropius, a notorious blunderer, calls the distance eighteen miles (I. 17).

eye is then caught by a tree-crested mound or tumulus, standing in the plain beyond the site of the city ; then it stretches away to the triple paps of the Monticelli, and to Tivoli, gleaming from the dark slopes behind ; and then it rises and scans the majestic chain of Apennines, bounding the horizon with their dark grey masses, and rests with delight on La Leonessa and other well-known giants of the Sabine range, all capt with snow. Oh, the beauty of that range ! From whatever part of the Campagna you view it, it presents those long, sweeping outlines, those grand, towering crests—not of Alpine abruptness, but consistently with the character of the land, preserving, even when soaring highest, the true Italian dignity and repose—the *otium cum dignitate* of Nature.

Isola is a wretched hamlet of ruinous houses, with not more than thirty inhabitants. Even the palace, which belongs to the Rospigliosi family, is falling into decay, and the next generation will probably find the place uninhabited. The caverns which yawn in the cliffs around give a mysterious interest to the spot, and whet the curiosity to see the antiquities of Veii. In the little piazza are several relics of Roman domination, sculptural and inscriptive.

It is necessary to take Isola on the way to the ancient city, as the *cicerone* dwells there. This worthy, “Antonio Valéri at your service,” is a big, burly man, swollen, you might think, with official dignity, did not his sallow cheek and haggard look betray the ravages of disease—the malaria fever, which either emaciates or bloats its victims.

He who would make the tour of Veii must not expect to see numerous monuments of the past. Scarcely one Etruscan site has fewer remains, yet few possess greater interest. Veii lives in the page of history rather than in extant monuments ; she has no Colosseum, no Parthenon, no Pyramids—scarcely a fragment even from which the antiquarian Cuvier may reconstruct her frame. The very skeleton of Veii has crumbled to dust—the city is its own sepulchre—here, *si monumentum requiris—circumspice !*

Yet is there no want of interest in a spot so hallowed by legend and history. The shadow of past glory falls as solemnly on the spirit as that of temple or tower. It is something to know and feel that “here was and is” not. The senses may desire more relics to link the present to the

84 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

past ; but the imagination need not here be "gravelled for lack of matter."

Since there are so few remains at Veii, it is hardly worth while to make the entire circuit of the city, yet there are three or four spots of interest which all should visit—the Arx—the Columbarium—the Ponte Sodo—and the Painted Tomb. Beyond this there are but scattered fragments of walls—the sites of the gates, determined only by the nature of the ground—and the remains of several bridges.

I shall detail the track I took on my first visit, and the reader, with the aid of the Plan, will be enabled to trace the site of every object of interest within and around the walls of Veii.

My guide led the way into the glen which separates Isola from the ancient city, and in which stands a mill—most picturesquely situated, with the city-cliffs towering above it, and the stream sinking in a cascade into a deep gulley, overshadowed by ilex.¹ Hence a path leads up to the site of one of the ancient gates. Near it are some remains of the walls, composed of small rectangular blocks of *nenfro*.²

The information of the guide, though he be superior in station and intelligence to the ordinary run of *ciceroni* on Etruscan sites, is not to be received with implicit faith. According to him, the mill marks the scene of the slaughter of the Fabii, that noblest and bravest of Roman families—a mere conjecture, arising, probably, from the erroneous notion

¹ These cliffs have been supposed by Nibby (*Analisi de' Dintorni di Roma*, III., *voce* Veii) to have been the Tarpeian Rock of Veii, whence criminals were cast headlong. It is a pure conjecture, without the slightest foundation,—there are twenty other spots which would have served the purpose quite as well. We do not even know that this was an Etruscan mode of punishment.

² A volcanic stone, a species of tufo, distinguished from the ordinary red or yellow sorts of the Campagna by its colour, a dark grey, and by its superior hardness and compactness—a difference said to be owing to its having cooled more slowly and uninterruptedly. Abeken, *Mittelitalien*, p. 16.

Orioli (*Annali dell' Instituto Archeologico*, 1834, p. 170) imagines *nenfro* to be an ancient Etruscan word, which has survived the lapse of ages, and that it had some analogy with *nefrendes* (see Festus) from the peculiarity of the stone, and that the Etruscans called it *nuphrun*—Nuphruna being an Etruscan family (Vermiglioli, *Iscrizioni Perugine*, I. pp. 155, 160). The same name also exists in the epitaphs of the celebrated Grotta Volunni of Perugia.

that Isola was the site of their camp.¹ He also points out some walling on the verge of the cliff-bound plateau that here projects into the glen, and pronounces it to be the pier of a bridge which had spanned the hollow at this spot, and communicated with a road in a narrow cleft in the hill opposite. The ruins, more probably, formed a portion of the city-walls. It is ungracious, however, to convict a man of ignorance of his own trade, and on such occasions it is ever wise to adhere to the proverb,

Odi, vede, e tace
Se vuoi viver in pace.

If in peace with your neighbour you wish to live long,
Listen, and look, but hold your tongue.

Following the line of the high ground to the east, I passed several other fragments of the ancient walls, all mere embankments, and then struck across bare downs or corn-fields into the heart of the city. A field, overgrown with briars, was pointed out by Antonio as the site of excavations, where were found, among other remains, the colossal statue of Tiberius, now in the Vatican, and the twelve Ionic columns of marble, which sustain the portico of the Post-office at Rome. This was probably the Forum of the Roman "*Municipium Augustum Veiens*," which rose on the ruins of Etruscan Veii. The *columbarium*, or Roman sepulchre, hard by, must have been without the limits of the *municipium*, which occupied but a small portion of the site of the original city; when first opened, it contained stuccoes and paintings in excellent preservation,² but it is now in a state of utter ruin.

I now entered on a wide down, overrun with rank vegetation, where tall thistles and briars played no small devilry with one's lower limbs, and would deny all passage to the fair sex, save on horseback. On I struggled, passing what Antonio declared to be an ancient theatre, but what is merely a Roman tomb, till I found traces of an ancient road, slightly sunk between banks. This was the road from Rome to the *municipium*, and after crossing the site of the ancient city in a direct line, it fell into the Via Cassia. I traced it a long distance across the briery down, and then

¹ The Fabii were slaughtered on a height, not in a valley. Liv. II. 50. Dionys. IX. p. 579.

² Nibby, loc. cit.

86 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

into a deep hollow, choked with thickets, where I came upon large polygonal blocks of basalt, such as usually compose Roman pavement.¹ This was without the limits of the Etruscan city, in a narrow hollow, which separated the city from its Arx. At this spot is a fragment of the ancient walls. The road ran down the hollow towards Rome, and was probably called the Via Veientana.

The Arx is a table-land of no great extent, rising precipitously from the deep glens which bound it, save at the single point where a narrow ridge unites it to the city. Such a position would mark it at once as the citadel, even had it not traditionally retained its ancient designation in its modern name, Piazza d'Armi; and its juxtaposition and connection with the city give it much superior claims to be so considered, than those which can be urged for the height of Isola Farnese, which is separated from the city by a wide hollow. There is also every reason to believe that this is the site of the earliest town. Here alone could the founder of Veii have fixed his choice. The natural strength of its position, and its size, adapted it admirably for an infant settlement. In process of time, when its population increased, it was compelled to extend its limits, and gradually embraced the whole of the adjoining table-land, which is far too extensive to have been the original site, and what was at first the whole town became eventually merely the citadel. Such was the case with Athens, Rome, Syracuse, and many other cities of antiquity. There may have been a second settlement at Isola, which may have united with that of the Arx to occupy the site of the celebrated city. Somewhat similar was the process at Rome, where the town of Romulus, confined at first to the circumscribed hill of the Palatine, united with the earlier town on the Capitoline, to extend their limits as one city over the neighbouring heights and intervening valleys.

I walked round the Piazza d'Armi, and from the verge of its cliffs looked into the beautiful glen on either hand, through which, far beneath me, wound the two streams which girded in Veii, and into the broader and more beau-

¹ The gate which existed at this spot is styled the *Porta Romana* by Gell, and the *Gate of Fidenæ* by Nibby. There was another gate on the southern side of the city, between the Piazza d'Armi and the Mill—perhaps a third.

tiful hollow, through which, after uniting their waters, they flowed, once as the far-famed Crémera,¹ to mingle with the Tiber. Peculiar beauty was imparted to these glens by the rich autumnal tints of the woods, which crowned the verge or clothed the base of their red and grey cliffs—the dark russet foliage of the oaks, the orange or brilliant red of the mantling vines, heightened by the contrast of the green meadows below. Scarcely a sign of cultivation met the eye—one house alone on the opposite cliff—no flocks or herds sprinkled the meadows beneath—it was the wild beauty of sylvan, secluded nature.

Far different was the scene that met the eye of Camillus, when he gazed from this spot after his capture of Veii.² The flames ascending from the burning city³—the battle and slaughter still raging—the shouts of the victors and shrieks of the vanquished—here, his victorious soldiers pressing up through the hollow ways into the city, eager for spoil—there, the wretched inhabitants flying across the open country—yon height, studded with the tents of the Roman army—the Crémera at his feet rolling reddened down the valley towards the camp of the Fabii, whose slaughter he had now so signally avenged—all these sights and sounds melted the stern warrior to tears of mingled pity and exultation. Veii, so long the rival of Rome, had fallen, and her generous conqueror mourned her downfall. Like Troy, she had held out for ten long years against a mighty beleaguering army: and like Troy she fell at last only by the clandestine introduction of an armed foe. Where force was powerless, artifice prevailed.

The story of the *cuniculus*, or mine of Camillus, is well known; how he carried it up into the temple of Juno within the citadel—how he himself led his troops to the assault—how they overheard the Etruscan *aruspex*, before the altar of the goddess, declare to the king of Veii that victory would rest with him who completed the sacrifice—how they burst through the flooring, seized the entrails and bore them to Camillus, who offered them to the goddess with his own

¹ Now generally called La Valca by the peasantry. The larger and more northerly stream is the Fosso di Formello, the other the Fosso de' due Fossi.

² Plut. Camil. Dionys. Frag. Mai. XII. 13.

³ The city was not consumed, but Livy (V. 21) seems to imply that the Roman soldiers set it on fire.

88 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

hand—how his troops swarmed in through the mine, opened the gates to their fellows, and obtained possession of the city.¹ Verily, as Livy sapiently remarks, “It were not worth while to prove or disprove these things, which are better fitted to be set forth on a stage which delighteth in marvels, than to be received with implicit faith. In matters of such antiquity, I hold it sufficient if what seemeth truth be received as such.”

I wandered round the Arx seeking some traces of this temple of Juno, which was the largest in Veii.² The sole remains of antiquity visible, are some foundations at the edge of the plateau, opposite the city, which may possibly be those of the celebrated temple, though more probably, as Gell suggests, the substructions of towers which defended the entrance to the citadel.³ Several sepulchral monuments have been here discovered; among them one of the Tarquitian family, which produced a celebrated writer on Etruscan divination,⁴ and which seems from this and other inscriptions to have belonged to Veii. As none of these relics were Etruscan, they in no way militate against the view that this was the Arx, but merely show that it was without the bounds of the Roman *municipium*.

Of the *cuniculus* of Camillus no traces have been found. Not even is there a sewer, so common on most Etruscan sites, to be seen in the cliff beneath the Arx, though the dense wood which covers the eastern side of the hill may well conceal such an opening; and one cannot but regard these sewers as suggestive of the *cuniculus*, if it were not even a mere enlargement of one of them to admit an armed force. Researches after the *cuniculus* are not likely to be successful. Not that I agree with Niebuhr in doubting its existence;⁵ for though it were folly to give full credence to the legend, which even Livy and Plutarch doubted, yet there is nothing unnatural or improbable in the recorded mode of the city's capture. When a siege of ten years had proved of no avail, resort might well have been had to

¹ Liv., loc. cit. Plut. Camil. Flor. I. 12.

² Plut. Camil. It was probably united, as usual in Etruscan cities, with those of Jupiter and Minerva. Serv. Æn. I. 426.

³ Ann. Inst. 1830, p. 119.

⁴ Plin. N. H. I. lib. II. Macrob. Saturn. III. 7. cf. II. 16.

⁵ II. 481, *et seq.* (Engl. transl.). See Note I. in the Appendix to this chapter.

artifice; and the soft volcanic rock of the site offered every facility for tunnelling. But if the *cuniculus* were commenced in the plain at the foot of the height, it were useless to search for its mouth.

Returning into the hollow, through which runs the Via Veientana, my eye was caught by a curious flight of steps, high in the cliff on which the city stood. With some difficulty I climbed to them, and found them to be of uncemented masonry, too rude for Roman work, and similar in character to the walls of the Etruscan city; therefore, I doubt not that this was a staircase leading to a postern gate of ancient Veii. The lower part having fallen with the cliff, these eight upper steps alone are left, and they will not remain long, for the shrubs which have interlaced their roots with the uncemented blocks, will soon precipitate them into the ravine. This curious staircase, La Scaletta, as it is called by the peasants, only came to light in 1840, in consequence of the earth which concealed it having been washed away by unusually heavy rains.

From the Arx the line of the walls ran northward, as indicated by the cliffs. I passed a few excavations in the rocks, and the sites of two gates,¹ and at length reached a wood below which, on the banks of the stream, is a piece of broken ground, which presents some curious traces of ancient times. It is a most picturesque spot, sunk in the bosom of the woods, and strewn with masses of grey rock, in wild confusion, full of sepulchral excavations, literally honeycombed with niches; whence its appellation of "Il Colombario." In one place the rock is hollowed into a chamber of unusually small size, with room for only a single sarcophagus. The niches are of various forms. Gell thinks it "highly probable they are Etruscan, and not of Roman construction."² Lenoir seems to be of the same opinion,

¹ The first in a hollow not far from the Arx, Gell calls the Gate of Fidenæ (Rome, &c., II. 321); the road from the second ran past the Tumulus of Vaccareccia towards Pietra Pertusa, a remarkable cut through a rock near the Via Flaminia and four miles from Veii. The rock presents the appearance of an island rising out of a plain, which seems to have been originally a lake (Gell, Memor. Instit. I. 13). There was a "Pertusa Petra," on the Flaminian Way, mentioned by Aurelius Victor (Vespas.), but this seems to have been in Umbria, and is now called Il Furlo or Il Sasso Forato, in the mountains south of Urbino. See Cramer's Ancient Italy, I. p. 260.

² Rome, &c., II. p. 324. The reason he assigns for this opinion is

90 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

but to me they have much more of a Roman character.¹ The most ancient Etruscan tombs of Veii are not of a niche form, but chambers with rock-hewn couches for bodies or sarcophagi, and containing furniture of a more archaic character than the niches.² As Veii was deserted soon after its capture in the year of Rome 358, all its Etruscan sepulchres must have been prior to that date, and many of the niches within tombs are probably of high antiquity, as they are found to contain vases, mirrors, and other objects of a purely Etruscan character.³ But the niches in the face of these cliffs have certain peculiarities, which mark them as of Roman origin.⁴ Many of them are in the walls of rock, which flank an ancient road cut through a mass of tufo to the depth of from twelve to twenty feet. Such roads are common in the neighbourhood of Etruscan cities; several other instances occur around Veii. In this case part of the polygonal pavement is remaining with its kerb-stones, and the ruts worn by the ancient cars are visible. On the top of the rock, on one side, are remains of walls, which prove this to be the site of one of the city gates.

The road led directly from the Formello up to the gate,

that they are outside the city; but this is no test, as the Romans were never known to form their *columbaria* within city walls.

¹ Ann. Inst. 1832, p. 262, 278.

² Bull. dell' Instit. 1840, p. 13,—1841, p. 18.

³ See the Appendix, Note II.

⁴ Many of these niches are very like those in Roman *columbaria*. Others, on the contrary, are rather Etruscan in form. The smaller ones served to hold lamps, perfume vases, cinerary urns, or votive offerings, and those of elongated form contained the bodies of the dead. They are also found in the rocks by the roadsides in the neighbourhood of Etruscan cities, but in no instance in such variety as here. Though admitting certain of these niches to be Etruscan in external form, were I to regard their internal arrangement alone, I should pronounce them all to be Roman, and belonging to the Municipium of Veii. Every one of them has a hole sunk within it for an *olla* or cinerary pot, as in the Roman *columbaria*. Now in all the pigeon-holed tombs I have seen in Etruscan cemeteries, not one instance of the *olla* have I observed, save here and at Sutri—and this leads me to regard it as peculiarly a Roman characteristic. The Romans may here have copied the forms of niches they found in other cemeteries of the Etruscans, or, if these niches were originally constructed by the latter people, they have since been adapted by the former to their own peculiar mode of sepulture, as appears to have been the case at Sutri, by the formation of the *olla*-hole within them. Abeken (Mittelital. 258) also regards these niches as Roman from the evidence of the inscriptions found on the spot.

and had evidently crossed the stream by a bridge. This is no longer standing; but several large hewn blocks of tufo lie in the water; and a little further up the stream, on the side opposite the city, is a piece of walling, which seems to have been the pier of the bridge.¹

I continued to follow the upward course of the Formello towards the Ponte Sodo. On my left were the banks of the stream, on the inner or city side, steep, rocky, and fringed with wood—the ash, beech, and ilex springing from the grey rocks, and hanging in varied hues over the torrent. Here and there, at the verge of the steep, portions of the ancient walls peeped through the foliage. On my right were bare, swelling mounds, in which the mouths of caves were visible, the tombs of ancient Veii. These are now half choked with earth—it being customary for excavators to close the sepulchres as soon as they have rifled them. One tomb alone, which will be particularly described in the following chapter, now remains open. Here are also three vaults of Roman reticulated work, and another vault near them, of similar construction, just over a modern fountain.

It would be easy to pass the Ponte Sodo without observing it. It is called a bridge; but is a mere mass of rock bored for the passage of the stream. Whether wholly or but partly artificial may admit of dispute. It is, however, in all probability, an Etruscan excavation—a tunnel in the rock, two hundred and forty feet long, twelve or fifteen wide, and nearly twenty high. From above, it is scarcely visible. You must view it from the banks of the stream. You at first suspect it to be of natural formation, yet there is a squareness and regularity about it which prove it artificial. The steep cliffs of tufo, yellow, grey, or white, overhung by ilex, ivy, and brushwood—the deep, dark-mouthed tunnel with a ray of sunshine, it may be, gleaming beyond—the masses of lichen-clad rock, which choke the stream—give it a charm apart from its antiquity.²

Upon this natural bridge is a shapeless mound in the

¹ It is 20 feet wide, now only about 5 or 6 feet high, of small blocks of tufo, cemented, and much more neat and modern in appearance than the usual Etruscan masonry. Yet it is unlike late Roman work, and somewhat resembles the remains of the *agger* of Servius Tullius, in the gardens of Sallust at Rome. The niche observed in it has been cut subsequently. Nothing remains of the opposite pier.

² See Appendix, Note III.

92 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

midst of an ancient roadway. Gell sees in it the ruins of a square tower, but it requires a brisk imagination to perceive such traces in this overgrown mass ; yet from its position, and from fragments of walling hard by, it is evident that this was the site of a double gateway.¹ These fragments are traceable on both sides of the gate. To the left they rise high, and form the facing to an *agger* or embankment which extends along the verge of the slope for a considerable distance. The blocks are smaller than usual in Etruscan cities, being only sixteen inches deep, and eighteen to twenty-four in length ; yet there can be little doubt that these were the once renowned fortifications—*egregii muri* ²—of Etruscan Veii. A portion of the wall hereabouts has been described and delineated by Gell, as being composed of immense tufo blocks, ten or eleven feet long, based on courses of thin bricks, a yard in length. Again and again have I beat the bush far and wide in quest of this singular fragment of masonry, but have never been fortunate enough to stumble on it ; nor have I met with any one who has seen it. Of late years the wood has been greatly cleared on this side the city, but the fragment is still sought in vain ; and whether it has been torn to pieces by the peasants, or lies hid by some of the thorny brakes it is impossible to penetrate, I cannot say.

A little above the Ponte Sodo, where the ground sinks to the edge of the stream, are many troughs in the rocky banks

¹ It may have been this tower which Propertius (IV. Eleg. x. 31) had in view, when he represents Tolumnius king of Veii standing on the walls during the siege, and being challenged to mortal combat by Cossus—

“Forte super portæ dux Veius adstitit arcem, &c.”

Double gates such as this were common enough among the Romans—the Porta Carmentalis of Rome, the gates at Pompeii and Segni, for instance—and not unknown to the Greeks, being represented on monuments and mentioned by their writers. It may be doubted, however, whether the plural number applied to gates, as to the celebrated Scæan gates of Troy (πόλαι Σκαίαι), had reference to a gate like these, or to one with a double portal connected by a passage, as the Porta all' Arco of Volterra. Canina (Arch. Ant. V. p. 96) thinks the latter. The plural term might also apply to a gate like those of Augustus and Marzia at Perugia, having an archway over the portal ; or to a single gate with folding doors—*portæ bipatentes*—Virg. Æn. II. 330.

² Liv. V. 2.

which Gell suggests may have been used by the nymphs of Veii, to

“Wash their white garments in the days of peace.”¹

But they raised no such fair visions in my eyes, which could see in them merely the spots whence blocks had been quarried for the construction of the walls or edifices of the city.

Though I could not discover the curious piece of masonry described by Gell, I could not be sceptical as to its existence, for here, on the left bank of the stream, was a fragment of walling with the same peculiarities, and more massive than any other I had seen at Veii. From its position with regard to the gate, which may here be traced on the city side of the stream, it had evidently formed the pier of a bridge. Its width was ten feet. The largest block was only three feet nine inches by two feet four, but this was massive in comparison with those of the city walls. The absence of cement proved its antiquity. The whole rested on three layers of long sun-burnt bricks, or tiles.² Yet their position was no proof of the antiquity of their collocation, for they might have been inserted in after-times to repair the foundations, just as the massive walls of Volterra are here and there underbuilt with modern masonry. There is nothing in the material which militates against the antiquity of the structure. Bricks were used in the remotest ages, and in most parts of the world.³ The Etruscans, so skilled in pottery, must have been acquainted with their use; Arretium, one of the cities of the League, is said to have been walled with brick;⁴ and we know that the Veientes in

¹ Gell, II. 33a. Gerhard (Memor. Inst. I. p. 26) thinks they may have been reservoirs of water.

² On a recent visit, I was grieved to see that this pier had been almost destroyed.

³ According to Sanchoniatho, bricks were invented before mankind had learned to construct villages, or to tend flocks. The Tower of Babel was built of bricks (Genes. XI. 3). We have the testimony of Moses also as to their early use in Egypt (Exod. I. 14; V. 7, *et seq.*), corroborated by existing monuments; and Herodotus informs us that the walls of Babylon were built of brick. For their use in Greece, see Pausanias (I. 42, II. 27, V. 5, X. 35); and in other countries, see Vitruvius (II. viii. 9) and Pliny (XXXV. 49).

⁴ “Aretii vetustum egregie factum murum.” Vitruv. loc. cit. Plin. l. c.

94 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

particular were famed for their manufactures of baked earth.¹ If the bricks in this masonry really formed part of the original structure, they lead one to suspect that the walls of other Etruscan cities may have been formed in part of the same materials, which, when the cities fell into decay, would have formed a quarry for the construction of villages. The destruction of Etruscan fortifications, however, in the volcanic district of the land, may be accounted for without this supposition—the small size, lightness, and facility of cleavage of the tufo blocks composing the extant fragments, must in all ages have proved a temptation to apply them to other purposes.

About three quarters of a mile above the Ponte Sodo is another bridge, called Ponte Formello, whose piers are of blocks of *nenfro*, undoubtedly ancient, possibly of Etruscan construction, but the existing arch is of Roman brickwork.² The road which crosses the Formello by this bridge runs to the village of Formello and Monte Musino, six miles distant.

Crossing this bridge, and following the line of the ancient walls as indicated by the nature of the ground, I presently came to a cross-road, cut through tufo banks, and leading into the city.³ It is clearly an ancient way; five-and-thirty years ago its pavement was entire,⁴ but, owing to the pilferings of the peasantry, scarcely a block is now left.

The road that crosses the Formello runs directly to the Ponte dell' Isola, a bridge over the Fosso de' due Fossi, the stream which washed the southern walls of Veii. The distance between the bridges is about half a mile. The city walls followed the line of bank on the left, which turns off towards the Mill, while the road leads directly to the Ponte d'Isola. This is a picturesque bridge of a single arch, twenty-two feet in span.⁵ Antiquaries have pronounced it

¹ Plut. Public. Serv. *Æn.* VII. 188. Festus *voce* Ratumena.

² The blocks are smaller than those of the city walls; the masonry is neat, and very like that of the pier at the Columbarium gate, but without cement.

³ Nibby and Gell call this the Gate of Sutrium. Gell considers the road to be a continuation of the Via Veientana, which, after traversing the site of the city, from the Arx to this spot, crossed the Via Cassia near the twelfth milestone, and continued to Galeria and Cære; while another branch took the direction of Sutrium (*II.* p. 333).

⁴ Nibby, *III.* p. 433.

⁵ The piers are 14½ feet wide; the lower courses are of *nenfro*; the rest of tufo; all alike cemented. The masonry is not unlike that of the

to be of very ancient date—"connected," says one, "with the original plan of the city."¹ But to my eye it appears of no very high antiquity.

A doubt may arise as to the antiquity of these bridges at Veii, as well as of any others which claim an Etruscan origin, seeing that no stone bridge was erected at Rome before the year 575, the date of the Pons Æmilius,² long after the entire subjugation of Etruria, and more than two centuries after the capture of Veii. Is it possible that the Romans, if they found such structures existing in the conquered land, could have refrained from introducing such an addition to the beauty and convenience of the City?—how could they have remained satisfied for centuries with a single bridge, and that of wood? But it must be remembered that the Tiber was one of the ramparts of Rome; that the Pons Sublicius was equivalent to a drawbridge, being so constructed as to be readily taken to pieces on an emergency; that it was maintained, in its wooden state, as a religious duty, and committed to the especial care of the priests;³ and it was not till after the conquest of Etruria, the downfall of Hannibal, and when all fear of a foe at the gates of the City was removed, that a permanent bridge was constructed. The Romans of that day had no need to go beyond their own walls for the model of a stone arch; they had had it for ages in the Cloaca Maxima.

From the Ponte d'Isola, a pathway leads to the mill. Here I had completed the circuit of Veii. Gell calls it more than four miles in circumference, but his own map makes it of much greater area. Nibby seems nearer the truth, in calling it seven miles round, which more nearly

Ponte Formello, and of the pier of the ruined bridge near the Columbarium-gate. The span of this bridge, according to Gerhard (*Memorie dell' Inst. I.*) is more than 30 feet, and the height of the keystone from the water, about 40.

¹ Abeken, *Mittelitalien*, p. 184. See also Gerhard, *Memorie dell' Instit. I.* p. 27. The cement in its construction is not a characteristic of Etruscan masonry; the blocks are extremely small, varying from 9 to 15 inches in depth, and many being less than a foot in length. The longest does not exceed 2 feet 8 inches.

² Plut. Numa.

³ Plut. Numa. Hence the priests derived their name of *pontifices*. Varro de L. L. V. cap. 83. Dionys. II. p. 132. Plin. Nat. Hist. XXXVI. 23.

96 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

agrees with the statement of Dionysius that Veii was equal in size to Athens,¹ said to have been sixty stadia in circumference, *i.e.* seven miles and a half,² or at the lower estimate of ten stadia to the mile, the common itinerary stadia of Greece, six miles in circuit. The Rome of Servius Tullius, which Dionysius also compares to Athens, was about the same extent.³

Such then is Veii—once the most powerful,⁴ the most wealthy city of Etruria,⁵ renowned for its beauty,⁶ its arts and refinement, which in size equalled Athens and Rome, in military force was not inferior to the latter,⁷ and which for its site, strong by nature and almost impregnable by art,⁸ and for the magnificence of its buildings and the superior extent and fertility of its territory, was preferred by the Romans to the Eternal City itself, even before the destruction of the latter by the Gauls,⁹—now void and desolate, without one house or habitant, its temples and palaces level with the dust, and nothing beyond a few fragments of walls, and some empty sepulchres, remaining to tell the traveller that here Veii was. The plough passes over its bosom, and the shepherd pastures his flock on the waste within it. Such must it have been in the earlier years of Augustus, for Propertius pictures a similar scene of decay and desolation.

¹ Dionys. II. p. 116. Cluverius (Ital. Ant. II. p. 531) needlessly proposed to substitute Fidenæ for Athenæ.

² So says the Scholiast on Thucydides, II. 13 : but the great historian himself merely states that the extent of that part of the city which was guarded was 43 stadia ; and the Scholiast adds that the unguarded part, or the space between the Long Walls, which united the city with the Piræus, was 17 stadia in breadth.

³ IV. p. 219 ; and IX. p. 624.

⁴ Dionys. II. p. 116 ; Liv. IV. 58.

⁵ Liv. II. 50 ; V. 20, 21, 22. Florus (I. 12) and Plutarch (Camil.) attest its wealth by the spoil that fell into the hands of the conquerors. Eutrop. I. 18.

⁶ Liv. V. 24.

⁷ Plut. Cam.

⁸ Urbe validâ muris ac situ ipso munitâ, Liv. I. 15, V. 2. Dionys. l. c., and IX. p. 593 ; Plut. Romul. and Camil.

⁹ Liv. V. 24. Arnold (I. 212) doubts the authority of Livy on this head, and also the sincerity of the Romans, if they said it ; without good grounds, it seems to me. Dionysius (Frag. Mai, XII. 14) in some measure confirms Livy in saying Veii was in no way inferior to Rome as a residence.

Et Veii veteres, et vos tum regna fuistis ;
 Et vestro posita est aurea sella foro ;
 Nunc intra muros pastoris buccina lenti
 Cantat, et in vestris ossibus arva metunt.¹

Veii, thou hadst a royal crown of old,
 And in thy forum stood a throne of gold !—
 Thy walls now echo but the shepherd's horn,
 And o'er thine ashes waves the summer corn.

How are we to account for this neglect ? The city was certainly not destroyed by Camillus, for the superior magnificence of its public and private buildings were temptations to the Romans to desert the Seven Hills.² But after the destruction of Rome by the Gauls Veii was abandoned, in consequence of the decree of the senate threatening with the severest punishment the Roman citizens who should remain within its walls ;³ and Niebuhr's conjecture is perhaps not incorrect, that it was demolished to supply materials for the rebuilding of Rome,⁴ though the distance would preclude the transport of more than the architectural ornaments. Its desolation must have been owing either to the policy of Rome which proscribed its habitation, or to *malaria* ;⁵ otherwise, a city which presented so many advantages as almost to have tempted the Romans to desert their hearths and the sepulchres of their fathers, would scarcely have been suffered to fall into utter decay, and remain so for nearly four centuries. The Romans most probably ceased to maintain the high cultivation of its territory, and it became unhealthy, as at the present day. This was the case with the Campagna in general, which in very early times was studded with towns, but under Roman domination became, what it has ever since remained—a desert, whose vast surface is rarely relieved by a solitary habitation.

¹ IV. El. x. 27. Lucan mentions its desolation (VII. 392) :—

“ Gabios, Veiosque, Coramque
 Pulvere vix tectæ poterunt monstrare ruinæ.”

² Liv. loc. cit. Plut. Camil. Florus (I. 12) must have referred to the people, not the city, when he said, “ Rapti funditus, deletique Veientes.”

³ Liv. VI. 4.

⁴ II. p. 579, trans.

⁵ Dionysius, however, (Excerpta Mai, XII. 14) tells us the air of Veii was very healthy, which is more than can be said of it now-a-days ; some of the inhabitants of Isola, like Valéri the cicerone, being constant martyrs to the malaria fever.

98 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

After the lapse of ages the site was colonized afresh by Augustus ; but the glory of Veii had departed—the new colony occupied scarcely a third of the extent of the ancient city, and struggled for a century for existence, till in the days of Adrian it again sunk into decay. Yet it is difficult to credit the assertion of Florus, that its very site was forgotten. “ This, then, was Veii !—who now remembers its existence ? What ruins ?—what traces of it are left ? Hardly can we credit our annals, which tell us Veii has been.”¹ For the inscriptions found on the spot prove that the colony continued at least to exist to a late period of the Roman empire.²

I have described my first walk round Veii as that which it may be advisable for the visitor to take ; but many a day, and in all seasons, have I spent in wandering over the site and around the walls of this once renowned city. As no beds are to be had at Isola, I have been wont to take up my quarters at La Storta, and step over at day-break ; and, with a luncheon in my pocket and a draught from the Créméra, I have not cared to return till the landscape was veiled in the purple shadows of sunset.

Every time I visit Veii I am struck with the rapid progress of destruction. Nibby and Gell mention many remains which are no longer visible. The site has less to show on every succeeding year. Even masonry, such as the pier of the bridge over the Fosso di Formello, that from its massiveness might defy the pilferings of the peasantry, is torn to pieces, and the blocks removed to form walls or houses elsewhere, so that, ere long, I fear it will be said of Veii, “ Her very ruins have perished”—*etiam periçre ruinæ*.

Occasionally, in my wanderings on this site, I have entered, either from curiosity or for shelter, one of the *capanne* scattered over the downs. These are tall, conical, thatched huts, which the shepherds make their winter abode.

¹ Flor. I. 12. The Roman colony—the *Municipium Augustum Veiens* of the inscriptions—could never have been of much importance, though the inscriptions mention several temples, a theatre, and baths ; for Strabo, who wrote in the reign of Tiberius, speaks of it as an insignificant place in his time—as one of the *πολίχλαι συχναί* of Etruria (V. p. 226, ed. Casaub.)

² The latest of these inscriptions is in the Vatican—a dedicatory tablet to the father of the Emperor Constantine. Veii is also mentioned in the Theodosian Itinerary of the fourth century.

For in Italy, the low lands being generally unhealthy in summer, the flocks are driven to the mountains about May, and as soon as the great heats are past are brought back to the richer pastures of the plains. It is a curious sight—the interior of a *capanna*—and affords an agreeable diversity to the antiquity-hunter. A little boldness is requisite to pass through the pack of dogs, white as new-dropt lambs, but large and fierce as wolves, which, were the shepherd not at hand, would tear in pieces whoever might venture to approach the hut ; but, with one of the *pecoraj* for a Teucer, nothing is to be feared. The *capanne* are of various sizes. One I entered not far from Veii was thirty or forty feet in diameter, and fully as high, propped in the centre by two rough masts, between which a hole was left in the roof for the escape of smoke. Within the door lay a large pile of lambs—there might be a hundred—killed that morning and already flayed, and a number of shepherds were busied in operating on the carcases of others ; all of which were to be despatched forthwith to the Roman market. Though a fierce May sun blazed without, a huge fire roared in the middle of the hut ; but this was for the sake of the *ricotta*, which was being made in another part of the *capanna*. Here stood a huge cauldron, full of boiling ewes'-milk. In a warm state this curd is a delicious jelly, and has often tempted me to enter a *capanna* in quest of it, to the amazement of the *pecoraj*, to whom it is “vili^{or} algâ.” Lord of the cauldron, stood a man dispensing ladlefuls of the rich simmering mess to his fellows, as they brought their bowls for their morning's allowance ; and he varied his occupation by pouring the same into certain small baskets ; the serous parts running off through the wicker, and the residue caking as it cooled. On the same board stood the cheeses, previously made from the cream. In this hut lived twenty-five men, their nether limbs clad in goat-skins, with the hair outwards, realizing the satyrs of ancient fable : but they had no nymphs to tease, nor shepherdesses to woo, and never

————— “sat all day
Playing on pipes of corn, and versing love
To amorous Phillida.”

They were a band of celibats, without the vows. In such huts they dwell all the year round, flaying lambs, or shearing sheep, living on bread, *ricotta*, and water, very rarely

100 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

tasting meat or wine, and sleeping on shelves ranged round the hut, like berths in a ship's cabin. Thus are the dreams of Arcadia dispelled by realities !

To revert to the early history of Veii.¹ That she was one of the most ancient cities of Etruria may be inferred from the pitch of power she had attained in the time of Romulus.² That she was one of the Twelve cities of the great Etruscan Confederation cannot be doubted. Her vast size, superior to that of every other Etruscan city whose limits can be ascertained—the great extent of her territory, and the numerous towns dependent on her³—her power, opulence, and magnificence⁴—would make it sufficiently evident,

¹ It has been suggested by Orioli (Ann. Inst. 1833, 22) that Veii may be derived from Vedius, or Vejovis, one of the Etruscan deities, just as Mantua was derived from another, Mantus (Serv. Æn. X. 198). According to Festus (ap. Paul. Diac.) Veia is an Oscan word, signifying *plaustrum*, a waggon.

² Dion. Hal. II. p. 116. She is called “antiquissima et ditissima civitas” by Eutropius (I. 18). Veii is not mentioned by Virgil among the cities of Etruria in the time of Æneas, but nothing can be fairly deduced from this against her antiquity, seeing that the poet is equally silent of Arretium, Perusia, Volsinii, Rusellæ, and Volaterra, some of which most assuredly existed at that period, as Perusia, traditionally very ancient (Serv. Æn. X. 198) and Volaterra, of whose colony (Populonia) Virgil makes mention (Æn. X. 172).

³ Plut. Romul. Dion. Hal. III. p. 181; also Frag. Mai, XII. 14. The territory of Veii, before it was curtailed by the Romans, extended on the south and east to the Tiber (Plin. III. 9), including the district of the Septem Pagī, contiguous to that stream, and on the south-west to the sea, embracing the Salinæ, or salt-works, at the mouth of the river (Dion. Hal. II. p. 118; Plut. Romul.). On the west, it adjoined the territory of Caere, though the frontier line is not defined. Müller (Etrusk. II. 2, 1) is of opinion, from the mention made by Livy (VI. 5) of the *tribus Sabatina*, that Sabate, on the Lake of Bracciano, was in the Veientine territory; and that even Sutrium and Nepete were also included; and if this be true the Ciminian must have been its north-western boundary. On the north, it met the *Ager Faliscus*. On the east, it must have embraced all the district south of Soracte and eastward to the Tiber, or, in other words, the *Ager Capenatis*, because Capena was a colony of Veii (Cato ap. Serv. Æn. VII. 697. See also Niebuhr, I. p. 120; Müller, einl. 2, 14; and II. 1, 2), and as it was not one of the Twelve Cities, must have been dependent on Veii; and Feronia, under Soracte, was also in the *Ager Capenatis*. Fidenæ was another colony of Veii. Of the *Ager Veiens*, we further know that it produced a red wine of inferior quality, too bad to be drunk on festive occasions: Horat. II. Sat. 3, 143; Pers. Sat. V. 147; Mart. I. epig. 104, 9; II. epig. 53, 4; III. epig. 49.

⁴ *Uti supra*, p. 19; cf. Liv. II. 53.

without the express testimony of Livy and Dionysius to the fact.¹

Of the history of Veii we know no more than her contests with Rome. She is one of those numerous cities of antiquity, whose records are mere tissues of wars—bloody trails across the field of history. While regretting that our knowledge of them is confined to such events, we should remember that, had not such wars been chronicled, the very names of these cities would most probably never have come down to us. Whatever mention of Veii we find in ancient writers is as the antagonist of Rome. No less than fourteen wars with that power are on record.² I cannot give a better summary of her history than by specifying these contests.

The First War was with Romulus, to avenge his capture of Fidenæ. The Veientes, being defeated with great slaughter, obtained a peace of a hundred years, on condition of ceding to the Romans the Septem Pagi, or Seven Villages, a portion of their territory contiguous to the Tiber, and the Salt-works at the mouth of that river. This was about the year of Rome 36 or 37.³

The Second War was in aid of Fidenæ, which had revolted against Tullus Hostilius. A battle was fought on the banks of the Tiber, beneath the walls of Fidenæ, and the Etruscans were again put to the rout. This was about the year of Rome 90.⁴

The Third War was commenced by Ancus Martius, who attacked the Veientes with no other reason than to gratify his appetite for conquest. He defeated them on the same spot as his predecessor had done.⁵

Fourth War.—Two years later, the Veientes broke the truce, and made an effort to recover a number of towns, probably the Septem Pagi, which they had ceded to Romulus; but Ancus Martius defeated them again at the Salt-works, and attached these towns to the Roman territory.⁶

Fifth War.—The Veientes joined the rest of the

¹ See Note IV. in Appendix to this chapter.

² The Veientes are called by Florus (I. 12) “the unceasing and annual enemies of Rome”—*assidui vero et anniversarii hostes*.

³ Liv. I. 15; Dion. Hal. II. pp. 117–8; Plut. Romul.; Flor. I. 1.

⁴ Liv. I. 27; Dion. Hal. III. pp. 160–6.

⁵ Dion. Hal. III. p. 181; Liv. I. 33.

⁶ Dion. Hal. (l. c.)

102 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

Confederation against Rome, but the Etruscans were defeated by Tarquinius Priscus with great loss, and forced to sue for peace; sending to him in token of submission the Etruscan insignia of authority, which were henceforth adopted by the Romans.¹

The Sixth War broke out early in the reign of Servius Tullius, or about A. U. 180. It commenced by Veii throwing off the yoke imposed on her by Tarquin; her example was followed by Cære and Tarquinii, and ultimately by the rest of the Confederation. The war continued for twenty years; and as in all this history the man, and not the lion, drew the picture, we are told that the Roman monarch was always triumphant, whether against single cities, or the united forces of Etruria.²

Seventh War.—In the year 245, Veii joined Tarquinii in the attempt to replace Tarquinius Superbus on his throne. They encountered the forces of the young Republic near the Arsian Wood; Aruns, the son of Tarquin, and Brutus, the first Consul, fell by each other's hands, and the victory remained undecided. In the following night an unearthly voice, thought to be that of the god Silvanus, was heard proceeding from the wood—"The Etruscans have lost one man more in the fight; the Romans are therefore victors."³ This war terminated with the celebrated march of Porsenna on Rome. Too well known are the romantic events of that campaign to need recording.

"How well Horatius kept the bridge
In the brave days of old,"—

how Scaevola braved the fire, and Clœlia the water—and how the Clusian chieftain strove to emulate these deeds

¹ Dion. Hal. III. pp. 193, 195; Flor. I. 5. Niebuhr (I. p. 379) justly questions the truth of the tradition of the entire conquest of Etruria by Tarquin, which is not noticed by Livy or Cicero; yet thinks the union of Rome with Etruria may be seen in it. It seems not improbable that this conquest was an invention of the old annalists, to account for the introduction of the Etruscan symbols of royalty—the twelve lictors with their fasces, the golden crown, the ivory chair, the purple robe, the eagled sceptre—which were traditionally adopted about this time. But it were as reasonable to account for their introduction by the accession of an Etruscan prince, Tarquin, to the Roman throne.

² Dion. Hal. IV. p. 231; Liv. I. 42.

³ Liv. II. 6, 7; Dion. Hal. V. pp. 288–290; Plut. Public.

of heroism by his chivalrous magnanimity—are not all these things familiar to us as household words?

Eighth War.—After twenty-four years of peace, in the year 269, the consul Serv. Cornelius Cossus laid waste the territory of Veii, and at the remonstrances of the Veientes he granted them a truce for one year.¹

Ninth War.—In the year 272 broke out the war in which occurred the most interesting incident in the annals of Veii. After two years spent in comparative inaction, the Etruscans marched up to the Roman camp, and dared their foes to the combat. A severe battle ensued, in which the Etruscans were routed, though Rome had never won a victory so dearly.² In the following year (A.U. 275), the war still continuing, the Veientes at one time even threatening the City itself, and Rome being pressed upon at the same time by the Æqui and Volsci, an instance of patriotic devotion was called forth, such as few ages have produced. Cæso Fabius, the consul, and chief of the noblest and most powerful of Roman *gentes*, rose in the Senate, and said—"Well know ye, Conscript Fathers, that to keep the Veientes in check there is need of a fixed garrison, rather than of a powerful army. Look ye to our other foes; leave it to the Fabii to deal with Veii. We will engage to uphold the majesty of the Roman name. The Republic hath need of men and money elsewhere; be this war at our own cost." The next day the whole *gens* of the Fabii, three hundred and six in number, all of patrician blood, marched forth from Rome, the consul himself at their head, amid the admiration, the prayers, and joyful shouts of the citizens, "Go forth ye brave! Go forth to victory!" One single family to meet an entire people, the most powerful of Etruria. "Never," says Livy, "never did an army so small in number, or so great in deeds, and in the admiration of their countrymen, march through the streets of Rome."³ When they reached the Créméra, they pitched their camp on a precipice-girt

¹ Dion. Hal. VIII. p. 548.

² Dion. Hal. VIII. and IX. pp. 558-570; Liv. II. 42-47.

³ Liv. II. 48, 49; Dion. Hal. IX. pp. 571-573. Dionysius says there were full 4000 in the band, most of them *πελάται τε καὶ ἑταῖροι*, and 306 only of the Fabian *gens*. Festus also says (*voce* Scelerata Porta that there were some thousands of *clientes*. Both these statements Niebuhr (II. p. 195) thinks may be greatly exaggerated. A. Gellius (XVII. 21) says there were 306 "with their families."

104 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

hill, and further protected it by a double fosse and numerous towers. There they maintained themselves for a year against all the efforts of the Veientes to dislodge them, ravaging the lands of Veii far and wide, carrying off immense booty, and often routing the forces sent against them—till in the year 276 the Consul Æmilius Mamercus defeated the Veientes, and forced them to sue for peace.¹

Tenth War.—In the following year, 277, the Veientes were urged by the rest of the Etruscan Confederation again to declare war against the Romans, and commenced by attacking the Fabii, who had not withdrawn from their camp. Knowing that open force was of little avail against these heroes, they had recourse to stratagem. They sent out flocks and herds, as if to pasture; and the Fabii beholding these from the height of their castle, sallied forth, eager for the spoil. As they were returning with it the Etruscans rushed from their ambush, and overwhelming them by numbers, after a long and desperate resistance, cut them to pieces, not one escaping save a boy, who lived to preserve the race and be the progenitor of Fabius Maximus.² It was the triumph of the Persians over Leonidas and his Spartans. The slaughter of the Fabii was but the prelude to a signal victory of the Veientes over the Consul Menenius; and, had they followed up their advantage, Rome itself might have fallen into their hands. As it was, on the next day they took possession of the Janiculan, where they maintained themselves for many months, till, in the year 278, they were routed by the Roman Consuls.³ In the two following years they were again defeated by the Consuls P. Valerius and A. Manlius in succession,

¹ Liv. II. 49; Dion. Hal. IX. pp. 573–576.

² Liv. II. 50; Dion. Hal. IX. 577–580. Florus, I. 12. Dionysius gives another version of this slaughter, which, however, he discredits as improbable. It is that the whole body of the Fabii left their camp to offer up a sacrifice at their family shrine in Rome; and, journeying along, heedless of danger, and not in battle array, they were suddenly attacked by the Veientes, who rushed from their ambush, and cut them to pieces. Dionysius' reasons (IX. 578) for regarding this version as apocryphal are not deemed valid by Niebuhr (II. 202), nor by Arnold (I. 217), who prefers it to the other tradition. Ovid. (Fast. II. 195–242) recounts the story as given in the text. See also Diodor. Sic. XI. p. 40, ed. Rhod. A. Gellius, XVII. 21. Dion. Cass. Excerpta Mai, XXI.

³ Liv. II. 51. Dion. Hal. IX. 582–585.

from the latter of whom they obtained a truce for forty years.¹

Eleventh War.—In the year of the City 309, war again broke out between Veii and Rome.² It seems soon to have ended, for in 312 Rome was at peace with all the world.³

Twelfth War.—In the year 316 the Fidenates threw off the yoke of Rome, and declared for Veii. Lars Tolumnius, king of the Veientes, espoused their cause and put to death the ambassadors sent by Rome to demand an explanation. The Etruscan army encountered their foes on the banks of the Tiber, below Fidenæ, the scene of so many former defeats, and were again routed by the Dictator Mam. Æmilius; and their chief, Tolumnius, was slain by the sword of A. Cornelius Cossus.⁴ This was A. U. 317. Two years after, the allied army of Veii and Fidenæ marched up to the very gates of Rome, but were routed by the Dictator A. Servilius, who captured Fidenæ.⁵ A truce was afterwards granted to the Veientes.⁶

Thirteenth War.—The truce was not of long duration, for in 326 the Veientes made fresh incursions into the Roman territory; and in 328, after defeating an army sent against them, and being reinforced by the accession of the Fidenates, crossed the Tiber, and struck terror into the City of Romulus. Their course, however, was soon checked; for they were again utterly routed by Mam. Æmilius and Cornelius Cossus, on the very field of their former triumph of A. U. 317. Fidenæ was taken and destroyed, and Veii obtained a truce for twenty years.⁷

Fourteenth War.—In 347, the truce having expired, war broke out afresh; and in 349 the Romans laid siege to Veii,⁸ a fate which would earlier have befallen her, had it not been for the great strength of her position and fortifications, which rendered her conquest almost hopeless. The Veientes were not able to procure succours from the rest of Etruria, and Rome being at peace elsewhere, was enabled to pour all her

¹ Liv. II. 53, 54. Dion. Hal. IX. 592-4.

² Liv. IV. 1, 7.

³ "Pax domi forisque fuit." Liv. IV. 12. He also states that corn was purchased in Etruria during the famine at Rome (IV. 12, 13).

⁴ Liv. IV. 17, 18, 19. Propert. IV. Eleg. 10. Dion. Hal. Excerpta Mai, XII. 2.

⁵ Liv. IV. 21, 22.

⁶ Liv. IV. 30.

⁷ Liv. IV. 30-35.

⁸ Liv. IV. 58, 61. Diod. Sic. XIV. p. 247.

106 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

strength against her ancient foe.¹ In 352 Veii obtained the assistance of the Falisci and Capenates, who saw that she was the bulwark of Etruria against Rome, and should she fall, the whole land would be open to invasion, and they, as the nearest, would be the next to suffer.² The diversion thus created, together with dissension and dissatisfaction in the Roman camp, operated so greatly in favour of the Veientes, that at one time they had possession of the Roman lines ; but they were ultimately driven out, and their allies put to the rout.³ In 356, when the siege had already endured eight years, a remarkable phenomenon occurred, which by the superstitious Italians was considered a portent of some fearful event. In the height of summer, when elsewhere the streams were running dry, the waters of the Alban Lake, without any evident cause, suddenly rose to an extraordinary height, overflowing their barrier—the crater-lip of an extinct volcano—and threatening to burst it and devastate the Campagna with floods. Sacrifices were offered up, but the gods were not appeased.⁴ Messengers were despatched from Rome to consult the oracle at Delphi as to the meaning of this prodigy. In the meantime, at one of the outposts of the camp before Veii, the soldiers, as often happens in such situations, fell to gossiping with the townsfolk instead of fighting ; and one of them, a Roman centurion, who had made acquaintance with an old citizen, renowned as a soothsayer, began one day to lament the fate of his friend, seeing that when the city was taken, he would be involved in the common destruction. But the Veientine laughed thereat, saying, “Ye maintain an unprofitable war in the vain hope of taking this city of Veii, knowing not that it is revealed by the Etruscan Discipline, that when the Alban Lake shall swell, till its waters be drained off, so as not to mingle with the sea, the gods will not abandon Veii.” The centurion knowing the old man to be possessed of great power of divination, pondered these words in his mind, and the next day went to him again, and under pretext of consulting him on certain signs and portents, led him far from the walls of Veii ; then suddenly seizing him in his arms, bore him off to the Roman camp. Thence he was taken before the Senate, to whom he repeated his prophecy, saying that the gods

¹ Liv. IV. 61 ; V. 1.

² Liv. V. 8, 12, 13.

³ Liv. V. 8.

⁴ Dionys. Frag. Mai, XII. 8.

would not have it concealed, for thus was it written in the books of Fate. The Senate at first distrusted this prophecy ; but, on the return of the messengers from Delphi, it was confirmed by the oracle of the god—"Romans, beware of letting the water remain in the Alban Lake : take heed that it flow not to the sea in its natural channel. Draw it off, and diffuse it through your fields. Then shall ye stand victors on the walls of Veii." In consequence of this a tunnel was formed through the rocky hill, which still, as the Emissary of Albano, calls forth the admiration of the traveller ; and verily it is a marvellous work for that early age—the more so, if completed, as Livy asserts, within the short space of one year.¹ In 357 the Veientes received succour from Tarquinius,² and their other allies of Capena and Falerii being still in the field, their prospects of deliverance were raised ; more especially when in the following year their allies obtained a victory, which struck terror into the citizens of Rome, who hourly expected to see a triumphant foe beneath their walls.³ But the tables were soon turned ; for Camillus, now appointed dictator, first routed the forces of the allies, and then, taking a hint, it may be, from the Alban Emissary, which was by this time completed, began to work his celebrated *cuniculus*, "a very great and most laborious undertaking," into the citadel of Veii. Then were the oracle and the prophecy of the soothsayer accomplished, and Veii fell,⁴ proving her power even in her final overthrow—

Vincere cum Veios posse laboris erat—⁵

"for, though beleaguered for ten long years, with more injury to her foe than to herself, she was at last overcome by stratagem, not by open force."⁶

¹ For an account of the Alban prodigy, see Dionys. Frag. Mai, XII. cap. 8-11 ; Liv. V. 15, 16, 17, 19 ; Cic. de Divin. I. 44, and II. 32 ; Val. Max. I. 6, 3 ; Plut. Camil. ; Zonaras, Annal. VII. c. 20.

² Liv. V. 16.

³ Liv. V. 18.

⁴ Liv. V. 19, 21.

⁵ Propert., Lib. IV., Eleg. X. 24.

⁶ Liv. V. 22 ; Flor. I. 12.—"Veientium quanta res fuerit, indicat decennis obsidio." Ten years is the length of the siege of Veii, also according to Plutarch (Camil.) ; A. Victor (Vir. Ill. 23) ; but Diodorus (XIV. p. 307) makes it eleven ; while Dionysius (Excerpt. Mai, XII. 13) reduces it to nine. This, however, Cardinal Mai shows to be only an apparent discrepancy.

108 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

It is instructive to observe how similar are the fruits of superstition in all ages, and under various religious creeds. The scene between Camillus and the statue of Juno, the patron goddess of Veii, which he wanted to remove to Rome, is precisely such as has been reported to occur in similar circumstances in more recent times. Said Camillus to the goddess, "Wilt thou go to Rome, Juno?" The image signified assent by bowing her head; and some of the bystanders asserted that they heard a soft voice whispering assent.¹ Ancient writers frequently report such miracles—that statues broke into a sweat, groaned, rolled their eyes, and turned their heads—precisely such miracles as are related by modern enthusiasts or impostors.

The relation which the height of Isola Farnese bore to the ancient city has been the subject of much difference of opinion. Some have regarded it as the Arx of Veii, which Camillus entered through his *cuniculus*. That it may have been inhabited and fortified at an early period is not improbable; but there are strong reasons for believing that it was not so in the time of Camillus.² Others, with still less probability, have considered it the site of the Castle of the Fabii.³ To me it seems evident that at the time of the conquest it was nothing more than part of the necropolis of Veii. The rock is hollowed in every direction into sepulchral caves and niches, most of them apparently Etruscan; not only in the face of its cliffs, as Nibby has asserted, but some also on the table-land above. Now it is clear that such must have been its character in the days of Camillus, for the Etruscans never inhabited nor walled in a site that had been appropriated to burial; and though it may originally have been fortified, yet once made sacred to the dead, it must ever have remained so. The principal necropolis of Veii lay on the opposite side of the city, but the Etruscans—unlike the Greeks, who, in their colonies in Italy and Sicily, formed their cemeteries to the north of their towns⁴—availed themselves of any site

¹ Liv. V. 22. Plut. Camil.; Dionysius (Excerpt. Mai, XII. 17) says the goddess repeated her assent in an audible voice. According to Livy, it was not Camillus who put the question.

² See Appendix, Note V.

³ See Appendix, Note VI.

⁴ Bull. Inst. 1834, p. 212. De Jorio, *Metodo di rinvenire e frugare i sepolcri antichi*, p. 52.

that was convenient, and frequently, as in this case, buried their dead on several or opposite sides of their cities.

Whatever Isola may anciently have been, it was connected with the city by a road ; that which still runs from it to the mill. The tufo through which this is cut presents some remarkable features, being composed of very thin strata of calcined vegetable matter, alternating with earthy layers, showing the regular and rapidly intermittent action of some neighbouring volcano—the crater lake of Baccano or of Bracciano. The bed formed by an igneous deposit had been covered with vegetation, which had been reduced to charcoal by a subsequent eruption, and buried beneath another shower of earthy matter, which in its turn served for a hotbed to a second crop of vegetation. That these eruptions occurred at very short intervals is apparent, I think, from the thinness of the charcoal layers.¹ The whole mass is very friable, and this softness of the rock precluded the formation of a water-trough on one side, as is frequently seen in Etruscan roads, to carry off the water from above ; so here small pipes of earthenware were thrust through the soft tufo in one of the cliffs, and may be traced for some distance down the hill.²

To see the Ponte Sodo, the Columbario, and the Painted Tomb, which are within a short distance of each other, will not occupy more than two hours ; the Arx, lying in another direction, will require another hour ; and the entire circuit of the city, including the above lions, can hardly be accomplished in less than four or five. Antonio Valeri will provide asses, if required,—possibly saddles. Visitors should bring their own provender with them, which they can eat in his house or garden—or better still on the sunny turf, in some spot where they may feast at once their eyes and mouths—or, their stock failing, Antonio will provide refreshment, which may be eaten without alarm, in spite of the suspicion expressed by a recent writer that Isola is a sort of *Cannibal Island*, and that the traveller is in danger of a

¹ Pliny (XXXVII. 69) and Solinus (I. p. 16) speak of a precious stone found at Veii,—*Veientana gemma*—which was black bordered with white. It was probably of volcanic origin.

² These pipes may be Roman, for *tubuli fictiles* were used by that people for the conveyance of water (Vitruv. VIII. 6), instances of which may be observed within Rome itself.

110 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

Pelopidan banquet.¹ All fear of bandits, suggested in the same quarter, may be dispensed with, and "mounted *contadini*, covered with togas and armed with long iron-shod poles," may be encountered without trepidation, as honest drovers in quest of cattle.

Veii is of such easy access that no visitor to Rome should fail to make an excursion thither. It is not more than a couple of hours' drive from the gates, and though there be little of interest on the road beyond views of the all-glorious Campagna, and though the site of the ancient city be well-nigh denuded of its ruins, yet the intense interest of a spot, so renowned in history,—

"And where the antique fame of stout Camill
Doth ever live—"

and the tomb now open with its marvellous paintings and strange furniture, which carry the mind back with realizing force to the earliest days of Rome, render a trip to the site of Veii, one of the most delightful excursions in the neighbourhood of the Eternal City.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I

NOTE I.—THE MINE OF CAMILLUS.

NIEBUHR (II. p. 481, Eng. trans.) rejects the account, given by Livy, of the capture of Veii: first, as bearing too close a resemblance to the siege and taking of Troy, to be authentic; and next, because "in the whole history of ancient military operations we shall scarcely find an authentic instance of a town taken in the same manner." He thinks that the legend of the *cuniculus* arose out of a tradition of a mine of the ordinary character, by which a portion of the walls was overthrown; because the besiegers would never have resorted to the arduous labour of forming a *cuniculus* into the heart of the city, "when, by merely firing the timbers, by which, at all events, the walls must have been propt, they might have made a breach." Now, though, as Niebuhr clearly shows, there are many circumstances attending the capture, of too marvellous a character to be admitted as authentic history, with all deference to that great

¹ Sepulchres of Etruria, p. 109.

man, I must venture to differ from him, when he questions the formation of the *cuniculus*. The fact is stated, not only by Livy (V. 21), but by Plutarch (Camil.), Diodorus (XIV. p. 307), Florus (I. 12), and by Zonaras (Ann. VII. 21), though Dionysius in relating the fact of the capture is silent as to the means (Excerpt. Mai, XII. 12). The capture of Fidenæ by means of a similar mine (Liv. IV. 22), Niebuhr thinks not a whit better attested than that of Veii; but Dionysius mentions a similar capture of Fidenæ, as early as the reign of Ancus Martius (III. p. 180); and Livy records the taking of Nequinum or Narnia in a similar manner, in long subsequent times (X. 10). When Niebuhr states that the walls of Veii might have been breached by firing the timbers of the mine, it is most evident that he had not visited the site, and wrote in perfect ignorance of its character. Such a remark would apply to a town built in a plain, or on a slight elevation; but in a case where the citadel stood on a cliff, nearly two hundred feet above the valley (if Isola were the Arx, the height was yet greater), it is obviously inapplicable; and this Niebuhr, in fact, admits, by stating that “in Latium, where the strength of the towns arose from the steep rocks on which they were built, there was no opportunity of mining.” The Citadel of Veii was in a precisely similar category. His argument, then, against the *cuniculus* of Camillus falls to the ground, because founded on a total misconception of the true situation of Veii.

His error is the more surprising as he had the testimony of Dionysius (II. p. 116), that Veii “stood on a lofty and cliff-bound rock.” Holstenius, who regarded Isola Farnese as the Arx of Veii, speaks of the *cuniculus* of Camillus being “manifestly apparent” in his day (Adnot. ad Cluv. p. 54), but he probably mistook for it some sewer which opened low in the cliff. Nibby (III. p. 424) confesses his inability to discover it, but inclines to place it on the road from Isola towards Rome. Gell indicates a spot in the valley below the Piazza d’Armi, which he considers likely to have been chosen. If at the base of this height, any perpendicular shafts—*pozzi*, as the peasants call them—were discovered, and if these, when cleared out, were found to communicate with a horizontal passage, this I think would be likely enough to prove the *cuniculus*.

NOTE II.—SEPULCHRAL NICHES, AND MODES OF SEPULTURE.

These rocks at Veii, with faces full of small sepulchral niches, are unique in Etruria, but have their counterpart at Syracuse, and other cemeteries of Sicily; the only other instance in Italy

112 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

that I know is on the Via Appia, just beyond Albano. Tombs full of niches are abundant in Etruria, and as they are almost always found in exposed situations, rifled of all their furniture, it is difficult to pronounce on their antiquity. Their similarity to the *columbaria* of the Romans, is suggestive of such an origin, while the want of the *olla* hole, already mentioned, and the fact of being hollowed in the rock, instead of being constructed with masonry, distinguish them from the Roman *columbaria*. It is not improbable that these pigeon-holed tombs of Etruria are of native origin, and that the Romans, as Cav. Canina opines (Bull. Inst. 1841, 18), thence derived their idea of the *columbaria*, most likely from those of Veii, the nearest city of Etruria. By some the pigeon-holed tombs in Etruscan cemeteries are regarded as of late date, indicating a period when burning had superseded burial. Micali (Mon. Ined. pp. 163, 370), who is of this opinion, thinks all such tombs on this site posterior to the fall of Veii. Yet combustion was of far higher antiquity. The Greeks, in the earliest times, certainly buried their dead; such was the custom in the time of Cecrops, and of fable (Cic. de Leg. II. capp. 22, 25), yet in Homeric times burning was practised, as in the case of Patroclus and of Hector. That mode, however, was probably confined to the wealthy, for the expense of the pyre, as we find it described by Homer (Il. XXIII. 164, *et seq.*; XXIV. 784, *et seq.*), and by Virgil (*Æn.* XI. 72, *et seq.*), must have put it out of the reach of the community. Zoega (de Obel. IV. p. 270, *et seq.*) is of opinion that cremation was adopted for convenience sake, because the burnt ashes occupied less room, were less subject to putrefaction, and especially, were more easily transported, and quotes Homer (Il. VII. 334) in corroboration of his opinion. Philosophic notions of purification or of resolving the frame into its original element, may have had to do with the practice of burning. Both methods seem to have been practised coevally. (See Becker's *Charicles*. Excurs. sc. IX., and the authorities he cites.) Cinerary urns, however, are rarely found in the Greek tombs of Magna Græcia or Sicily. De Jorio, a practised excavator, says burial among the Greeks was to burning as ten to one—among the Romans as one to ten (Metodo per frugare i Sepolcri, p. 28, cf. Serradifalco, Ant. di Sic. IV. 197).

The practice of the Romans also in the earliest times was to bury, not burn their dead (Plin. Nat. His. VII. 55), the latter mode having been adopted only when it was found that in protracted wars the dead were disinterred. Yet burning seems also to have been in vogue in the time of Numa, who, as he wished to be interred, was obliged to forbid his body to be burned (Plut. Numa). Perhaps the latter custom had reference only to great men. Ovid represents the body of Remus as burnt (Fast. IV. 853-6). In the early times of the Republic,

interment was the general mode; burning, however, seems to have gradually come into use—the Twelve Tables speak of both (Cic. de Leg. II. 23)—yet certain families long adhered to the more ancient mode, the Cornelian *gens* for instance, the first member of which that was burnt was Sylla the Dictator, who, having dishonoured the corpse of Marius, feared retaliation on his own remains (Plin. l. c. Cic. de Leg. II. 22). Burning, at first confined to heroes, or the wealthy, became general under the Empire, but at length fell out of fashion, and was principally applied to the corpses of freedmen and slaves, and in the fourth century after Christ was wholly superseded by burial. Macrob. Sat. VII. 7.

With the Etruscans it is difficult to pronounce whether inhumation or adustion was the earlier, as instances of both together are found in tombs of very remote antiquity. With them, as with the Greeks and Romans, in later periods of their history, both methods seem to have been adopted contemporaneously. In certain sites, however, one or the other mode was the more prevalent. The antiquity of cremation is confirmed by archæological researches—by the cinerary hut-urns of Albano, which analogy, if not the position in which they were found, indicates to be of very ancient date—and by the very archaic character of some of the “ash-chests” and pottery found in Etruscan tombs.

NOTE III.—THE PONTE SODO.

Gell (II. p. 328) thinks that the deep hollow through which the Formello here flows was not its original bed, but that it made a *détour* round the foot of the ascent, and was brought for additional security nearer the high ground on which the city stands. I could see no traces of a former channel. The sinking of so deep a hollow (which bears no artificial character) would be a most arduous undertaking and scarcely worth the labour, when the natural bed of the stream, though a little more distant, supposing it to have been as Gell conjectures, might have been enlarged and fortified. Yet an examination of the tunnel favours Gell's view, or I should be rather inclined to believe in the natural character of the hollow, by which the stream approaches the Ponte Sodo, and to think that there was a natural channel through the rock enlarged by art to obviate the disastrous consequences of winter floods.

Nibby (III. p. 432) calls the Ponte Sodo 70 feet long. He could not have measured it, as I have, by wading through it. It is not cut with nicety, though it is possible that the original surface of the rock has been injured by the rush of water through

114 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

the tunnel, for the stream at times swells to a torrent, filling the entire channel, as is proved by several trunks of trees lodged in clefts of the rock close to the roof. So Ovid (*Fast.* II. 205) speaks of the *Cremera rapax*, because

Turbidus hibernis ille fluebat aquis.

There are two oblong shafts in the ceiling, with niches cut in them at intervals as a means of descent from above, precisely such shafts as are seen in the tombs of Civita Castellana and Falleri. Here they must have been formed for the sake of carrying on the work in several places at once. There is a third at the upper entrance to the tunnel, but not connected with it, as it is sunk into a sewer which crosses the mouth of the tunnel diagonally, showing the latter to have been of subsequent formation to the system of drainage in the city, and tending to confirm Gell's opinion, that the river originally made a *détour* to the left. Gell, who had not much acquaintance with Etruscan cities, seems to have mistaken the sewer for an aqueduct, and the shafts for wells by which the citizens drew water (II. p. 331). At this same end of the tunnel, the roof is cut into a regular gable form, and is of much greater elevation than the rest; it is continued thus only for thirty or forty feet, as if the original plan had been abandoned. This Ponte has been confounded by some with the Ponte Sodo in the vicinity of Vulci—*Sodo*, or solid, being a term commonly applied to natural bridges, or to such as in their massive character resemble them.

NOTE IV.—VEII ONE OF THE TWELVE.

Cluverius (II. p. 532), Niebuhr (I. p. 118), Muller (II. I, 2), Micali (I. p. 140), all regard Veii as one of the Twelve principal cities of Etruria. It is implied by Livy (II. 6), and Dionysius (V. p. 288), when it united with Tarquinii, the metropolis of Etruria, in assisting Tarquinius Superbus to recover his throne. Again, where the example of Veii, in throwing off the yoke of Servius Tullius, is followed by Cære and Tarquinii (Dion. Hal. IV. p. 231), undoubtedly cities of the Confederation; and, more clearly, where Tullius grants peace to the Twelve Cities, but mulcts the aforesaid three, which commenced the revolt, and instigated the rest to war against the Romans. It is most decidedly shown by Dionysius (*Frag. Mai*, XII. 13), when he calls it "a great and flourishing city, not the least part of Etruria;" and also (VI. p. 398), when he calls Veii and Tarquinii "the two most illustrious cities of Etruria;" and again (IX. p. 577), when he says that the Veientes, having made peace with Rome, "the eleven Etruscan people who were not

parties to this peace having convened a council of the nation, accused the Veientes, because they had made peace without consulting the rest." It is also clearly shown by Livy (V. 1), in that the king of the Veientes was disappointed because another was chosen by the suffrages of the Twelve Cities to be high-priest of the nation, in preference to himself. Livy elsewhere (IV. 23) states, that Veii and Falerii sent ambassadors to the Twelve people, to demand a council of the nation, at the Voltumnæ Fanum. This might, at first sight, be interpreted as indicating these two cities as not of the Twelve; but on further consideration it will be seen that the term "Twelve Cities" was a common, or, as Müller (II. 1, 2, n. 20) calls it, "a standing expression," and is not opposed to the idea of the two cities being included. They sought for a convention of the Twelve, of which they formed a part. Had it not been so they could scarcely have acted an independent part: the cities to which they were subject would have made the demand. When, at a later date, Capena joined Falerii in a similar request (Liv. V. 17), it should be remembered that Veii was then closely beleaguered, and Capena being her colony, might aptly act as her representative. Where Livy mentions the Twelve Cities, after the fall of Veii (VII. 21), it can only mean that the number being a fixed one, in each of the three divisions of Etruria, like the Thirty Cities of Latium, and the Twelve of the Achæan League, the place of the city that was separated was immediately supplied by another (Niebuhr, I. p. 119). But, were all these historical proofs wanting to show Veii to have been one of the Twelve, her large size, as determined by existing remains—an extent second to that of no other Etruscan city—would be evidence enough.

NOTE V.—ISOLA FARNESE NOT THE ARX OF VEII.

Though at first view it would seem that a site so strongly fortified by nature as the rock of Isola would naturally have been chosen for a citadel, yet there is good ground for rejecting the supposition. Its isolation—separated as it is from the city by a broad glen of considerable depth, and communicating with it only by the road which runs up obliquely from the mill—is strongly opposed to the idea. Nibby, indeed, who regards Isola as the Arx, takes a hint from Holstenius (Adnot. ad Cluv. p. 54), and thinks it may have been connected with the city by means of a covered way between parallel walls, as Athens was with the Piræus; but no traces of such a structure are visible, and it probably never existed save in the worthy Professor's imagination. Livy (V. 21) makes it clear that the Arx adjoined

116 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

the city, for, on the former being captured by Camillus, the latter immediately fell into his hands, which could not have been the case had Isola been the Arx, for its possession by an enemy, in those days of non-artillery, would have proved an annoyance, but could have little affected the safety of the city. There is every reason to believe, as already shown, that Isola was only a portion of the necropolis. If nothing more than Roman *columbaria*, and Roman funeral inscriptions, had been found on the spot, there would be room for doubt, seeing that sepulchral remains of that nation have also been found on the Piazza d'Armi, the true Arx, as well as within the walls of Etruscan Veii; which, however, only shows the small size of the Roman *municipium*. But the numerous Etruscan tombs on the height of Isola, and the absence of every trace of Etruscan sepulture on that of the Piazza d'Armi, seem alone, independently of the argument to be drawn from their position, to afford a strong confirmation of the opinion that the latter, and not Isola, was the Arx of Veii.

NOTE VI.—ISOLA NOT THE CASTLE OF THE FABII.

It is surprising that Isola should ever have been mistaken for the Castle of the Fabii. The objection raised by Gell, that it is not on the Créméra, scarcely seems valid, for who is to pronounce with certainty which of the two confluent bore the ancient name? It seems incredible, however, that the band of the Fabii should have been allowed to take up a position at so short a distance from Veii, overlooking its very walls, and that they should have succeeded in raising a fortress, and strengthening it with a double fosse and numerous towers (Dion. Hal. IX. p. 573). Dionysius says they fixed their camp on an abrupt and precipice-girt height on the banks of the Créméra, which is not far distant from the city of Veii; an expression which will scarcely apply to the stream at its very feet, which separates it from the hill of Isola, hardly two arrow-shots from the walls. Ovid (Fast. II. 205), as well as Dionysius, seems to imply that their camp was between Veii and Rome, and Livy (II. 49) seems strongly to indicate a similar position, when he says, that they were on the frontier between the Etruscan and Roman territories, protecting the one from foes, and devastating the other; and again more decidedly, when he asserts that the Veientes, on attacking the castle of the Fabii, were driven back by the Roman legions to Saxa Rubra, where they had a camp. Now, Saxa Rubra was on the Via Flaminia,¹ some miles distant, and it is

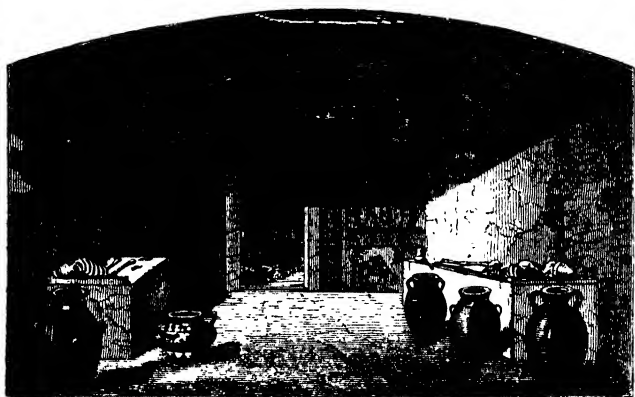
¹ Cluverius (Ital. Antiq. II. 527) places it at Borghetto, ten miles from Rome; Holstenius, Cramer, and Gell, somewhat nearer the City, at

evident that had Isola been the *Castellum Fabiorum*, the nearest place of refuge for the *Veientes* would have been their own city, and it is not to be believed that they could not have reached some one of its many gates even though attacked in flank by the Roman horse, as *Livy* states. The site fixed on for the *Fabian* camp by *Nibby* and *Gell*, but first indicated by *Nardini* (*Veio Antico*, p. 180), is on the right bank of the *Créméra*, near its junction with the *Tiber*, on the steep heights above the *Osteria della Valchetta*, and overhanging the *Flaminian Way*, about half-way between *Veii* and *Rome*, on which height are still remains of ancient buildings, though not of a style which can be referred to so early a period. The *Fabii* could not have chosen a more favourable spot than this for holding the *Veientes* in check, because it dominated the whole valley of the *Créméra*, then the boundary, as *Livy* implies, between the Roman and *Etruscan* territories, protected the former from incursions, and also held in check the *Fidenates*, should they have rebelled and attempted to form a junction with their kinsmen of *Veii*.

The ruins on the summit of this height are of late Roman and of medieval times—there is not a fragment that can be referred to the Republican era; only in the face of the cliff is a sewer cut in the rock, like those on *Etruscan* sites, showing the spot to have been inhabited at an earlier period than the extant remains would testify. On the height on the opposite side of the glen, are some Roman ruins of *opus incertum*, of prior antiquity.

Neither of these eminences then has more than *situation* to advance as a claim to be considered the site of the “*Præsidium Cremeræ*.” The distance, six miles, from *Veii*, seems to me too great, and I should be inclined to look for the Castle higher up the *Créméra*.

Prima Porta, five miles from *Veii*. That it was on or near the *Flaminian Way* is evident, not only from a passage in *Tacitus*, “*Antonius per Flaminiam ad Saxa Rubra venit*” (*Hist.* III. 79), but from the *Peutingerian Table* and *Jerusalem Itinerary*, which agree in placing it on this *Via*, nine miles from *Rome*. That it was not far from the City is clear from *Cicero* (*Phil.* II. 31). *Martial* (*IV. ep.* 64. 15) shows that it could be seen from the *Janiculan*, and that it was a place of small importance—*breves Rubras*.



GROTTA CAMPANA, AS IT WAS DISCOVERED.

CHAPTER II

VEII.—THE CEMETERY

Non è il mondan romore altro ch' un fiato
 Di vento, ch' or vien quinci, ed or vien quindi,
 E muta nome, perchè muta lato.—DANTE.

The noise
 Of worldly fame is but a blast of wind
 That blows from diverse points, and shifts its name
 Shifting the point it blows from.—CARY.

It is to be regretted that so little is to be seen of the long-forgotten dead of Veii. It was the largest, and, in Romulus' time, the most mighty of Etruscan cities, and yet in scarcely one other instance are there so few tombs to be seen. The hills around the city without doubt abound in sepulchres, all hewn out of the rock according to the universal Etruscan custom, but with the exception of those around the hamlet of Isola, which from the exposure of ages have lost almost all form and character, one only remains open to give the traveller an idea of the burying-places of the Veientes. Yet excavations are frequently, almost yearly, carried forward. The greater part of the land belongs to the Queen of Sardinia, who lets it out in the season to excavators, most of

them dealers in antiquities at Rome ; but as lucre is their sole object they are content to rifle the tombs of everything convertible into cash, and cover them in immediately with earth. Many tombs, it is true, have no peculiar features—nothing to redeem them from the common herd of sepulchres, of which, *ex uno disce omnia* ; but some discrimination should be exercised as to this, and the filling up should not be left to caprice or convenience. Surely, among the multitude that have been opened, some containing rich articles in gold, jewellery, and highly ornamented bronzes, not a few must have been found remarkable enough for their form or decorations to demand conservation.

Of tumuli there is no lack, though they are not so abundant as at Cervetri and Corneto : some of them have been proved to be Roman. That on the east of the city, called La Vaccareccia, with its crest of trees, so prominent an object in the Campagna, has been excavated by the Queen of Sardinia, but without success. Like the rest, it was probably raised over some Lucumo or distinguished man of the Veientes.¹ According to Antonio, it is the tomb of the Emperor Antoninus Pius, which shows that for historical or antiquarian information these local guides are as much to be relied on as the song which describes

“ The statues gracin’
That noble place in ;
All heathen gods
And nymphs so fair ;
Bold Neptune, Plutarch,
And Nicodemus,
All standing naked
In the open air ! ”

This tumulus is worthy of a visit only for the magnificent view which on a fine day it commands of the Campagna. There are several other tumuli or barrows in the valley of the Créméra below the Arx, and also on the heights on the right bank, which Gell imagines to have been raised over the slain in some of the bloody combats between the citizens and Romans during the ten years’ siege. It is quite as probable that they are merely individual or family

¹ Gell (II. 323) suggests that it may be the tomb of Propertius, king of Veii (Servius, *Æn.* VII. 697), or of Morrius, the Veientine king who instituted the Salian rites and dances. (Serv. *Æn.* VIII. 285.)

120 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

sepulchres.¹ On these heights Gell thinks Camillus must have pitched his camp in the last siege of Veii. At their base is a singular archway in the rock, whether natural or artificial is not easy to say, called *L' Arco di Pino*, which, with its masses of yellow and grey tufo, overhung with ilices, forms a most picturesque object in form and colouring, and claims a place in the visitor's sketch-book. Gell was of opinion that the *Via Veientana*, on descending from the heights, led through this arch on its way across the valley to the city. Several other large tumuli lie on the west and north of the city, and may be observed on the right of the modern road to Baccano.

The solitary tomb which I have mentioned as remaining open in the necropolis of Veii was discovered in the winter of 1842-3. It is of very remarkable character, and its proprietor, the *Cavaliere Campana*, of Rome, so well known for his unrivalled collection of Etruscan jewellery, with that reverence for antiquity and excellent taste for which he is renowned, has not only preserved it open for the gratification of the traveller, but has left it with its furniture untouched, almost in the exact condition in which it was discovered.

When I first knew Veii, it had no interest in its necropolis; though a thousand sepulchres had been excavated, not one remained open, and it was the discovery of this tomb that led me to turn my steps once more to the site. As I crossed the ancient city, I perceived that the wood which had covered the northern side had been cut down, so as no longer to impede the view. The eye wandered across the valley of the *Formello*, and the bare undulations of the necropolis opposite, away to the green mass of *Monte Aguzzo* northwards, with the conical and tufted *Monte Musino* behind it, and the village of *Formello* on a wooded slope below—a wild and desolate scene, such as meets the eye from many a spot in the *Campagna*, and to which the baying of the sheep-dogs in the valley beneath me, and the sharp shriek of the falcon wheeling above my head, formed a harmonious accompaniment—and yet, whether from the associations connected with this region, or the elevating effect of the back-ground of glorious *Apennines*, it is a

¹ Gerhard (*Mem. Inst. I. p. 28*) describes some of these as Roman tombs.

wildness that charms—a desolation that, to me at least, yields a delight such as few scenes of cultivated beauty can impart. From this point I descried the site of the tomb, in a hill on the other side of the valley of the Formello, where the deep furrows on its slopes marked recent excavations.

The tomb, in compliment to its discoverer and proprietor, should be termed—

LA GROTTA CAMPANA.

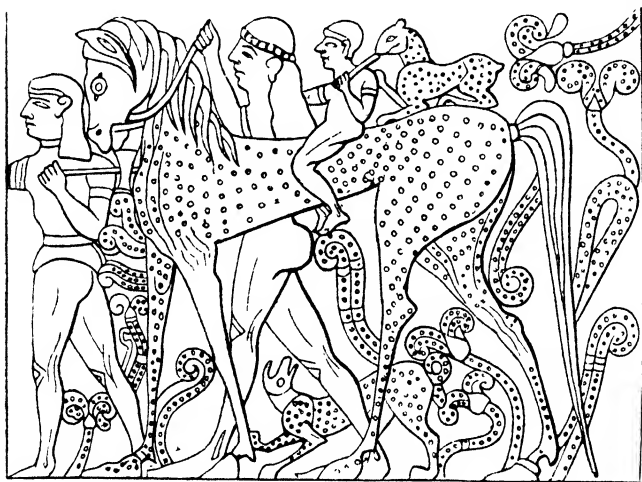
Half-way up the slope of a mound, the Poggio Michele, is a long passage, about six feet wide, cut through the rock towards the centre of the hill. At the entrance on each side couches a stone lion, of that quaint, singular style of sculpture, that clumsy, and, I may say, ludicrous form, which once seen, can never be forgotten, and which the antiquary recognizes as the conventional mode among Etruscan sculptors of representing the king of beasts. At the further end of the passage, couch two similar lions, one on each side of the door of the tomb—all intended as figurative guardians of the sepulchre.¹ The passage, be it observed, is of ancient formation, and has merely been cleared out by the spade of the excavator.

The door, of which Antonio keeps the key, is a modern addition—the ancient one, which was a slab of stone, having been broken to pieces by former excavators ; for it is rare to find an Etruscan tomb which has escaped the spoilers of every previous age, though the earliest riflers, after carrying off the precious metals and jewellery, often left every other article, even the most beautiful vases, untouched. It is a

¹ Inghirami (*Mon. Etrus.* I. 216) rejects this notion, on the ground that they could not frighten violators, who, if they had overcome their dread of the avenging Manes, so as to attempt to plunder a sepulchre, would not be deterred by mere figures in stone. But he argues from a nineteenth-century point of view, and does not allow for the effect of such palpable symbols of vengeful wrath, upon the superstitious minds of the ancients. Figures of lions, as images of power, and to inspire dread, are of very ancient use, and quite oriental. Thus, Solomon set lions around his throne (*I Kings* X. 19, 20), and the Egyptians and Hindoos placed them at the entrance of their temples. That they were at a very early period used by the Greeks as figurative guardians, is proved by the celebrated gate of Mycenæ. The monuments of Lycia, now in the British Museum, and the tombs of Phrygia, delineated by Stuart (*Ancient Monuments of Lydia and Phrygia*), show this animal in a similar relation to sepulchres ; and moreover establish a strong point of analogy between Etruria and the East.

122 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

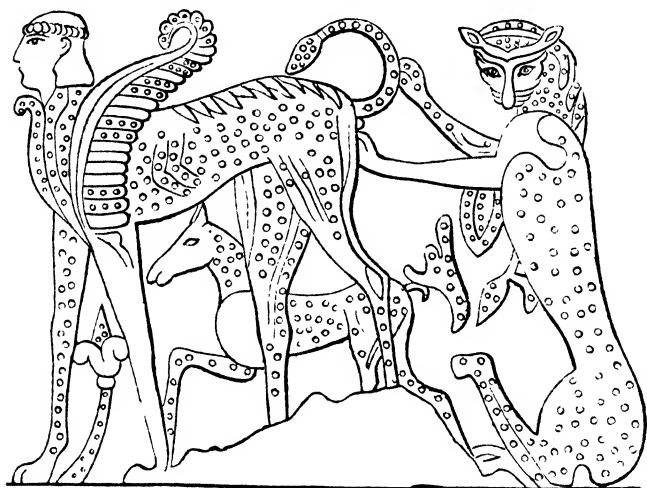
moment of excitement, this—the first peep within an Etruscan painted tomb; and if this be the first the visitor has beheld, he will find food enough for wonderment. He enters a low, dark chamber, hewn out of the rock, whose dark-greyish hue adds to the gloom. He catches an imperfect glance of several jars of great size, and smaller pieces of crockery and bronze, lying on benches or standing on the floor, but he heeds them not, for his eye is at once riveted on the extraordinary paintings on the inner wall of the tomb, facing the entrance. Were there ever more



strangely devised, more grotesquely designed figures?—was there ever such a harlequin scene as this? Here is a horse with legs of most undesirable length and tenuity, chest and quarters far from meagre, but barrel pinched in like a lady's waist. His colour is not to be told in a word—as Lord Tolumnius' chestnut colt, or Mr. Vibenna's bay gelding. His neck and fore-hand are red, with yellow spots—his head black—mane and tail yellow—hind-quarters and near-leg black—near fore-leg corresponding with his body, but off-legs yellow, spotted with red. His groom is in deep-red livery—that is, he is naked, and such is the colour of his skin. A boy of similar complexion bestrides the horse;

and another man precedes him, bearing a hammer, or, it may be, a *bipennis*, or double-headed axe, upon his shoulder; while on the croup crouches a tailless cat, parti-coloured like the steed, with one paw familiarly resting on the boy's shoulder. Another beast, similar in character, but with the head of a dog, stands beneath the horse. This is but one scene, and occupies a band about three feet deep, or the upper half of the wall.

Below is a sphinx, standing, not crouching, as is usual on ancient Egyptian monuments, with a red face and bosom,



spotted with white—straight black hair, depending behind—wings short, with curling tips, and striped black, red and yellow—body, near hind-leg and tail of the latter colour, near fore-leg black, and off-legs like the bosom. A panther, or large animal of the feline species, sits behind, rampant, with one paw on the haunch, the other on the tail of the sphinx; and beneath the latter is an ass, or it may be a deer, of smaller size than the panther. Both are painted in the same curious parti-colours as those described.

On the opposite side of the doorway (for there is a door in this wall, opening into an inner chamber), in the upper band, is a horse, with a boy on his back, and a "spotted

124 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

pard" behind him sitting on the ground. In the lower band is another similar beast of great size, with his tongue lolling out, and a couple of dogs beneath him. All these quadrupeds are of the same curious patchwork of red, yellow, and black.¹



To explain the exact signification of these figures I pretend not. In quaintness and peculiarity of form, they strongly resemble the animals represented on the vases of the most archaic style, and like them had probably some mystic or symbolic import; but who shall now interpret them? who shall now read aright the handwriting on these walls? Panthers are frequently introduced into the painted tombs of Etruria, as figurative guardians of the dead, being animals sacred to Bacchus, the Hades of the Etruscans. The boys on horseback, I take to be emblematical of the passage of the soul into another state of existence, as is clearly the case in many cinerary urns of later date; and the figure with the hammer is probably intended for the Charon of the Etruscans. Though the style of the figures seems to assimilate them to Egyptian paintings, yet there is nothing of that character in the faces of the men, as in the oldest

¹ These harlequin figures are not unique. They have been found also in a painted tomb at Cervetri, and to a lesser extent are to be seen in the tombs of Tarquinii, where, however, they cannot pretend to so high an antiquity.

painted tombs of Tarquinii, where the figures have more or less of the Egyptian physiognomy, according to their degree of antiquity. The features here on the contrary are very rudely drawn, and quite devoid of any national peculiarity, seeming rather like untutored efforts to portray the human face divine.¹ Indeed, in this particular, as well as in the uncouth representations of flowers interspersed with the figures, and of the same parti-coloured hues, there is a great resemblance to the paintings on early Doric vases—nor would it be difficult to find certain points of analogy with Mexican paintings. The sphinx, though with an Egyptian *coiffure*, has none of that character in other respects, for the Egyptians never represented this chimæra with wings, nor of so attenuated a form. The land of the Nile, however, may be seen in the ornamental border of lotus-flowers, emblematical of immortality, which surmounts the figures. The side-walls and the ceiling of this chamber show the bare rock, roughly hewn.

On either side of this tomb, and projecting from the walls, is a bench of rock about two feet and a half high, on each of which, when the tomb was opened, a skeleton was found extended; but exposure to the air caused them in a very short time to crumble to dust. One of these had been a warrior, and on the right-hand bench you still see portions of the breast-plate, and the helmet entire, which once encased his remains. Observe the helmet—it is a plain casque of the simplest form, rather Greek than Roman. You perceive on one side of it a hole, which seems by the indentation of the metal to have been caused by a hard blow. Do you doubt it? Turn the casque about and you will observe on the opposite side a gash, evidently formed by the point of a sword or lance from within; proving this to have been the fatal wound which deprived the warrior of life.

“Through teeth and skull and helmet
So fierce a thrust was sped,
The good sword stood a hand-breadth out
Behind the Tuscan’s head.”

On the same bench you see the iron head, much corroded, and the bronze rest of a spear—it may be the very weapon

¹ The woodcut on p. 122 fails to give the strange rudeness of the features.

126 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

which inflicted the death-wound. And how long since may that be? If it were not subsequent to the decorations of the tomb—and the fact of this warrior being laid out on one of the rock-hewn benches, goes far to prove him one of its earliest occupants—it must have been in very remote antiquity. The most untutored eye can perceive at a glance that the paintings belong to a very early age of the world. To me, after I had seen and studied every other painted tomb now open in Etruria, this seemed in point of antiquity pre-eminent; and I have not a moment's hesitation in asserting, that it is unquestionably the oldest painted tomb yet discovered in that land, or, as far as I can learn, now to be seen in Europe, and that few other tombs in Italy, though unpainted, have any claim to be considered anterior to it.¹ Its great antiquity is confirmed by the rest of its contents, all of which are of the most archaic character. Cav. Campana is of opinion that if it did not much precede the foundation of Rome it was at least coeval with, and in no way posterior to that event. I am inclined to assign to it by no means an inferior antiquity. The wall within the doorway is built up with masonry of very rude character, uncemented, belonging to an age prior to the invention of the arch; for the door is formed of blocks

¹ Even Micali, who tries to assign as recent a date as possible to every relic of antiquity, admits that the paintings in this tomb are the earliest works yet known of the Etruscan pencil on walls. He does not, however, attempt to fix their date, but leaves it undecided in the three centuries and a half between the foundation of Rome and the fall of Veii! (Mon. Ined. p. 395). He remarks that there is here no imitation of the Egyptian, but all is genuinely national, and characteristic of the primitive Etruscan school.

The only painted tomb yet discovered in Greece is in the island of Ægina, and it has only four figures sketched in charcoal on the walls of rock. It represents a Bacchic dance. The style is free and masterly, but no conclusion can be drawn from this solitary specimen, observes Professor Welcker, as to the mode of painting sepulchres among the Greeks, or even as to its being a custom at all (Bull. Instit. 1843, 57). Pausanias, however (VII. c. 22), describes one near the city of Tritia, painted by Nicias, the Athenian. "On an ivory chair sits a young woman of great beauty; before her stands a maid-servant, holding an umbrella, and a youth quite beardless is standing by, clad in a tunic and a purple *chlamys* over it, and by him stands a slave with some javelins in his hand, leading dogs such as are used by hunters. We were not able to divine their names; but we all alike conjectured that here a husband and wife were interred in the same sepulchre."

gradually converging towards the top, as in the oldest European architecture extant—in the style of the Cyclopean gateways of Greece and Italy—those mysteries of unknown antiquity. On one side of the door indeed there is some approximation to the arch—cuneiform blocks like *voussoirs*, and one also in the place of a key-stone; but if this be not mere accident, as might be supposed from the blocks not holding together as in a true arch, it shows merely a transition period, when, though somewhat of the principle of the arch was comprehended, it was not fully brought to perfection. Now as there is every reason to believe that the arch was known to, and practised by, the Etruscans at a very early period, prior to the reign of the Tarquins, when the Cloacæ of Rome were constructed, it is obvious that the masonry in this tomb indicates a very high antiquity.

The skeleton on the other bench was probably that of the wife of this warrior, as no weapons or armour were found on the couch. But these were not the sole occupants of the tomb. The large jars on the floor were found to contain human ashes, probably of the family or dependents of the principal individuals; if so, they would indicate that among the Etruscans of that age, to bury was more honourable than to burn—or at least they prove that both modes of sepulture were practised at a very early period. There are four of these jars, about three feet high, of dark brown earthenware, and ornamented with patterns in relief or colours; also several smaller jars of quaint, squat form, with archaic figures painted in the earliest style of Etruscan art, representing in one instance a dance of Bacchanals.¹ A

¹ This is some of the earliest pottery of Veii, and is very similar to that found at Cære. That of purely Etruscan manufacture, peculiar to Veii, consists of vases and jars of similar description, of plain black or brown ware, but with figures *scratched* upon the clay when wet, or else moulded in very low relief. Such plain ware is the most abundant on this site; painted vases are comparatively rare. Those in the Egyptian style with animals and chimæras are sometimes of extraordinary size, larger than any Panathenaic vases. There are also some with black figures in the archaic style, and even with red figures on a black ground, sometimes of a noble and sublime simplicity; yet, in spite of the beauty of conception and design, the rigidity and severity of the early school are never wholly lost. We may hence infer that vase-painting in Etruria had not reached its perfection when Veii was captured. This is a fact worthy of attention as tending to fix the era of the art. For as Veii was taken in the year 358, and remained uninhabited and desolate

128 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

bronze *præfericulum* or ewer, and a light *candelabrum* of very simple form, stand on the bench, by the warrior's helmet. Several bronze *specchj*, or mirrors, and small figures of men or gods in terra-cotta, and of animals in amber, were also found, but have been removed. All bore out the archaic character of the tomb.

Of similar description is the furniture of the inner and smaller chamber. The ceiling has two beams carved in relief; showing that even at an early period Etruscan tombs were imitations of the abodes of the living. A low ledge of rock runs round three sides of the chamber, and on it stand as many square cinerary urns or chests of earthenware, about eighteen inches long and a foot high, each with an overhanging lid, and a man's head projecting from it, as if for a handle; probably intended for a portrait of him whose ashes are stored in the urn.¹ On the same ledge are eight tall jars,

till the commencement of the Empire, we have the surest grounds for ascribing all the Etruscan pottery found in its tombs to a period prior to the middle of the fourth century of Rome.

For a description of the vases of Veii, see "Descrizione de' Vasi dell' Isola Farnese, &c., di Secondario Campanari, Roma 1839," or a review of the same in Bull. Inst. 1840, pp. 12-16. Also Micali, Mon. Ined., p. 156, *et seq.* tav. XXVII.; and p. 242, tav. XLI.

¹ Such urns as this are almost the only specimens yet found of the fictile statuary for which Veii was of old renowned, though a few *antefixæ* and decorated tiles have been brought to light, of which some good specimens may be seen in the Campana collection at Rome. The fictile *quadriga* made at Veii by order of Tarquinius Superbus was, like the Palladium, one of the seven sacred things, on the preservation of which the power and safety of Rome were believed to depend—the others being, Cybele's needle, the ashes of Orestes, Priam's sceptre, Ilione's veil, and the Salian bucklers. Serv. Æn. VII. 188. The legend of the *quadriga* is worth recording. Tarquin had bespoken one or more such cars of earthenware to adorn the pediment of his new temple on the Capitoline, according to the Etruscan fashion in architecture; but the clay, instead of shrinking as usual, swelled so as to burst the mould, and not to be extracted from the furnace; and the Etruscan soothsayers interpreting this as betokening increase of dominion to the possessor, the chariot was retained at Veii. Shortly after, however, a chariot-race was held at this city, and the victor having received his crown was leaving the arena, when his horses suddenly took fright, and dashed off at full speed towards Rome; nor did they stop till they arrived at the foot of the Capitol, where they threw out and killed their driver at the gate, afterwards called from his name, Ratumena. Whereon the Veientes, terrified at this second portent, gave up the earthen *quadriga* to the Romans. Plut. Public. Festus v. Ratumena. Plin. VIII. 65. XXVIII. 4. XXXV. 45.

some plain, others painted—banded red and yellow. Two stand in pans of terra-cotta, with a rim of animals of archaic form, beautifully executed in relief. There are other smaller jars or vases, all probably of cinerary character. In the centre of the apartment stands a low brazier of bronze, nearly two feet in diameter; which must have served for burning perfumes to destroy the effluvium of the sepulchre.

The walls of this inner chamber are unpainted, save opposite the doorway, where six discs or “crowns,” as Cav. Campana calls them, are represented as suspended. They are fifteen inches in diameter, and are painted with a mosaic-work of various colours, black, blue, red, yellow, and grey, in such small fragments, and with such an arrangement, as if they were copies of some kaleidoscope effect. What they are intended to represent is not obvious; nor have I ever heard a satisfactory explanation. They are too small for shields; and the whole disc being filled with colour, seems to preclude the idea of crowns or chaplets. They more probably represent *pateræ* or goblets, though their colouring is an objection also to this supposition; but the colour may here represent merely the carving with which such *pateræ* were adorned.¹ Above them are many stumps of iron nails rusted away, formerly supporting, perhaps, crockery—the originals, it may be, of these painted discs; and around the door between the two chambers are many similar traces of nails. It was a common custom to suspend vessels, and jugs of terra-cotta or bronze in this manner in Etruscan tombs; but, as no fragments of such were found at the foot of the wall, it is probable that something of a more perishable nature, or so valuable as to have been removed by previous spoilers, was here suspended.

At the entrance of this double-chambered tomb, and opening on the same passage, is another small tomb, evidently an appendage to the family-vault, and it may be of more recent formation. It is the porter's lodge to this mansion of the dead—and not metaphorically so, for Etruscan tombs being generally imitations of houses, the analogy

¹ *Pateræ* on sepulchral urns are not unfrequently found with the same style of adornment, but carved not coloured. Whatever these be, they may, as Dr. Braun suggests, have relation to the hero here interred, who seems to have died gloriously for his country. Bull. Inst. 1843, p. 70.

130 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

may be concluded to hold throughout ; and these small chambers, of which there are often two, one on each side of the *ostium*, or doorway, answer to the *cellulæ janitoris*, or *ostiarii*—not here within the entrance, as usual in Roman houses, but just outside—*janitor ante fores*—and it is highly probable that the lions here found were in place of the dog in domestic houses—*custos liminis*—*Cave canem !* This little chamber has a bench of rock on one side, on which are rudely carved the legs of a couch, with a *hypopodium* or long low stool beneath it ; the former to intimate that here was the last resting-place of the deceased ; the latter, an imitation of the stool used by the attendant on the corpse, as shown more clearly in a painting in one of the tombs of Corneto ; and doubtless also representing respectively the banqueting-couch and accompanying stool, so often pictured on the walls of Etruscan tombs. The body was probably extended on its rocky bier without coffin or sarcophagus. No vestiges of it, or of its habiliments, now remain—nothing beyond sundry small articles of pottery, perfume-vases, drinking-cups, plates, *pateræ*, and bronze mirrors—the usual furniture of Etruscan sepulchres.

The rock out of which these tombs are hewn is not tufo, but an arenaceous clay, of greyish-brown hue, and of a tendency to indurate by exposure to the air. In the outer passage, beside the couching lions, were found two small stone urns, either dragged out from the tombs by previous spoilers, or, if originally placed here, containing the remains of the slaves of the family, who were not unfrequently buried at the doors of sepulchres. This is a fair specimen of the Etruscan tombs found at Veii, though in general they have not more than one chamber. Sometimes too they are formed with a rounded, sometimes with a pointed ceiling, always alike hewn out of the rock.

One peculiarity of this sepulchre remains to be noticed. In almost every Etruscan tomb there is some inscription, either on sarcophagus, or urn, on *cippus*, or tile, or it may be on the inner walls, or external façade ; but to whom this belonged, no epitaph, no inscription whatever, remains to inform us.¹ Here was interred some bold but unfortunate

¹ Micali (Mon. Ined. p. 383) remarks that no inscriptions are found in any of the earliest tombs, either at Monteroni, Vulci, or Chiusi (he forgets the Regulini tomb at Cervetri, where inscriptions were found on

chieftain, some Veientine Lucumo, not less brave, not less worthy, it may be, of having his name preserved, than Achilles, Ulysses, Æneas, or half the heroes of antiquity ; but he had no bard of fame to immortalize his deeds.

“ Vain was the chief’s, the hero’s pride !
He had no poet—and he died ;
In vain he fought, in vain he bled !—
He had no poet—and is dead.”

More than this we know not of him. His deeds may have been sung by some native Homer—some compatriot may have chronicled his valour with the elegance and poetic fire of a Livy, or the dignified pen of a Tacitus, but they and their works have alike perished with him. It might be that his renown was so great that it was deemed a vain thing to raise a monumental stone—his deeds spoke for him—they were such as his friends and admiring countrymen fondly imagined could never die ; so they laid him out on his rocky bier, fresh, it would seem, from the battle-field, with his battered panoply for a shroud, and there

“ They left him alone with his glory.”

the silver bowls), and thinks writing in those remote ages was only known to a few of the principal citizens privileged by the priests, and only used in public and sacred documents. Letters we know were rare in those early times, and therefore nails were driven into the temple of Nortia, at Volsinii, as public records. Liv. VII. 3.

CHAPTER III

CASTEL GIUBILEO.—*FIDENÆ*

. . . tot vacuas urbes !—LUCAN.

Revolving, as we rest on the green turf,
The changes from that hour when He and Troy
Went up the Tiber. ROGERS.

IF from Veii the traveller follow the course of the Créméra for five or six miles, it will lead him to the Tiber, of which it is a tributary. In the cliffs of the lonely but beautiful ravine through which it flows he will observe in several places sepulchral caves, particularly at the end nearer Veii ; and on reaching the mouth of the glen, he will have, on the right, the ruin-capt heights which are supposed by Nibby and Gell to have been the site of the Castle of the Fabii.

Exactly opposite the mouth of this glen, and on the other bank of the Tiber, rises the hill which was once crowned by the city of Fidenæ. This, though beyond the bounds of Etruria Proper, being on the left bank of the Tiber, was an Etruscan city,¹ and in all probability a colony of Veii ; for Livy speaks of the consanguinity of the inhabitants of the two cities.² It seems at least to have been dependent on Veii, and was frequently associated with her in

¹ Liv. I. 15. Strab. V. p. 226.

² Liv. l. c. Plutarch (Romul.) says Fidenæ was claimed by Veii. Dionysius (II. p. 116) says that Fidenæ was originally a colony of Alba, formed at the same time as Nomentum and Crustumaria, and that the founders of these three towns were three brothers, of whom he of Fidenæ was the first-born. Virgil also cites it among the Alban colonies (*Æn.* VI. 773). Solinus (Polyhistor. II. p. 13) gives it the same origin, and says it was settled by Ascanius himself. According to Plutarch (Romul.), Fidenæ, in the time of Romulus, was possessed by the Sabines. Niebuhr (II. p. 455, trans.) thinks the Fidenates were originally Tyrrheni, and that when Livy calls them Etruscans,—nam Fidenates quoque Etrusci fuerunt—it is through the ordinary confusion between the Tuscans and Tyrrhenes. Müller (*Etrus. Einl.* 2. 14) thinks there must have been in the population of Fidenæ the same three elements as in that of Rome—Etruscans, Latins, and Sabines. Livy (I. 27) makes it clear that the native language of the Fidenates was not Latin. Martial (IV. Epig. 64 v. 15) testifies to the antiquity of Fidenæ.

opposition to Rome. Its history, indeed, save that on several occasions it fell into the hands of the Romans, is almost identical with that of Veii.

The traveller who would visit the site of Fidenæ, had better do so from Rome; for unless, like Cassius, he be prepared to

“leap into the angry flood
And swim to yonder point,”

he will find no means of crossing “the troubled Tyber;” and rapid and turbulent is the current at this point.¹ It is but a short excursion—only five miles—from Rome, and the road lies across a very interesting part of the Campagna. There are indeed two roads to it. One, the carriage road, runs direct from the Porta Salara, and follows the line of the ancient Via Salaria. But the traveller on foot or horseback should quit the Eternal city by the Porta del Popolo, and leaving the Florence road on the left, take the path to the Acqua Acetosa. Here a green hill—one of those bare, square table-lands, so common in the Campagna—rises on the right. Ascend it where a broad furrow in the slope seems to mark the line of an ancient road. You are on a plateau, almost quadrangular in form, rising steeply to the height of nearly two hundred feet above the Tiber, and isolated, save at one angle where it is united to other high ground by a narrow isthmus. Not a tree—not a shrub on its turf-grown surface—not a house—not a ruin—not one stone upon another, to tell you that the site had been inhabited. Yet here once stood Antemnæ, the city of many towers,² one of the most ancient of Italy.³ Not a trace remains above ground. Even the broken pottery, that infallible indicator of bygone civilization, which marks the site and determines the limits of habitation on many a now desolate spot of classic ground, is here so overgrown with herbage that the eye of an antiquary would alone detect it. It is a site strong by nature, and well adapted for a city, as cities then were; for it is scarcely larger than the Palatine

¹ Dionysius (III. p. 165) notices this fact.

² Turrigeræ Antemnæ,—Virg. *Æn.* VII. 631.

³ —Antemnaque prisco
Crustumio prior.—

Sil. Ital. VIII. 367. cf. Dion. Hal. II. p. 103.

134 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

Hill, which, though at first it embraced the whole of Rome, was afterwards too small for a single palace. It has a peculiar interest as the site of one of the three cities of Sabina, whose daughters, ravished by the followers of Romulus, became the mothers of the Roman race.¹ Antemnæ was the nearest city to Rome—only three miles distant—and therefore must have suffered most from the inhospitable violence of the Romans.

It was a bright spring morning when I first visited the spot. All Rome was issuing from its gates to witness the meeting of the huntsmen at the tomb of Cæcilia Metella. Shades of Flaccus and Juvenal! can ye rest amid the clangour of these modern Circenses? Doth not the earth weigh heavy on your ashes, when "savage Britons," whom ye were wont to see "led in chains down the Sacred Way," flaunt haughtily and mockingly among your hearths and altars?—when, spurning the sober pleasures of the august and solemn city, in the pride of their wealth and power, they startle all Rome from its propriety by races and fox-hunts, awakening unwonted echoes among the old sepulchres of the Appian Way, and the ruined aqueducts of the Campagna?

Here, beyond the echo of the tally-ho, I lay down on the green sward, and gave myself up to enjoyment. Much was there to afford delight—the brightness and beauty of the scene—the clear blue sky—the genial warmth of the sun, by no means oppressive, but just giving a foretaste of his summer's might—there was the interest of this and other sites around—and there was Livy in my hand. No one can thoroughly enjoy Italy without him for a companion. There are a thousand sites and scenes which might be passed by without interest, but which, once touched by the wand of this magician, rise immediately into life and beauty. Be he more of a romancer than historian—I care not; but prize him as among the first of Roman *poets*. To read him thus, reclining on the sunny sward, with all the influences of nature congenial, and amid the scenes he has described, was perfect luxury.

Here no sound—

Confusæ sonus urbis et illætabile murmur—

¹ I.iv. I. 9, 10; Dionys. II. p. 101. Plut. Romul. The other two were Cænina and Crustumium.

told of the proximity of the city. Rome seldom, save on great festive occasions, raises her voice audibly. Never does she roar tempestuously like London, nor buzz and rustle like Paris or Naples—at the most she utters but, as Carlyle would say, “an inarticulate slumberous mumblement.” She is verily more “blessed” in the want than in the possession of the “noise and smoke” of Horace’s time.—

Omitte mirari beatæ
Fumum et opes strepitumque Romæ.

Far beneath me, at the foot of the steep cliff which bounds Antemnæ to the north, flowed the Anio, not here the “headlong” stream it shows itself at Tivoli, and higher up its course,¹ but gliding soberly along to meet its confluent Tiber.² Beyond it, stretched a long level tract of meadow-land, dotted with cattle; and bounding this, a couple of miles or more distant, rose another eminence crested by some building and jutting out from the adjoining heights till it almost overhung the Tiber. This was Castel Giubileo, the site of the ancient Fidenæ. On the low hills to the right, Romulus, when at war with that city, laid his successful ambush.³ But in the intervening plain was fought the desperate conflict between the Romans and the allied forces of the Veientes and Fidenates, in the reign of Tullus Hostilius. With Livy’s vivid page before me, it required little imagination to people the scene anew, and to picture the army of Veii crossing the Tiber, and joining the troops of Fidenæ in this plain. The Romans, encamped at the confluence of the streams at my feet, advance to meet them. Tullus Hostilius marches his forces along the Tiber to the encounter. Mettus Fuffetius, his ally, the leader of the Albans, meditating treachery, and willing to throw his weight into the heavier scale, is creeping up the hills on the right, where with his army he remains a spectator of the combat, till fortune befriends the Romans. Here I see the

¹ “Præceps Anio.” Hor. I. Od. 7, 13. Statius, Silv. I. 5, 25.

² Varro (de Ling. Lat. V. 28) says the name of the city was derived from its position. “Antemnæ, quod ante amnem qui Anio influit in Tiberim.” Servius (Æn. VII. 631) and Festus (v. Amnenses) say the same.

³ Liv. I. 14. Dion. Hal. II. p. 117. Plut. Romul. Frontin. Strat. II. 5, 1.

136 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

Fidenates flying back to defend their city; and there the Veientes are driven into the Tiber, or cut down in numbers on its banks. And I shudder to behold in imagination the terrible vengeance inflicted by the victorious Roman upon his treacherous ally.¹

On the same field was fought many a bloody fight between the Romans and Etruscans. Here, in the year of Rome 317, the Fidenates, with their allies of Veii and Falerii, were again defeated, and Lars Tolumnius, chief of the Veientes, was slain.² And a few years later, Mamilius Æmilius and Cornelius Cossus, the heroes of the former fight, routed the same foes in the same plain, and captured the city of Fidenæ.³ Here too, Annibal seems to have pitched his camp when he marched from Capua to surprise the City.⁴

I turned to the right, and there, at the foot of the hill, the Ponte Salaro, a venerable relic of antiquity, spanned the Anio. It may be the identical structure which, in the year of Rome 393, was the scene of many a fierce encounter between the Romans and Gauls encamped on opposite banks of the stream, and on which Manlius Torquatus did combat with the gigantic Gaul who had defied the Roman host, and, like another David, smote his Goliath to the dust.⁵

I turned to the left, and yon ruins on the further bank of the Tiber, marked the supposed site of the Castle of the Fabii; nearer still several crumbling towers indicated the course of the Flaminian; and yon cave at the base of a cliff was the celebrated Grotta de' Nasoni, or tomb of the Nasones. Further down the Tiber was the Ponte Molle, the scene of Constantine's battle with Maxentius, and of the miracle of the flaming cross. On every hand was some object attracting the eye by its picturesque beauty, or exciting the mind to the contemplation of the past.

The Ponte Salaro is on the line of the ancient Via Salaria, the high road to Fidenæ. It is a very fine bridge,

¹ Liv. I. 27, 28. cf. Dion. Hal. III. p. 161-172. Flor. I. 3. Val. Max. VII. 4, 1. Ennius, Ann. II. 30, *et seq.* A. Vict., Vir. Ill. IV.

² Liv. IV. 17, 18, 19. ³ Liv. IV. 32, 33, 34. ⁴ Liv. XXVI. 10.

⁵ Liv. VII. 9, 10. Serv. Æn. VI. 825. Aul. Gell. IX. 13. Dio Cassius (Excerpt. Mai, tom. II. p. 530), makes it the king of the Gauls whom Manlius slew, transferring his greatness from his stature to his station.

of three arches; the central one, eighty feet in span, and about thirty above the stream; the side ones stilted, and not more than twelve feet in span. The structure is faced with travertine; but this indicates the repairs made by Narses in the sixth century after Christ; the original masonry, which is uncovered in parts, is of tufo, in the Etruscan style, and may possibly be of Etruscan construction; as it may be presumed were most of the public edifices in Rome and her territory for the first few centuries of her existence. Its masonry is rusticated, and in the arrangement and dimensions of the blocks precisely similar to that of the ancient walls at Sutri, Nepi, Civita Castellana, Bieda, and other Etruscan sites in the southern district of the land. It is at least of the time of the Republic.

Just beyond the bridge is an *osteria*, in what was once a Roman sepulchre, where he who foots it to Fidenæ may refresh himself with tolerable wine. The road runs through the meadows for a couple of miles to Castel Giubileo. In the low hills to the right, are caves, which have been tombs. Just before Fidenæ, at a bend in the road, stands the Villa Spada, the height above which is supposed by Gell to be the site of the Villa of Phaon, the scene of Nero's suicide.¹

The first indications of the ancient city are in the cliffs on the right of the road, in which are remains of tombs with niches, and a sewer,² all excavated in the rock beneath the city-walls—walls, I say, but none exist, and the outline of the city is to be traced only by the character of the ground and the extent of the fragments of pottery. The height above the tombs bears these unequivocal traces of bygone habitation; and at certain parts on the edge of the cliffs are remains of *opus incertum*, probably of some Roman villa. The hill of Castel Giubileo, on the other hand, has also formed part of the city, and its steep, lofty, and isolated character has with great probability caused it to be regarded as the Arx of Fidenæ.³ A farm-house now crests its summit, raised to that elevation for protection, not from man's attack, but from a more insidious foe, the malaria

¹ Gell, I. p. 439.

² An upright channel cut in the rock, about six feet high, and two wide.

³ Gell, I. p. 441. The character of the ground exactly tallies with Livy's description, that it was steepest on the side furthest from Rome—*ab aversâ parte, suâpte naturâ tutissima erat.* Liv. IV. 22.

138 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

of the Campagna. The ancient Via Salaria, whose course the modern road follows, passed between these two eminences, that is, through the very heart of Fidenæ. In the cliff beneath the farm-house is another tomb. Sepulchres were often hollowed out beneath, though very rarely within, the walls of Etruscan cities. The whole face of the steep, at the time I first visited it, was frosted over with the bloom of the wild pear-trees which clothe it, tinted with the rosy flowers of the Judas-tree—

“One white empurpled shower
Of mingled blossoms.”

Had the whole of the city been comprehended on this height, it would be easy to understand Livy's description; “the city, lofty and well-fortified, could not be taken by assault;”¹ but as it also covered the opposite eminence, the walls which united them must have descended in two places, almost to the very level of the plain. These were the vulnerable points of Fidenæ, and to them was perhaps owing its frequent capture. It seems very probable, from the nature of the position, that the earliest town was confined to the height of Castel Giubileo. Yet, in this case, Fidenæ would scarcely answer the description of Dionysius, who says, “it was a great and populous city” in the time of Romulus.² This was probably meant in a comparative sense, in reference to the neighbouring towns. It would seem, however, that Fidenæ was never of great size or importance. It was little more than two miles in circuit. Its vicinity to and frequent contests with Rome gave it a prominence in history, to which, from its inferior size and power, it was not entitled.

Making the circuit of Castel Giubileo, you are led round till you meet the road, where it issues from the hollow at the northern angle of the city.³ Besides the tombs which are found on both sides of the southern promontory of the city, there is a cave, running far into the rock, and branching off into several chambers and passages. Fidenæ, like Veii,

¹ Liv. loc. cit.

² Dion. Hal. II. p. 116. Silius Italicus (XV. 90) testifies to the early power of Fidenæ, while he hints at its subsequent decay.

³ This is the steepest and most impregnable side of Fidenæ, and as such is referred to by Dionysius (V. p. 310), and more expressly by Livy (loc. cit.)

is said to have been taken by a mine ;¹ and this cave might be supposed to indicate the spot, being subsequently enlarged into its present form, had not Livy stated that the *cuniculus* was on the opposite side of Fidenæ, where the cliffs were loftiest, and that it was carried into the Arx.

The chief necropolis of Fidenæ was probably on the heights to the north-east, called Poggio de' Sette Bagni, where are a number of caves ; and here, also, are traces of quarries, probably those of the soft rock for which Fidenæ was famed in ancient times.²

The ruin of Fidenæ is as complete as that of Antemnæ. The hills on which it stood are now bare and desolate ; the shepherd tends his flocks on its slopes, or the plough furrows its bosom. Its walls have utterly disappeared ; not one stone remains on another, and the broken pottery and the tombs around are the sole evidences of its existence. Yet, as Nibby observes, "few ancient cities, of which few or no vestiges remain, have had the good fortune to have their sites so well determined as Fidenæ."³ Its distance of forty stadia, or five miles from Rome, mentioned by Dionysius,⁴ and its position relative to Veii, to the Tiber, and to the confluence of the Anio with that stream, as set forth by Livy,⁵ leave not a doubt of its true site.

The history of Fidenæ is a series of struggles with Rome, of captures and rebellions, if the efforts of a people to free themselves from a foreign and unwelcome yoke may be thus designated. We have no less than eight distinct captures of it recorded.⁶ Livy sneeringly remarks, "it was almost more often captured than attacked."⁷ It was first taken by Romulus, and by him made a Roman colony ; and such it continued, save at intervals when it threw off the yoke, till

¹ Liv. loc. cit. Dionysius (III. p. 180) mentions a prior capture of Fidenæ by Ancus Marcius by means of a *cuniculus*.

² Vitruv. II. 7. Plin. XXXVI. 48.

³ Nibby II. p. 51.

⁴ Dion. Hal. II. p. 116, III. p. 167, and X. p. 648. Strabo V. p. 230. It is the first station from Rome on this road in the Peutingerian Table, which calls it six miles distant—reckoning from the Forum.

⁵ Liv. I. 14, 27 ; IV. 17, 21, 31, 32, 33, 34 ; see also Dionysius III. pp. 165, 181, 191, 193.

⁶ See the Appendix to this Chapter.

⁷ Liv. IV. 32,—prope sæpius captas quam oppugnatas.

140 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

its final capture and destruction in the year of Rome 328.¹ Its destruction was an act of policy on the part of Rome. She had experienced so much annoyance from the towns in her immediate neighbourhood, especially from Fidenæ, which she had subdued again and again, and re-colonized with Romans: but the hostility of the original inhabitants being ever ready to break forth, made it a thorn in her side; and it was undoubtedly to rid herself of these foes at her very gates, that she either destroyed or suffered to fall into decay Fidenæ, Antemnæ, Veii, and other towns of the Campagna. The destruction of Fidenæ was complete, and in after ages its desolation became a bye-word.² Yet its site seems to have been inhabited in the time of Cicero,³ and still later it was a village,⁴ or more probably only the site of some private villa.⁵ Under the Empire it seems to have increased in importance, for an amphitheatre of wood was erected there, in the reign of Tiberius, which gave way during the performance, and fifty thousand persons were mutilated or crushed to death by its ruins.⁶ It must not, however, be supposed that such was the population of Fidenæ in those times, for Tacitus states that a great concourse flocked thither from Rome, the more abundant from the pro-

¹ Florus (I. 12) speaks of it as having been burnt by its inhabitants, —*cremati suo igne Fidenates*—the prototype of Moscow. Yet not many years after, shortly after the Gauls had evacuated Rome, we hear of the Fidenates, in conjunction with some of the neighbouring people, suddenly rising, and striking such terror into the Romans, that they commemorated the event ever after by a public festival on the Nones of July, called “*Populifugia*” or “*Poplifugia*.” Varro de L. L. VI. 18. Macrob. Saturn. III. 2. Dionysius, however (II. p. 118), gives a very different version of the origin of this festival, referring it to the time immediately subsequent to the death of Romulus. This discrepancy leads Arnold (II. p. 10) to regard the story as “uncertain,” and Niebuhr (II. p. 573) justly doubts if these towns could have been left standing at the period of the Gaulish invasion.

² Hor. I. Epist. XI. 7.—

Gabiis desertior atque
Fidenis vicus.

³ Cic. de Leg. Agrar. II. 35.

⁴ Strabo V. p. 226.

⁵ Strabo V. p. 230.

⁶ Tacit. Ann. IV. 62, 63. This number is confirmed by the anonymous author of the Olympiads (Ol. 201, 2) quoted by Cluverius (II. p. 657), but according to Suetonius (Tiber. 40) twenty thousand only perished in the ruins.

pinquity of the place.¹ Fidenæ continued in existence long after this; for it is mentioned in Roman inscriptions of the close of the third, and by the Peutingerian Table in the fourth century.

Though there are so few local antiquities—little more than associations of the olden time—remaining at Fidenæ, the scenery should alone be sufficient to attract the visitor to the spot. From these heights you look down on “the yellow Tiber” winding through the green valley—rafts floating down its stream, and buffaloes on its sandy banks, slaking their thirst, or revelling in its waters. That opening in the cliffs on its opposite bank is the glen of the Créméra, whose waters, oft dyeing the Tiber with crimson, told the Fidenates of the struggles between their kinsmen of Veii and the common foe. Those ruins on the cliff above the glen are supposed to mark the site of the Camp of the Fabii, that band of heroes, who, like Leonidas and his Spartans, devoted themselves to their country, and fell in her cause. Further, in the same direction, yon distant tree-capt mound points out the site of Veii; it is the tumulus of Vaccareccia. On the high ground to the left may be recognized the palace at Isola Farnese, and the inn of La Storta; and the solitary towers at intervals between this and Rome, mark the line of the Via Cassia. There you see the undulating heights around the lake of Bracciano; and the grey head of the Ciminian beyond; the tufted cone of Monte Musino; and that pyramid of Nature’s raising, Soracte, rarely now snow-capt as in days of yore,² but towering in dark and lonely grandeur from the plain. Do you seek for snow?—turn to the range of Apennines, whose frozen masses are glittering like ice-bergs in the sun, piled above nearer and darker heights, among which Monte Gennaro, the “*Lucretilis amœnus*” of Horace,³ stands prominent; and at its feet

¹ Tacit. loc. cit. Juvenal (VI. 56, X. 100) too, who wrote not many years after this, speaks contemptuously of Fidenæ, and by coupling it with Gabii seems to refer to the proverb, cited by Horace. Livy also (V. 54), and Virgil (*Æn.* VI. 773) couple these towns together. cf. Propert. IV. 1, 34, 36.

² *Vides ut altâ stet nive candidum*
Soracte, &c.—HOR. Od. I. 9, 1.

³ Hor. Od. I. 17, 1.

142 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

Tivoli, ever dear to the poet,¹ sparkles out from the dense olive-groves.² There, where the purple range sinks to the plain, "cool Præneste" climbs the steep with her Cyclopean walls.³ Here, as your eye sweeps over the bare Campagna, it passes the site of many a city, renowned in the early history of Italy, but now, like Fidenæ and Antemnæ, in utter desolation, and lost to the common eye.⁴ And there, on the slope of the Alban, that most elegant of mountains, with its soft flowing outlines and long graceful swells, still brightened by towns—once stood Alba, the foster-mother, and rival of Rome; Tusculum with its noble villas and its Academy, where the greatest of Romans lived, wrote, debated, taught, and where—

"Still the eloquent air breathes, burns, with Cicero ;"—

and from its highest peak shone the Temple of Jove, the common shrine of the Latin cities, a worthy altar to the King of Heaven. Then, after again sweeping the surface of the wide Campagna, strewn in this quarter with league-long lines of ruined aqueducts, with crumbling tombs, and many a monument of Roman grandeur, your eye reaches at length the Imperial City herself. She is in great part concealed by the intervening Pincian, but you catch sight of her most prominent buildings—the pinnacled statues of St. John Lateran, the tower and cupolas of Sta. Maria Maggiore, and the vast dome of St. Peter's; and you look in imagination on the rest from the brow of Monte Mario, which rises on the right, crested with dark cypresses and snow-white villas.

¹ Tibur, Argeo positum colono,
Sic meæ sedes utinam senectæ!
HOR. OD. II. 6, 5.

² Densa Tiburis umbra.—
HOR. OD. I. 7, 20.

³ HOR. OD. III. 4. 22. JUVEN. SAT. III. 190.

⁴ Pliny (III. 9) enumerates fifty-three towns of ancient Latium, which in his day had utterly perished, without a trace remaining—*interiere sine vestigiis*—among them were Antemnæ and Fidenæ. But, as regards the latter, this is hardly in accordance with the facts mentioned in pp. 140-1.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER III

NOTE.

FIDENÆ was taken, 1st, by Romulus, who pursued the routed citizens within the gates. Liv. I. 14 ; Dion. Hal. II. p. 116 ; Plut. Romul.

The 2nd time by Tullus Hostilius, who reduced it by famine. Dion. Hal. III. p. 172.

The 3rd by Ancus Martius, by means of a *cuniculus*. Dion Hal. III. p. 180.

The 4th by Tarquinius Priscus, by storm. Dion. Hal. III. p. 194.

The 5th in the year of Rome 250, by the Consuls Valerius Poplicola, and Lucretius Tricipitinus, also by storm. Dion. Hal. V. p. 310.

The 6th in the year 256, by the Consul Largius Flavus, by famine. Dion. Hal. V. p. 325.

The 7th in the year 319, by the Dictator A. Servilius Priscus, by means of a *cuniculus*. Liv. IV. 22.

The 8th, and last time, in the year 328, by the Dictator Mam. Æmilius Mamercinus, in the same manner as it was first taken by Romulus (Liv. IV. 34), though Florus (I. 12) says it was set on fire by its own citizens.



THE AMPHITHEATRE OF SUTRI, FROM THE ENTRANCE.

CHAPTER IV

SUTRI.—*SUTRIUM*

Imaginare amphitheatrum . . . quale sola rerum natura possit effingere.
 PLIN. Epist.

Gramineum campum, quem collibus undique curvis
 Cingebant silvæ ; mediâque in valle theatri
 Circus erat.

VIRG.

It was a bright but cool morning in October, when we¹ left the comfortless inn of La Storta, and set out for Sutri. The wind blew keenly in our teeth ; and the rich tints of the trees wherever they appeared on the undulating plain, and the snow on the loftiest peaks of the Apennines, proved that autumn was fast giving place to winter.

The road to Florence still pursues the line of the ancient Via Cassia, of which we were unpleasantly reminded by the large blocks of basalt which had formed the ancient pavement, and were now laid at intervals by the side of the road—*proh pudor!*—to be Macadamized for the convenience

¹ When the plural number is used it refers to my friend Mr. Ainsley, in whose company my most interesting excursions to Etruria have been made, and who is himself engaged in preparing for publication an artistic work on Etruscan Tombs.

of modern travellers. This is, alas, too often the case in the Italian States, where the spirit of utilitarianism is fully rife. If a relic of antiquity be convertible into cash, whether by sale or by exhibition, it meets with due attention; but when this is not the case, nobody cares to preserve it—the very terms in which it is mentioned are those of contempt—it is *il pontaccio*—or, *le muraccia*—and “worth nothing;” or, if it can be turned to any account, however base, the most hoary antiquity will avail it nought. Stones are torn from the spots they have occupied eighteen, twenty, or five-and-twenty centuries, where they served as corroborations of history, as elucidations of national customs, as evidences of long extinct civilization, and as landmarks to the antiquary—they are torn thence to be turned to some vile purpose of domestic or general convenience. Surely governments which profess to reverence and prize memorials of the past, should put a stop to such barbarous spoliations and perversions; or the ancient Ways will ere long be untraceable, save by the Itineraries of Antoninus and Theodosius, or by the records of modern archæologists.

Just after leaving La Storta, a road branches to the left towards Bracciano and its Lake. It follows nearly the line of the ancient Via Clodia, which ran through Sabate, Blera, and Tuscania, to Cosa. The first station on that Way beyond Veii was Careiæ, fifteen miles from Rome, now represented by the ruined and deserted village of Galera, which lies a little off the modern road. The only mention of Careiæ is made by Frontinus, the Antonine Itinerary, and the Peutingerian Table, and there is no record of an Etruscan population here, yet there are said to be remains of ancient walls, and Etruscan tombs in the cliffs around.¹

Two miles beyond La Storta brought us to the Osteria del Fosso, a lonely way-side inn, which has nothing remarkable, save an hostess, who, if rumour is to be credited, like the celebrated white sow of Lavinium, has been the mother of thirty children. The stream here crossed is that of I due Fossi, which washes the western walls of Veii. In the rocks around are traces of Etruscan tombs, part of the necropolis of that city.

¹ Front. de Aquæd. II. p. 48. Gell. II. v. Galeria. Nibby (II. p. 92) cannot date any part of the walls earlier than the eleventh century after Christ.

146 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

Seven miles more over the bare undulating Campagna to Baccano, the ancient Ad Baccanas, a place like many others in Italy, known to us only through the Itineraries, once a Roman *Mutatio*,¹ and now a modern post-house, situated in a deep hollow, originally the crater of a volcano, and afterwards a lake, but drained in ancient, and most probably Etruscan times, by emissaries cut through the base of the encircling hills. At the eighteenth milestone, close to the hamlet of Baccanaccio, is one, cut through the rocky soil to the depth of about twenty feet, and very narrow, which Gell seems to think may have been formed in ancient times, but I believe it to be modern, and the work of the Chigi family, the territorial lords of Baccano.²

Nothing like the Alban Emissary, that is, a *cuniculus*, now exists in the hollow. On the height however towards Rome, there are several, which drain the water from an upper basin of the crater. They are carried through Monte Lupolo, a lofty part of the crater rim. Here there are also a number of holes in the upper part of the hill, said to be of great depth, and called by the peasants "*pozzi*," or wells; probably nothing more than shafts to the emissaries. It was these passages that were mistaken by Zanchi for the *cuniculus* of Camillus, and which led him to regard this as the site of ancient Veii.

The lake is now represented by a stagnant pond in the flat marshy ground at the bottom of the crater, which makes Baccano one of the most fertile spots in all Italy—in malaria. Fortunately for the landlord of La Posta, summer is not the travelling season, or his inn would boast its fair reputation in vain. This neighbourhood was in the olden time notorious for robbers, so that "*Diversorium Bacchanæ*" passed into a proverb, says Dempster.³ Let the traveller still

¹ Mentioned in the Itineraries of Antoninus and Theodosius as on the Via Cassia, twenty-one miles from Rome. The lake is said by Nibby to be seven miles in circumference.

² I followed it for some distance, and found that after receiving one or two streamlets, it loses altogether its artificial character, and so continues till it finds a natural vent from the crater at Madonna del Sorbo, three miles to the east of Baccano, where it forms one of the sources of the Créméra. I observed other deep clefts opening upon it, and running towards the mountains in the same quarter; but, as they all sink towards the lake, they cannot be emissaries: they are either natural clefts, or they have been sunk for roads.

³ De Etrur. Reg. II. p. 161. Dempster conjectures that in this

be wary ; though he be in no peril of assault, he may yet fall a victim to some *perfidus caupo*, who thirsting for foreign spoil "expects his evening prey." In the ridge of the surrounding hills are several gaps, marking the spots by which ancient roads entered the crater. On Monte Razzano, the hill above Baccano, are some ruins called, on dubious authority, Fanum Bacchi—though it is probable that the Roman *mutatio* derived its name from some such shrine. There is a large cave on the said Mount, which is vulgarly believed to contain hidden treasures. The view from this height is said to be finer than that from Soracte itself.¹

Two miles to the north of Baccano, and to the right of the road to Florence, lies Campagnano ; the first view of which, with Soracte in the back-ground, is highly picturesque. It is a place of some size and importance, compared to other villages of the Campagna, and from its site, and some caves in the neighbourhood, seems to be of Etruscan origin. A few Roman remains are to be seen in the streets.

From Campagnano a path runs eastward, first through vineyards, and then across a wide valley of corn, to Scrofano, five miles distant. This is a small secluded village, apparently of Etruscan origin, as the cliffs around it, especially to the west, are full of tombs ; among them are several *columbaria*.² It lies at the foot of Monte Musino, that curious tufted hill which is seen from every part of the Campagna, and is thought by Gell to have been the site of ancient religious rites. Musino is generally supposed to be a corruption of the Ara *Mutiæ*, which was in the territory of

neighbourhood may have been the Mæsan wood, said by Livy (I. 33) to have been in the territory of Veii ; but from the connexion in which it is mentioned, it would seem rather to have been near the mouth of the Tiber, on its right bank. Holsten. ad Cluver. p. 56.

¹ Westphal's *Römis. Kamp.* p. 150. From the hills of Baccano, the Guide-books say that travellers coming from Florence get their first view of Rome. There it is, indeed, distinctly seen in the distant Campagna, with the air-hung dome of the Vatican gleaming prominently in the sun. But it is still visible from the Monte Cimino above Ronciglione, a distance of forty miles, or twice as far as Baccano.

² Gell (II. p. 236) says, "Appearances render it highly probable that Scrofano was once a species of necropolis, either on account of reputed sanctity, or as belonging to the *fundus* of a noble family ;" but the grottoes around have nothing remarkable in character, nor are they more numerous than would consort with the necropolis of a little Etruscan town, as this must have been.

148 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

Veii,¹ though some place the Ara at Belmonte, nearer the Flaminian Way.² This hill is conical, and is ascended by broad terraces leading spirally to the summit, on which are the remains of a large circular structure, which, Gell suggests, may have been the Altar. There is also a large cavern near the summit, reported, like that of Monte Razzano, to contain great treasures; access to which is said to be debarred by an iron grating—so far within the mountain, however, that no one can pretend to have seen it. The clump of oaks and chestnuts which tufts the hill-top, is sacred from the axe, though the wood on the slopes is cut from time to time; and the only explanation of this which I could obtain, was, that the said clump preserves Scrofano from the sea-wind, which is deemed unhealthy, and that, were it cut, the wind, instead of pursuing its course at a great elevation, would descend upon the devoted village.³ This seems so unsatisfactory, that I cannot but regard it as a modern explanation of an ancient custom, the meaning of which has been lost in the lapse of ages and the change of religious faith. It is in all probability a relic of the ancient reverence for a sacred grove. Gell justly remarks of the artificial terraces round this hill and the building on the summit, that this extraordinary labour can only be accounted for by concluding the place was sacred. The analogy, indeed, of the winding road still extant, which led to the temple of Jupiter Latialis on the summit of the Alban Mount, seems sufficient authority for such a conclusion. The terraces here, however, are too broad for simple roads; the lower being sixty, the upper forty feet in breadth. Gell imagines them to have been formed for the Salii, or for the augurs of Veii—the rites of the former consisting in dancing or running around the altar. Festus, he remarks, speaks of a

¹ Plin. II. 98. Dempster (Etr. Reg. II. 140), thinks it should have been spelt "Murcia;" Murcia or Murtia being another name for the Etruscan Venus. Murtiam enim deam amoris volunt, says Tertullian (de Spect. cap. VIII.); Pliny (XV. 36) seems to derive the name from the myrtle, which was sacred to that Goddess,—*ara vetus fuit Veneri Myrtæ, quam nunc Murciam vocant*. According to Pliny (II. 98) the soil at the Aræ Mutiæ was so peculiarly tenacious, that whatever was thrust in could not be extracted. Nardini (Veio Antico. p. 260) asserts that the same phenomenon is to be observed on the slopes of Monte Musino.

² Westphal. Röm. Kamp. p. 135.

³ Gell (I. p. 166) gives another version of this belief.

place called Oscum, in the territory of Veii, which was a country retreat of the Roman augurs, and "no place could have been better suited to the college of augurs than Scrofano, or the neighbouring Mount Musino, where something reputed holy, and very different from anything else, certainly existed."¹ The local tradition is, that the Monte was the citadel of Veii,² though that city is confessed to be at least six miles distant, and it has hence received its vulgar appellation of La Fortezza; and the cave is believed to be the mouth of Camillus' *cuniculus*. The said *cuniculus* is also to be seen—so say the village oracles—at a spot two miles distant, on the way to Isola Farnese, called Monte Sorriglio (or Soviglio), in a subterranean passage, wide enough for two waggons to pass, which runs eight miles under ground to Prima Porta, on the Flaminian Way, where Camillus is pronounced to have commenced his mine. Verily, he must have been a better tunneller than Stephenson or Brunel. These things are only worthy of mention as indicative of the state of local antiquarian knowledge, which the traveller should ever mistrust.

In summer it is no easy matter to reach the summit of Monte Musino, on account of the dense thickets which cover its slopes. The winter is therefore to be preferred. The view it commands will repay any trouble in the ascent, which is easiest from Scrofano, whence the summit may be a mile distant. The most direct road to Scrofano from Rome is by the Via Flaminia, which must be left to the right about a mile or more beyond Borghettaccio, where a path pursues the banks of a stream up to the village. It may also be reached through Formello, either directly from the site of Veii, whence it is six miles distant, or by a path which leaves the modern Via Cassia at the Osteria di Merluzzo, near the sixteenth milestone. From this spot it is about six miles to Scrofano.

The ancient name of Scrofano is quite unknown. Its

¹ Gell, II. p. 238.

² This tradition is probably owing to the recorded opinion of Cluverius (Ital. Ant. II. p. 530), that Scrofano was the site of ancient Veii. Such traditions originate with the priests, who often dabble in antiquarian matters, though rarely to the advancement of science, being too much swayed by local prejudices,—and their *dictum* is naturally received as fact by their flocks. Who, indeed, should gainsay it? "In a nation of blind, the one-eyed man is king," says the Spanish proverb.

150 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

present appellation has no more dignified an origin than a sow (*scrofa*—possibly from an ancient family of that name),¹ as appears from the arms of the town over one of the gateways, which display that unclean animal under a figure of San Biagio, the “Protector” of the place. Almost the only relic of Roman times is a prostrate *cippus* of marble under the Palazzo Serraggi. Greek inscriptions have been found here, but have been carried off by the antiquaries.

Monte Musino is of volcanic formation, the lower slopes being composed of ashes and scoriæ, strewed with large blocks of lava.

If the traveller visit Scrofano and Monte Musino from Baccano, he will do well to call at Campagnano for a guide, as none is to be had at the solitary post-house of Baccano; and he will find no one more serviceable than a little *postino* or letter-carrier, who rejoices in the name of Giuseppe Felice, or Happy Joe.

About four miles from Baccano on the Via Cassia is Le Sette Vene, a lonely inn in the midst of an open country. It is one of the largest and most comfortable hotels between Florence and Rome, on the Siena road. Close to it is an ancient Roman bridge of a single arch, in excellent preservation.²

From Baccano, two tracks, cut in ancient times in the lip of the crater-lake, and retaining vestiges of Roman pavement, run westward to the lonesome little lakes of Stracciaccappa, and Martignano (Lacus Alsietinus), and thence continue to the spacious one of Bracciano (Lacus Sabatinus); branching to the right to Trevignano and Oriolo, and to the left to Anguillara and Bracciano. The scenery of these lakes, all extinct craters, is well worth a visit from Baccano; but I could perceive no Etruscan remains.

The next place on the Via Cassia is Monterosi, which Gell says, but on doubtful authority,³ was anciently called

¹ Nibby (III. p. 77) records an etymology, which, as he says, “is not to be despised;” certainly not, if Monte Musino were hallowed ground—Scrofano, à *sacro fano*.

² It is said to mark the line of the Via Amerina, which branched from the Via Cassia at Ad Baccanas, and ran northwards to Todi and Perugia; but from the direction of the bridge, N.W. and S.E., it would seem rather to have been in the line of the Via Cassia.

³ I can find none but that of the fragments of the Antonine Itinerary published by Annio of Viterbo, and now known to be a forgery. It was

Rossulum. It does not seem to have been Etruscan. There are no remains of that people visible on this site, nor of the Romans, as far as I could perceive. Monterosi is commanded by a conical height, called Monte di Lucchetti, crested with some ruins of the middle ages. The view from it well repays the small difficulty of the ascent; for it commands the wide sea-like Campagna—Soracte, a rocky islet in the midst, lorded over by the snow-capt Apennines—the sharp wooded peak of Rocca Romana on the one hand, and the long sweeping mass of the Ciminian on the other.

Monterosi is three miles beyond Sette Vene; it has two inns, both wretched. L'Angelo is said to be the better. Of La Posta I have had unpleasant experience,—*meminisse horret!* Hence there is a carriageable road following the line of the old Via Cassia to Sutri, the ancient Sutrium, seven or eight miles distant;¹ but as very inferior accommodation is to be had there, the traveller who would take more than a passing glance at that site had better drive on to Ronciglione, and visit it thence.

Soon after descending from Monterosi, and after passing a small dreary lake and crossing a stream of lava, the road divides; the right branch leading northward to Nepi, Narni and Perugia; the other, which is the Siena road, running in a direct line to Ronciglione, which, as it lies on the lower slope of the Ciminian, is visible at a considerable distance. In truth, it bears quite an imposing appearance, with its buildings stretching up the slope, and its white domes gleaming out from the wooded hill. The celebrated

called Mons Rossulus in a Papal Bull of 1203 (Nibby, II. p. 359); but this does not prove it of classical antiquity.

¹ The distance of Sutrium from Rome was thirty-three miles.

ITINERARY OF ANTONINUS.

Roma	
Baccanas	XXI.
Sutrio	XII.
Forum Cassi	XI.

PEUTINGERIAN TABLE.

Roma	
Ad Sextum	VI.
Veios	VI.
Vacanas	VIII.
Sutrio	XII.
Vico Matrini	(VII.)
Foro Cassi	III.

Its present distance is thirty-two, but the measurement is taken from the modern gate, a mile from the Forum, whence the distances were anciently calculated.

152 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

castle-palace of Capraruola, the *chef d'œuvre* of Vignola, also adorns the slope of the Ciminian a few miles to the right.

But the beauties of Ronciglione are not to be seen from a distance. The town is romantically situated on the brink of a deep ravine, with precipitous cliffs, in which are caverns, originally sepulchres, marking the site of an Etruscan town.¹ Its memory and name, however, have utterly perished. Ronciglione has very tolerable accommodation; even a choice of hotels—the Aquila Nera is the best—and the traveller will do well to make it his headquarters for excursions to Sutri, which lies about three miles to the south. It must be confessed, however, that Sutri is to be reached thence only by a wretched country-road, which, if it resemble the ancient approaches to the town, would almost incline us to believe that the proverb *ire Sutrium* (to be prompt) was applied ironically.

Like most of the ancient towns in Southern Etruria, Sutrium stood on a plateau of rock, at the point of junction of two of the deep ravines which furrow the plain in all directions.² Such I have shown to be the situation of the citadel, or most ancient portion of Veii; and just in the same manner was Sutrium insulated, or united to the main-land of the plain only by a narrow neck. The extent of the town, therefore, was circumscribed; the steep cliffs which formed its natural fortifications forbade its extension into the ravines. Veii, however, crossed the narrow isthmus, and swelled out over the adjoining table-land, just as Rome soon ceased to be confined to the narrow plateau of the Palatine. But the same principle of growth seems not to have existed in Sutrium, and the town appears not to have extended beyond the limits prescribed by nature.³ It was thus precluded from attaining the dignity of a first-rate

¹ "Not far from Capraruola," says Bounarroti (Michael Angelo's nephew), "I saw an Etruscan inscription in letters almost three feet high, carved in the rock, through which the road to Sutri (as I understood) is cut, but on account of the loftiness of the site distrusting my copy, I do not venture to give it," p. 98, ap. Dempst. II.

² The ground in the neighbourhood of Sutri is much broken, and some parts answer to the description given by Livy (IX. 35)—*aspreta strata saxis*.

³ Nibby thinks the ancient city was not confined to the single hill it now occupies. (*Dintorni di Roma voce Sutrium*.)

city—from being enrolled among the Twelve of the Etruscan Confederation—yet on account of its situation and strong natural position it was a place of much importance, especially after the fall of Veii, when it was celebrated as one of “the keys and gates of Etruria;” Nepete, a town very similarly situated, being the other.¹ Indeed, Sutrium could have been little more than a fortress at any time,² and as such it seems to have been maintained to a late period, long after the neighbouring Etruscan cities had been destroyed.

The modern town occupies the site of the ancient, and is probably composed of the same materials. I do not mean to assert that any of the ancient *Sutria tecta* are remaining, though such a fact, as far as regards the foundations and shell, is not impossible; but the blocks of tufo of which the houses are constructed, may well have been hewn by Etruscan hands. Every one who knows the Italians, will admit that they would never cut fresh materials, when they had a quarry of ready-hewn stones under their hands. The columns and fragments of sculpture here and there imbedded in the walls of houses, prove that the remains of Roman Sutrium at least were thus applied. There are some fine fragments of the ancient walls on the south side of the town, and not a few sewers opening in the cliffs beneath them, similar in size and form to that at Fidenæ.

As the walls of Sutri are similar to those of most of the Etruscan cities in the southern or volcanic district of the land, I shall describe the peculiarity of their masonry. The blocks are arranged so as to present their ends and sides to view in alternate courses, in the style which is called by builders “old English bond,” or more vulgarly, “headers and stretchers;” but as this masonry is of classic origin, I will designate it by the more appropriate term of *emplecton*, which was applied by the Greeks to a similar sort of masonry in use among them³—a term significant of the interweaving process by which the blocks were wrought into a solid wall. The dimensions of the blocks being the same,

¹ *Claustra portæque Etruriæ*, Liv. VI. 9; IX. 32.

² Plutarch (Camil.) calls it “a flourishing and wealthy town,” *εὐδαίμονα καὶ πλούσιαν πόλιν*.

³ Vitruv. II. VIII. 7. For further remarks on *emplecton* masonry, see Appendix.

154 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

or very nearly so, in almost every specimen of this masonry extant in Etruria,¹ I will give them as a guide in future descriptions, in order that when the term *emplecton* is used, it may not be necessary to re-specify the dimensions. This masonry is *isodomon*, *i. e.* the courses are of equal height—about one foot eleven inches. The blocks which present their ends to the eye are generally square, though sometimes a little more or a little less in width; and the others vary slightly in length, but in general this is double the height, or three feet ten inches. It is singular that these measurements accord with the length of the modern Tuscan *braccio* of twenty-three inches. The same description of masonry was used extensively by the Romans, during the times of the Republic, in Latium, Sabina, and in Rome itself, and seems to have been brought to perfection in the magnificent wall of the Forum of Augustus; but that it was also used by the Etruscans is attested by certain of their tombs; so that while it is often impossible to pronounce any particular portion to be of Etruscan or Roman origin, it may safely be inferred that the style was Etruscan, imitated and adopted by the Romans.²

¹ The only exceptions I know are at Cervetri, where the dimensions are smaller.

² The Roman masonry of this description, especially on the other side of the Tiber, is often of inferior dimensions, as in the Porta Romana of Segni, where the courses are only eighteen inches deep, and the Porta Cassamaro of Ferentino, where they are still less—from fourteen to seventeen inches. The specimens in Etruria are much more uniform. Mr. Bunbury, in his new edition of Sir William Gell's Rome (p. 328), questions whether these walls of Sutri, or in fact any masonry of this description found on Etruscan sites, be of Etruscan construction—asserting that “it is certain that it is not found in any Etruscan cities of undoubted antiquity;” and referring it always to the Romans. True it is that the walls of Falleri, which he cites, were built by a Roman colony in this style (see the two woodcuts in Chap. VII.); but what can be said to the masonry of precisely the same character and dimensions, which may be traced in fragments around the heights of Civita Castellana, marking out the periphery of a city which is now universally admitted to be no other than the Etruscan Falerii,—destroyed, be it remembered, on its conquest? How is it that in no case in Etruria is this masonry found based on a different description, as though it were Roman repairs of earlier fortifications, but is always found at the very foundations, and often in positions where the walls must have been completely secure from the contingencies of warfare? And what can be said to its existence in connection with Etruscan tombs at Cervetri, if it were not employed by the Etruscans as well as Romans?

Sutri has four gates; one at the end of the town called Ronciglione, another at the opposite extremity, and two on the southern side. A fifth in the northern wall is now blocked up; and it is said that this and the two on the opposite side are the original entrances, and that the two at the extremities have been formed within the last century. If so, Sutrium had the precise number of gates prescribed by the Etruscan ritual.¹ Over that at the western end the claims of the town to distinction are set forth in this inscription—

SUTRIUM
ETRURIÆ CLAUSTRA
URBS SOCIA ROMANIS
COLONIA CONJUNCTA JULIA;

and over the Porta Romana, the other modern gate, are painted the arms of the town—a man on horseback, holding three ears of corn—with an inscription of inferior correctness—

A PELASGIIS SUTRIUM CONDITUR.

Now, though the village fathers should maintain that the latter epigraph is a quotation from Livy, believe them not, gentle traveller, but rather credit my assertion that there is no historic evidence of such an origin for Sutri—yea, believe as soon that Tudela, Tarragona, Tafalla, Murviedro, and other towns in Spain, were founded by Tubal-Cain, as self-flattering Iberian chroniclers would persuade you; for on no more substantial authority doth this derivation rest.²

¹ Servius (.En. I. 426) says no Etruscan city was deemed perfect that had less than three gates.

² The only shadow of authority—and it is but a shadow—for such an origin is derived from the “Catonis Origines” of Annio of Viterbo, that “most impudent trifler and nefarious impostor,” as Cluverius justly styles him, but whose forgeries long passed as genuine. Here we find, “Sutrium à Pelasgis conditum, ab insigni grano dictum.” Annio comments on this: “It is so called from Suto (*σίτος* ?), which signifies corn, and Tribus—that is corn tripled, or three ears of corn, which Sutri takes as her device.” Sutrium is probably the Etruscan appellation Latinized. We find “Sutrinās” and “Suthrina” in Etruscan inscriptions (Vermigl. Iscriz. Perug. I. pp. 174, 256), which Vermigholi thinks have a relation to this town, though evidently proper names. Otioli also (Ann. Inst. 1833, p. 51) and Lanzi (II. p. 482) think there is some relation between the name of this town and “Suthi,” which so often occurs in Etruscan inscriptions; and likely enough. “Sautri” also is met with (Verm. I. p. 255). Lanzi’s guess, that it may be derived from Σαυτηρία, is scarcely worth recording.

156 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

Though Sutrium was undoubtedly an ancient Etruscan city,¹ we know nothing of its history during the time of its independence. The first mention made of it is its capture by the Romans. It is singular that, in all the notices we have of it, we find it engaged in war, not like Veii and Fidenæ with the Romans, but with the Etruscans. It was taken from the latter at an early period, probably in the year 360 ;² and in 371, or seven years after the Gallic conquest of the City, it was made a Roman colony.³ From the date of its capture, so soon after the fall of Veii, it seems probable it was one of the towns dependent on that city, like Fidenæ ; yet it is nowhere mentioned in such a connection.⁴ It was celebrated for the fidelity to its victors, displayed in several sieges it sustained from the confederate Etruscans.⁵ The first and most remarkable was in the year 365, when it was besieged, as Livy tells us, by almost the whole force of Etruria, and compelled to surrender ; and the miserable inhabitants were driven out, with nothing but the clothes on their backs. As the sad train was pursuing its melancholy way on foot towards Rome, it chanced to fall in with the army of Camillus, then on his road to relieve their city, which he imagined still held out. The dictator, moved by the prayers of the princes of Sutrium, by the lamentations of the women and children, bade them dry their tears, for he would soon transfer their weepings and wailings to their foes ; and well did he keep his word. That selfsame day he reached the town, which he found an easy prey, for the gates were unguarded, the walls unmanned, and the victorious Etruscans intent only on gathering the spoil. In a

¹ Steph. Byzant. *voce* Σούτριον.

² Diodorus (XIV. p. 311, ed. Rhod.) states that the Romans attacked it in this year.

³ Vell. Pat. I. 14. Cluverius (Ital. Antiq. p. 556) thinks it probable that Velleius wrote Satricum, and not Sutrium. It must have been one of the colonies of the Triumvirate, for it is called in an inscription in the church *Colonia Julia Sutrina* (Grüter, 302. 1). Festus (*voce* Municipium) speaks of it as a *municipium*. Frontin. de Col.

⁴ Müller's Etrusker, II. 2, 1. The passage in Livy (XXVI. 34), "in Veiente, aut Sutрино, Nepesinove agro," can only refer to the contiguity of the lands.

⁵ Its fidelity to Rome was probably in great measure owing to its small size. The garrison or military colony sent thither by the Romans may have out-numbered the Etruscan inhabitants, so as to remove both the opportunity and general wish to rebel, which could not be the case in towns of larger size and population, such as Fidenæ.

very short time he was master of the place ; the Etruscans submitted almost without resistance, and ere night he restored the inhabitants to their homes, and reinstated them in their possessions. Thus Sutrium was taken twice in one day.¹ From the rapidity of this exploit the proverb "ire Sutrium" took its rise.² The gateway, now blocked up, on the northern side of the town, is pointed out as that by which Camillus entered, and from him has received the name of Porta Furia—Furius being the gentile name of the dictator. But such an antiquity is evidently apocryphal ; for the gate as it now exists is of the middle ages, and has an arch slightly, yet decidedly, pointed.³ It is now blocked up, and does not seem to have been used for centuries.

A few years after this, in 368, Sutrium was again taken by the Etruscans, and rescued by Camillus ;⁴ and on a subsequent occasion, in 443, it was long besieged by the same foes, but saved by Fabius and Roman valour.⁵ Near Sutrium, too, after Fabius had returned from his expedition across the Ciminian Mount, he signally surprised the Etruscans, and slew or captured sixty thousand. Some accounts, however, place the site of this victory at Perugia.⁶ Sutrium is subsequently mentioned by several ancient writers,⁷ and the last intimation of its existence in classic times is given by an inscription of the time of Adrian.⁸ It seems never to have shared the fate of Veii and Fidenæ—to have lain uninhabited and desolate for centuries ; for its existence can be traced through the middle ages down to our own times ; nor does it appear to have changed its name or site.

On descending from the Porta Romana, we entered a glen, bounded by steep cliffs of red and grey tufo, hollowed

¹ Liv. VI. 3 ; Plut. Camil. Diod. Sic. XIV. p. 325.

² Plautus, Cas. Act. III. sc. I. 10. Festus (*voce* Sutrium) assigns this origin to the proverb.

³ It is strange that Nibby could have been led to consider this gate of ancient construction. I believe it dates merely from the eleventh century.

⁴ Liv. VI. 9. ⁵ Liv. IX. 32, 33, 35. Diodor. XX. pp. 772-3.

⁶ Liv. IX. 37.

⁷ Strabo, V. p. 226 ; Liv. X. 14 ; XXVI. 34 ; XXVII. 9 ; XXIX. 15. Sil. Ital. VIII. 493. Appian. B.C., V. 31. Festus *voce* Municipium. Plin. III. 8. Ptol. Geog. p. 72, ed. Bert. Front. de Colon. Tertullian (Apolog. 24) mentions a goddess Hostia, or as some editions have it, Nortia, worshipped at Sutrium. Müller (Etrusk. III. 3, 7) would read it, Horta.

⁸ Nibby *voce* Sutrium.

158 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

into caves. To the right rose a most picturesque height, crowned with a thick grove of ilex. Over a doorway in the cliff we read this inscription:—

QUI FERMA IL PASSO
IL LUOGO
E SACRO A DIO ALLA VERGINE
AL RIPOSO DEI TRAPASSATI
O PREGA O PARTI.

“Here stay thy step; the place is sacred to God, to the Virgin, to the repose of the departed. Pray or pass on.” We did neither, but entered, and found ourselves, not in an Etruscan sepulchre, but in a Christian church—a church in the heart of the rock, with three aisles, separated by square pillars left in the tufo in which the temple is excavated, and lighted by windows, also cut in the rock which forms one of the walls. It is small, low, and gloomy, but interesting on account of its singularity and antiquity, being believed by the Sutriti to have been formed by the early Christians, at a time when their worship was proscribed within the town. That it is of early date cannot be doubted; the walls of the vestibule and the ceiling of the church retain traces of frescoes of the thirteenth or fourteenth century. On the ceiling were St. John the Baptist and St. Michael; their faces cut from the rock in relief. The altar-piece was an old fresco of the Madonna and Child, which was under repair by a young artist of Sutri. This gentleman courteously pointed out to us the curiosities of the church. He took us into an adjoining cave, which served as a sacristy, and showed us a door which, he said, led to catacombs, supposed to communicate with those of Rome, Nepi, and Ostia, and where the early Christians were wont to take refuge from Imperial persecution, hold their religious worship, and bury their dead. There are many wild legends connected with these mysterious subterranean passages; the truth is that, though their extent has been greatly exaggerated, they are very intricate, and it is not difficult to lose oneself therein. On this account the Sutriti have blocked up the door leading to their subterranean wonders. Finding we were strangers, and had not yet seen the lions of Sutri, the young artist threw down his brush and palette, and insisted politely on doing the honours of his native town.

He pointed out a cavern adjoining the vestibule of the church, now a charnel-house, full of human bones. Here, he said, the Christians had deposited their dead. The vestibule itself had evidently been an ancient tomb, and the church, in all probability, another, enlarged into its present dimensions. It is called La Madonna del Parto.

On the top of the cliff, in the face of which the church is excavated, stands the villa of the Marchese Savorelli, in a beautiful grove of ilex and cypress, which had attracted my eye on leaving the gate of Sutri. We walked through the grove to the further edge of the cliff, and lo! the amphitheatre of Sutri lay beneath us—a structure which, from its unique character, and picturesque beauty, merits a detailed description.

Reader, imagine an epitome of the Colosseum, or of any other amphitheatre you please, with corridors, seats, and vomitories; the seats in many parts perfect, and the flights of steps particularly sharp and fresh. Imagine such an amphitheatre, smaller than such structures in general, not built up with masonry, but in its every part hewn from the solid rock, and most richly coloured—green and grey weather-tints harmonizing with the natural warm red hue of the tufo; the upper edge of the whole not merely fringed with shrubs, but bristling all round with forest trees, which on one side overshadow it in a dense wood, the classical ilex mingling with the solemn cypress;—and you have the amphitheatre of Sutri. The imagination of a Claude or a Poussin could not have conceived a sylvan theatre of more picturesque character.

Apart from its natural charms, this amphitheatre has peculiar interest, as being perhaps the type of all those celebrated structures raised by Imperial Rome, even of the Colosseum itself. We have historical evidence that Rome derived her theatrical exhibitions from Etruria. Livy tells us that the *ludi scenici*, “a new thing for a warlike people, who had hitherto known only the games of the circus,” were introduced into Rome in the year 390, in order to appease the wrath of the gods for a pestilence then desolating the city—the same, by the way, which carried off Furius Camillus; and that *ludiones* were sent for from Etruria who acted to the sound of the pipe, in the Tuscan fashion. He adds, that they were also called “*histriones*”—*hister*, in the

160 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

Etruscan tongue, being equivalent to *ludio* in the Latin.¹ All this is corroborated by Valerius Maximus; and Tertullian makes it appear that the very name of these sports was indicative of their Etruscan origin.² The Roman theatres of that day must have been temporary structures of wood, the first permanent theatre being that erected by Pompey A. U. C. 699, which still exists in Rome. We also learn from Livy that the Circus Maximus was built by Tarquinius Priscus, the first of the Etruscan dynasty of Rome, who sent for race-horses and pugilists to Etruria,³ where such and kindred games must have been common, as they are represented on the walls of many of the painted tombs, and on sarcophagi, funeral urns, and vases. We have historical evidence also, that the gladiatorial combats of the Romans had an Etruscan origin.⁴ Therefore, though we find no express mention of circi, theatres and amphitheatres in use among the Etruscans, we may fairly infer their existence. There is strong ground for the presumption that the edifices they used were copied by the Romans, as well as the performances;⁵ and if a building of this

¹ Liv. VII. 2.

² Val. Max. II. 4, 3; Tertul. de Spectac. V.; Appian (de Reb. Punic. LXVI.) says the Ludiones were so called because the Etruscans were colonists from Lydia.

³ Liv. I. 35; cf. Dionys. Hal. III. p. 200. Herodotus (I. 167) mentions the institution of such games at Agylla. Valerius Maximus (l. c.), on the other hand, states that the Circensian games were first celebrated by Romulus, under the name of Consualia. Dionys. II. p. 100; Virg. Æn. VIII. 636. It seems probable that the *Ludi Circenses*, introduced by Tarquin, were a new form of the original Consualia of Romulus. Boxing to the sound of the flute is said by Eratosthenes (ap. Athen. IV. c. 13) to be an Etruscan custom.

⁴ Nicolaus, a peripatetic philosopher of Damascus, ap. Athen. IV. 13, p. 153, ed. Casaub. In confirmation of which we may mention that the name *Lanista*, which was given to the superintendent or trainer of the Roman gladiators, was an Etruscan word (Isid. Orig. X. 247). Müller (Etrusk. IV. 1, 10) is of opinion that the origin of the custom of gladiatorial combats at funerals should be referred to the Etruscans; "at least such a sanguinary mode of appeasing the dead must have appeared a very suitable oblation to the Manes among a people who so long retained human sacrifices."

⁵ The existence of theatres is very strongly implied by the passage of Nicolaus Damascenus above cited, who says, "The Romans held their gladiatorial spectacles not only at public festivals and in theatres, receiving the custom from the Etruscans, but also at their banquets."

description be discovered in Etruria, it may well, *primâ facie*, urge a claim to be considered Etruscan.¹ Though some authorities of weight regard it as of Roman construction and of Imperial times, to me this amphitheatre of Sutri seems to have characteristics of an earlier origin. I would not refer it to the remote days of Etruscan independence, but to a period before national peculiarities in art and manners had been overlaid and well-nigh obliterated by the crushing mass of the world-wide Empire. It were possible to be mistaken in its architecture (I should say, its carving), though it corresponds closely with that of the neighbouring tombs excavated in the rock—in the cornice of the *podium* which surrounds the arena—in the doors in the same, narrower above than below, though all seem to favour an Etruscan origin ; but its mode of construction is decidedly un-Roman, and peculiarly Etruscan ; while the irregularity of the structure—the seats and passages being accommodated to the natural surface of the rock—and above all its singular, nay rustic, simplicity, distinguish it widely from the amphitheatres of the Romans.²

This curious relic of antiquity is an ellipse—the arena being, according to my measurement, one hundred and sixty-four feet in length, and one hundred and thirty-two in

¹ As we know there was no amphitheatre erected in Rome before the time of Cæsar, when C. Curio constructed one of wood, in separate halves, which could be brought together into an amphitheatre, or swung round at pleasure into two distinct theatres (Plin. Nat. Hist. XXXVI. 24, 8) ; and as we know that the first stone building of this description was erected by Statilius Taurus in the reign of Augustus (Dio Cass. LI. 23 ; Sueton. Aug. 29), and that the Colosseum, and all the other amphitheatres extant, were constructed during the empire ;—the question naturally arises, How, if this and similar edifices previously existed in Etruscan cities, there were none erected at Rome, or in her territories, before the time of Cæsar ? The Romans had had most of the games of the amphitheatre for ages previous. We may justly conclude, then, that there was a fashion in these things ; for until the amphitheatre was introduced, the Romans were content to hold their wild-beast fights and *naumachie* in the Circus, and their gladiatorial combats in the forum, at the banquet, or at the funeral pyre.

² Micali (Ant. Pop. It. I. p. 145) thinks it Etruscan ; Nibby (*voce* Sutrium) considers it of the time of Augustus ; Canina thinks it of Roman construction, for such is the character of the architectural details ; but an argument drawn from this source, as will be shown in Chapter VII., is not conclusive. The only other amphitheatres I know, which are rock-hewn, are those of Syracuse and Dorchester, the former but very partially.

162 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

its greatest breadth.¹ The doors in the podium open into a vaulted corridor which surrounds the arena. This corridor, with its doors, is of very rare occurrence; found elsewhere, I believe, only at Capua and Syracuse.² Above the podium rise the benches; at the interval of every four or five is a *præinctio*, or encircling passage, for the convenience of spectators in reaching their seats. There are several of these *præinctiones*, and also a broad corridor above the whole, running round the upper edge of the structure; but such is the irregularity and want of uniformity throughout, that their number and disposition in few parts correspond. Above the upper corridor, on that side of the amphitheatre, which is overhung by the garden Savorelli, rises a wall of rock, with slender half-columns carved in relief on its face, and a cornice above, but both so ruined or concealed by the bushes which clothe the rock, as to make it difficult to perceive their distinctive character. In the same wall or cliff are several niches, some upright, high enough for a man to stand in; others evidently of a sepulchral character, of the usual form and size of those in which bodies were interred. The upright ones, being elevated above the level of the *præinctio*, seemed to me, at first, intended to hold the statues of the gods, in whose honour the games were held.³ Such a thing was unknown, I believe, in Roman

¹ This agrees very closely with Nibby's measurement of 222 palms in length and 180 in breadth. Micali is in error when he calls the circumference of this amphitheatre "one thousand paces," for its diameter the longest way of the ellipse, from gate to gate, is little more than 250 feet, so that its circumference cannot be 1000 *feet*, much less *paces*. The word "*passi*" may, however, be a misprint for "*palmi*" (loc. cit.).

² The *podium*, or parapet, now rises only three or four feet above the ground, but the arena has not been cleared out to its original level. The corridor that surrounds it is between five and six feet high, and the same in width. Similar doors in the *podium* are also found in a stadium at Ephesus.

³ Nibby conjectures these to have been for the *designatores*, or persons whose office it was to assign posts to the spectators; in other words, masters of the ceremonies. But Plautus (Pæn. prol. 19) seems to intimate, as indeed it is more natural to suppose, that the *designatores* walked about, and handed people to their seats, instead of shouting to them from a fixed station on the top of the building. If it were a theatre instead of an amphitheatre, we might suspect them to be for the *ἡχεία* or brazen pots which were used for throwing out the voice, though Vitruvius tells us (V. 5) that these were placed among the seats of the theatre; but there could have been no need of this in

amphitheatres ; but I remember something like it in several Spanish bull-rings—a chapel of the Virgin in a similar position, in the very roof of the gallery, before which the *matador* kneels on entering the arena, to beg her protection and aid in his encounter with the bull. The long niches, on the other hand, have clearly no connection with the amphitheatre, but are of much subsequent formation, for in almost every instance they have broken through the half-columns, and destroyed the decorations of the amphitheatre, proving this to have fallen into decay before these niches were formed, which are probably the work of the early Christians.

Another peculiarity in this amphitheatre is a number of recesses, about half-way up the slope of seats. There are twelve in all, at regular intervals, but three are vomitories, and the rest are alcoves slightly arched over, and containing each a seat of rock, wide enough for two or three persons. They seem to have some reference to the municipal economy of Sutrium, and were probably intended for the magnates of the town.¹ At the southern end is a vomitory on either side of the principal entrance ; at the northern, on one side only of the gateway. The latter vomitory is now a great gap in the rock, having lost the flight of steps within it, which must have been supplied with wood or masonry. The other vomitories are perfect. They have grooves or channels along their walls to carry off the water that might percolate

an amphitheatre, where all appealed to the eye, nothing to the ear. In the theatre of Taormina, in Sicily, there are niches in a similar situation, which have been supposed by some to be for *ἡχέια*, by others for ornament alone (Serradifalco, *Antich. Sicil.* V. p. 43); but this is on the supposition that they are too small for statues, which is not the case, as I can testify.

¹ The number twelve may perhaps not be without a meaning, as there were twelve cities in each of the three divisions of Etruria. The only parallel instance is in the theatre of Catania, in Sicily, which is said to have four similar recesses (Serrad. *Antich. Sicil.* V. p. 13), but the structure is so choked with modern buildings that I could not perceive them. "Till the year 558 of Rome, the senators had always mingled indiscriminately with the people at public spectacles. But Atilius Serranus and L. Scribonius, ædiles, followed the suggestion of the elder Africanus, and set aside this custom by appointing separate places to the senators and the people, which estranged the minds of the populace, and greatly injured Scipio in their esteem" (Val. Max. II. 4. 2; Liv. XXXIV. 54). Augustus assigned to every rank and each sex a distinct place at the public shows (Suet. Aug. 44).

164 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

through the porous tufo;¹ and similar channels are to be seen in other parts of the amphitheatre, and furnish an argument for its Etruscan origin; as this is a feature frequently observed in the rock-hewn sepulchres and roads of Etruria. The sharpness of the steps in some parts is surprising, but this is explained by the fact of this amphitheatre, only within the last ten or twelve years, having been cleared of the rubbish which had choked and the trees which had covered it for centuries, so that its existence was unknown to Dempster, Gori, Buonarroti, and the early writers on Etruscan antiquities.² We are indebted for its excavation to the antiquarian zeal of the Marquis Savorelli, its present proprietor. Its worst foe seems to have been Nature, for there are still several huge stumps of trees, remains of its forest-covering, splitting the tufo with their roots, which are too deeply imbedded to be eradicated.

The exterior of this structure exhibits no "arches upon arches," no corridors upon corridors—it is in keeping with the simplicity and picturesque character of the interior. Cliffs of red tufo in all the ruggedness of nature, coloured with white and grey lichens, hung with a drapery of ivy or shrubs, and crowned with a circling diadem of trees, with the never-to-be-forgotten group of ilices and cypresses on the table-land above—Sutri itself, at a little distance on another rocky height, the road running up to its open gate, and its church-spire shooting high above the mass of buildings—the deep dark glens around, with their yawning sepulchral caverns, dashing the scene with a shade of mystery and gloom.

A little down the road, beyond the amphitheatre, is a range of tufo cliffs, hollowed into sepulchral caverns; some remarkable for their sculptured fronts. Owing to the friable nature of the rock, not one of these façades remains in a perfect state; but there are traces of pediments, pilasters, and half-columns, with arches in relief, and fragments of

¹ They are seven or eight feet high at the mouth, and the same in width, with a well-formed arch; but within the passage the arch is depressed, almost like that of the later Gothic. They contain flights of steps separated by landing-places. The entrance-passage is hewn into the form of a regular vault, sixteen or seventeen feet high, and about the same in width. Its length is sixty-eight feet, which is here the thickness of the rock out of which the structure is hewn.

² It is simply mentioned by Müller (*Etrusk. II.* p. 241, n. 49).

mouldings of a simple character. In their interiors there is considerable variety. Some are small and shallow, others very deep and spacious; some have flat ceilings, others are vaulted over, now with a perfect, now with a depressed arch; and some have simple cornices in relief surrounding the chamber. In some there are benches of rock for the support of sarcophagi; in others these benches are hollowed out to receive the same, or the body alone—and in many are semi-circular cavities recessed in the walls for a similar purpose. All these features are Etruscan characteristics, but most of these sepulchres bear traces of an after appropriation to Roman burial, in small upright niches, similar to those in Roman *columbaria*. There is the same variety of form as in those in the rocks at Veii, and like them, these contain sunken holes for the *olla*, of which there are from two to six in each niche. In one instance the niches are separated by small Doric-like pilasters, also hewn out of the tufo. What principally distinguishes them from the other niches of a more probable Etruscan character is that the latter have a groove running round the back of the recess and opening in two holes in front, to carry off the moisture that might percolate the rock—just such grooved recesses as are to be found in many other Etruscan cemeteries. The façades of many of these tombs have similar grooves, which sometimes form a sort of graven pediment over the doorway. Some of these sepulchres are coated throughout with stucco—walls, ceiling, and even floor; but this appears a more recent addition. Many other tombs are found in the glens around Sutri; some of them *columbaria*.

None of these open sepulchres remain in a perfect state. The Spaniards have a proverb—

La puerta abierta al diablo tienta,—

“An open door tempts the devil to enter.” Such has been the fate of these sepulchres—in all ages they have been misapplied. The Romans, both Pagan and Christian, introduced their own dead. In the dark and turbulent ages succeeding the fall of the Empire, they were probably inhabited by a semi-barbarous peasantry, or served as the lurking-places of banditti; and now they are frequently used as wine-cellars, hog-sties, or cattle-stalls, and their sarcophagi converted into bins, mangers, or watering-troughs.

166 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

Beyond the sculptured tombs, in a field by the road-side, I found a sepulchre differing from any I had yet entered. It was divided into several chambers, all with recesses sunk in their walls to contain bodies, with or without sarcophagi—in tiers of shelves one above the other, just like the berths in a steamer's cabin. Such an arrangement is often observed in the catacombs of Italy and Sicily, and would lead one to suspect these tombs to have had a Christian origin, were it not also found in connection with Etruscan inscriptions at Civita Castellana, and Cervetri.

Some distance beyond, in a thick wood, is a cave called the Grotta d' Orlando, a personage, who, like his Satanic Majesty, has often a finger in many things mysterious in nature or art—at least in the southern countries of Europe. He it was who cleft the Pyrenees with one stroke of his sword, Durandal, with the same ease with which he had been wont to cleave the Saracens from crown to seat. This may have been an Etruscan tomb, of two chambers, the outer and larger supported by a square pillar. But what has this to do with Orlando? Tradition represents that hero, while on his way to Rome in the army of Charlemagne, as having lured away some maid or matron of Sutri, and concealed her in this cave, which would scarcely tempt an Æneas and Dido at present, whatever may have been its former attractions. On the same cliff with the Villa Savorelli is a ruin, pointed out as the house in which Charlemagne took up his abode, when on his way to Rome, to succour Adrian I., but it is evidently of much later date. Nor is Orlando the only hero of former times of whom Sutri has to boast. She lays claim to the nativity of that much execrated character, Pontius Pilate, and a house is still shown as the identical one in which he was born; though the building is obviously of the middle ages.

There are many curious legends hanging about this old town of Sutri. At the angle of a house in the main street is an ass's or sheep's head of stone, minus the ears, which, like the Moorish statues in the vaults of the Alhambra, is believed to have been placed there as the guardian of hidden treasure. Not that any stores of wealth have yet been brought to light—no—for no one has yet been able to determine on what spot the eyes of this mysterious ass are

fixed ; but its existence is not the less implicitly believed, and not by the vulgar only. Our artist friend who accompanied us round Sutri, and his father, who is one of the principal inhabitants, had jointly made researches for the said treasure. Thinking they had discovered the direction of the asinine regards, they hired an opposite house, commenced delving into its foundations, and doubted not to have found the object of their search, had they not been stopped by the authorities, who, wishing to keep the spoils to themselves, had forbidden all private speculation in this line. He had made however more profitable excavations. He had opened several tombs in the ground above the sculptured cliffs, and had brought to light vases, bronzes, and other valuable relics, a detailed description of which I could not obtain. Sutri has been so little explored, that it is probable great treasures of antiquity are yet to be found in its neighbourhood. The tombs hollowed in the face of the cliff have of course been rifled ages since, as soon as they ceased to be sacred in the eyes of the inhabitants—but those below the surface, with no external indications, have in some cases escaped the researches of former plunderers. It is among these alone that antiquarian treasures are to be expected.

There is a cavern of great dimensions, but of natural formation, in the glen to the west of the town, at the mouth of which is a church called *La Madonna della Grotta*, "*Beatæ Mariæ Virgini de Crypta dicatum.*" The cave is extremely picturesque, its roof being stalactited with pendent ferns—but finding it pre-occupied by herds of swine, I would not venture to disturb them, nor the legions of bloodthirsty demons who usually possess them.

The traveller will find no inn at Sutri ; and even for refreshment he must be dependent on the good-will of some private townsman, who will dress him a meal for a consideration. I am told that clean beds and tolerable accommodation may be had at the house of a butcher, hight Severino Francocci. For a guide to the localities, I would recommend a good-tempered lad of the name of Felice Acosta, detto *il Ciorciaro*.

The *Via Cassia* runs beyond Sutri through a long wooded ravine to Capranica, another Etruscan site with a few tombs and sewers, but nothing of extraordinary interest.

168 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

It is now a place of more importance than Sutri, however, having 3000 inhabitants—excellent fruit and wine, or the renown thereof, which is much the same—mineral waters beneficial in disorders of the kidneys, bladder, and spleen, (ask for the Fonte Carbonari, as the spring is dubbed by the peasantry, instead of Carbonato)—and what is of more importance to the traveller, possessing a *hospitium* in the house of a butcher, Pietro Ferri, where, if he will not find comfort, he may be sure of its best substitute, unbounded civility and readiness to oblige. The women here wear the skirt of their gowns over their heads for a veil, like Teresa Panza and other Manchegas, and being very brightly arrayed, are always picturesque. I could perceive no Roman remains at Capranica, the ancient name of which has not come down to us. It is three miles distant from Sutri, eight or more from Vetralla also on the Via Cassia, three from Bassano, four from Ronciglione, and nine from Oriuolo. On this latter road I found in several spots remains of Roman pavement, and about half-way from Oriuolo, or near Agliola, I observed a long portion of the road entire, running directly between the two towns, and probably a cross road connecting the Claudian and Cassian Ways. The church of San Vincenzo, on a height above Bassano, is a conspicuous object in this district, and is the great shrine of the neighbourhood, where, on the first fortnight in November, a general "*perdono*" is dispensed, and the country folks flock in thousands to obtain remission.

Beyond Capranica, some three or four miles, and a little off the road to the left, are the ruins of Vicus Matrini, a station on the Via Cassia,¹ still retaining its ancient name, but having little to show beyond a few crumbling towers and sepulchres, all of Roman date; and a mile or so beyond is a way-side *osteria*, called Le Capannaccie, which has sundry relics from the said ancient station imbedded in its walls. This is the highest point of the road, which here crosses the shoulder of the Ciminian, but its rise is so gradual as to be scarcely perceptible. The first part of the road from Capranica passes through shady lanes, orchards, and vineyards; then it traverses wide tracts of corn-land—the most wearisome and unpleasant scenery to the summer

¹ Mentioned in the Peutingerian Table. See page 151:

traveller, when the sun's glare is reflected with intolerable, sickening intensity from the ever-restless, ever-dazzling surface. He who has crossed the torrid plains of the Castilles, La Mancha, or Estremadura, under a dog-day sun, will readily confess that *segetes* are *latæ* only in poetry or to the eye of the proprietor. A gradual descent of four miles, mostly through orchards, leads to Vetralla, on the verge of the great central plain of Etruria, which here bursts upon the view. The road from Rome to this place, a distance of forty-three miles, follows as near as may be the line of the ancient Via Cassia. It is still carriageable throughout; indeed, a "diligence" runs to Vetralla once or twice a week, professedly in nine hours, which are increased indefinitely at the convenience of the driver.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER IV

NOTE.—EMPLECTON MASONRY.

I AM aware that this interpretation of *emplecton* differs from that generally adopted, especially by Italian writers on ancient architecture, who take it to be descriptive of masonry formed of two fronts of squared blocks, with the intervening space filled with rubbish and mortar; thus forming "three crusts," as Vitruvius says, "two of facings, and a middle one of stuffing." This, however, was the mode employed by the Romans, as an expeditious substitute for the more solid construction of the Greeks, as Vitruvius (II. 8) expressly asserts; but the application of the term *emplecton* to it, was evidently an abuse. The Italians err in taking the word to be significant of *filling in, stuffing*, as though it were derived from ἐμπλήμι or ἐμπλήθω, to *fill up*, instead of ἐμπλέκω, to *weave in*—a word expressive of the peculiar arrangement of the blocks. Marini, however, in his recent edition of Vitruvius (Rome, 1836, I. p. 97) commits the error of rendering ἐμπλέκω by *impleo*. Orsini, in his Dictionary of Vitruvius, makes *emplecton* to mean "something full or to be filled." Baldus, in his Lexicon, makes the same blunder, which De Laetus, in his, quarrels with, but does not correct, though he quotes Salmasius (Exercit. Plin. p. 1231), who comes nearer the mark, and acknowledges its derivation from πλέκω; but only perceives an analogy with the dressing of women's hair, where the outside is made smooth, but the inside remains rough, as this masonry is described. Cav. Canina also (Arch. Ant. V. p. 130) explains *emplecton* as signifying the stuffed masonry above mentioned, but thinks it applicable to constructions of small

170 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

stones like bricks (VIII. p. 104). This stuffed masonry was used extensively by the Romans, especially in small work, and it was even employed by the Greeks on a larger scale, as the remains of their cities testify. It may be seen also in part of the Cyclopean walls of Arpinum, and even in the Etruscan ones of Volterra. Pliny (Nat. Hist. XXXVI. 51) says it was called *diamicton*, i. e. mixt-work. The Greeks, however, sometimes, as at Pæstum, Syracuse, and elsewhere in Sicily, bound the facings of their walls together by solid masonry. So Pliny remarks, in his description of *emplecton*, though he says, where it was not possible they built as with bricks, which evidently means, as bricks were used in facings merely, the rest being filled in with rubbish. The point aimed at, according to the same writer, seems to have been to lay the blocks so that their centres should fall immediately over the joinings of those below them.

Vitruvius, however, is the best authority for the application of *emplecton* to solid masonry, for, after mentioning it as descriptive of a style used by the Greeks, and after distinguishing the Roman variety, he says, "Græci vero non ita ; sed plana (coria) collocantes et longitudines chororum alternis coagmentis in crassitudinem instruentes, *non media farciunt*, sed e suis frontatis perpetuum et in unam crassitudinem parietem consolidant. Præterea interponunt singulos perpetuâ crassitudine utrâque parte frontatos, quos *διὰρόβους* appellant, qui maxime religando confirmant parietum soliditatem." This is a just description of the walls of Falleri, which, not being mere embankments, display the blocks in some parts "stretching through" from side to side. I would not assert that the term *emplecton* should be confined to this sort of masonry. It is also applicable to that where the *diatoni* or cross blocks, instead of occurring in alternate courses, and continuously, are found only from time to time ; it is applicable, in short, to any masonry where the principle of *interweaving* is preserved. Canina himself applies it to this masonry where it occurs in the substructions of the Appian Way, only, however, because, in this instance, the middle of the wall is filled in with rubble (Ann. Inst. 1837, II. p. 52). The masonry he describes as a variety of *opus quadratum* (Arch. Ant. V. p. 118) a fact, which nobody can deny.

There are difficulties, I own, in this passage of Vitruvius, descriptive of the Greek masonry ; in fact, the text is generally admitted to be corrupt, as the variety of readings prove ; but it is still clear that the term *emplecton*, however misapplied by the Romans, or their descendants, was properly confined by the Greeks to masonry, of which an interweaving of the blocks was the principle. The analogy to brick work, indicated by Vitruvius (cf. II. 3), is confirmatory of this. See Abeken's *Mittelitalien*, p. 151.

CHAPTER V

NEPI.—*NEPETE*

“Remnants of things that have passed away.”—BYRON.

IF on reaching the Guglia, or sign-post, beyond Monterosi, instead of taking the road to Ronciglione and “Firenze,” the traveller follow the more holy track of “Loreto,” three short miles will carry him to Nepi. Let him remark the scenery on the road. He has left the open wastes of the Campagna and entered a wooded district. It is one of the few portions of central Italy that will remind him, if an Englishman, of home. Those sweeps of bright green sward—those stately wide-armed oaks scattered over it, singly, or in clumps—those cattle feeding in the shade—those neat hedge-rows, made up of maples, hawthorns, and brambles, with fern below, and clematis, dog-roses, and honeysuckles above; they are the very brothers of those in Merry England. The whole forms a lively imitation of—what is most rare on the Continent—English park-scenery; and it requires no stretch of fancy to conceive himself journeying through Surrey or Devonshire.

The first view of Nepi dispels the illusion. It is a quaint-looking town. A line of crumbling wall, laden with machicolated battlements, and a massive castle within rising high above it, would give it the appearance of a fortress, were it not for the square red tower of the cathedral with its white pyramid of a spire, shooting high and bright into the deep blue sky. Behind it soars Soracte, its serrated mass blued by distance; and far away in the horizon is the range of snow-capt Apennines.

On entering the gate the eye is caught by a fine piece of ancient walling, in nineteen courses, or about thirty-six feet and a half in height, and of considerable length. Its crumbling weather-worn condition proclaims its antiquity, and the size and arrangement of the blocks mark its Etruscan character. Just within the inner gate is another fragment of less extent, only ten courses high, and still more ruinous. These are probably the very walls which Camillus and his

172 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

soldiers scaled when they stormed the town, 386 years before Christ.¹

But instead of entering the town, cross the court-yard to the right, and pass through another gate in the fortifications.² Here you are on the brink of the ravine which bounds Nepi on the south. The view of the cliff-bound city—of the profound, lonely ravine—of the lofty venerable walls of the keep, with their machicolated battlements towering above you—of the lowly mill at their feet, vying with them in picturesque effect, as it shoots out a jet of foam which sinks in a cascade into the glen—would alone claim admiration. But there is yet more for the attention of the antiquary. At the verge of the cliff, to which, indeed, it forms a facing or embankment, and only a few steps from the gate of the town, is another bit of the ancient walling of Nepete, and the most perfect specimen remaining. It is but of four courses, in an excellent state of preservation. Like the two other portions mentioned, it is of *emplecton*, precisely similar to the walls of Sutri.

The wall, of which this is a fragment, seems to have extended along the face of the precipice. Much seems to remain imbedded in a mass of Roman *opus incertum*, which apparently once faced the whole structure, showing the priority of the *emplecton*.³ If this formed part of the walls of Nepete, the ancient must have been somewhat larger than the modern town.

This is all I could perceive of the ancient walls of Nepete. These portions, be it observed, are on the weakest side of the town, where it receives no protection from nature. On every other side, as it is situated on a long cliff-bound tongue of land between two ravines that meet at its tip, there was

¹ Liv. VI. 10.

² The road from this gate is a bye-path to Le Sette Vene, shorter by several miles, but said to be a wretched track, utterly impracticable for vehicles.

³ Nibby (II. p. 400) thinks these relics of the ancient walls of Nepi are of Roman construction, and of the time of the colony formed here A. U. C. 381, because their masonry is analogous with that of the walls of the new Falerium (Falleri) raised not long after that date. But it is also precisely similar to the masonry of the ancient walls at Civita Castellana, which he admits to be Etruscan. There is no reason to suppose that these walls at Nepi are of less ancient construction. Whether raised by Etruscan or Roman workmen, they are in a style employed by the former people, and often imitated by the latter.

little need of walls. But at the root of the tongue, where the ground on which the city stands meets the unbroken level of the Campagna, it was most strongly fortified in ancient times; and the necessity continuing through the troubled period of the middle ages, the walls were preserved as much as might be, or replaced, where dilapidated, by the strong line of fortifications and flanking bastions, which still unites the ravines. From the analogy of other Etruscan cities, it is probable that the inhabitants were not satisfied with the natural protection of their precipices, but surrounded the city with walls, which, in after times, were demolished, probably for the sake of materials to build or repair the edifices of the town.

My aim being simply to point out objects of antiquarian interest, I shall say little of the modern representative of Nepete, referring the reader to his guide-book for ordinary particulars. It is a small town, not larger than Sutri; and its position is very similar, though the plateau it occupies rises much higher from the ravines, and the cliffs are in most parts more precipitous. As to its natural strength it has certainly no less claim than Sutri to the title of "key and portal of Etruria."¹

In strolling around the place, I was surprised at the small number of tombs. The opposite cliff of the ravine to the south, has not a single cave; and on the other side of the town there are far fewer than usual in the immediate vicinity of Etruscan sites, which present facilities for excavation. The Nepesini seem to have preferred burying their dead beneath the surface of the ground, to hollowing out tombs or niches in the cliffs; and the table-lands around the town are probably burrowed thickly with sepulchres. In the rock on which the modern walls are based, close to the gate that opens to Civita Castellana, are traces of sepulchral niches; and here also a sewer, like those at Sutri, opens in the cliff. The ravine is spanned by a bridge,² and also by an aqueduct of a double tier of arches, the work of the sixteenth century.

¹ Liv. VI. 9.

² The stream below is said by Nibby to retain the classic name of Falisco, though all my inquiries produced no more elevated appellation than *La Buttata della Mola*, or the Mill-force. The stream in the opposite ravine is called *Cave-terra*—*i. e.* Earth-digger.

174 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

No one should cross this bridge without a pause. The dark ravine, deepening as it recedes, leading the eye to the many-peaked mass of Soracte in the distance, by the towers and battlements of the town on one hand, and by a stately stone-pine raising its spreading crest into the blue sky on the other, is set off like a picture in its frame. It is one of those scenes in which you would scarcely wish an alteration—in which Nature rivals the perfection of art.

There is little to detain the antiquarian traveller in Nepi. Beneath the town-hall, in the Piazza, are several Roman altars and statues found in the neighbourhood, one of them having reference to the goddess Feronia; and a fine fountain of large size, ornamented with lions' heads. On the opposite side of the Piazza is a mutilated bas-relief of a winged lion.

Of the old inn, "La Fontana," no one speaks well; and I retain the remembrance of having once passed a most uncomfortable night therein. Very recently a new *locanda*, "Hotel de la Paix," has been opened, in which the traveller will fare well enough—but let him look to his bill—*respice finem!*

Nepete never took a prominent part in history; at least, we find little more than incidental mention of this town. It early fell under Roman dominion, for in the year 368, a few years after the capture of the City by the Gauls, we find it mentioned with Sutrium, as an ally of Rome; both towns seeking assistance against the Etruscans, by whom they were attacked. Nepete surrendered to the Etruscans, because a portion of the inhabitants were better affected towards their countrymen than towards their recent allies; but it was retaken at the first assault by Camillus; and the unfaithful citizens met their punishment from the axes of the lictors.¹ It was made a Roman colony ten years later than Sutrium, or seventeen years after the Gallic capture of the City.² Both these towns enjoyed municipal honours of the highest class, that is, while retaining their own internal administration, they were admitted to the full rights and privileges of Roman citizenship.³

There seems to have been some particular bond of union

¹ Liv. VI. 9, 10.

² Vell. Pat. I. 14. Livy (VI. 21) makes it to be the same year as Sutrium, or A.U. 371

³ Festus, *voce* Municipium.

between Nepete and Sutrium ; for they are frequently coupled together by ancient writers.¹ Similar bonds seem to have existed among other Etruscan cities, even those of the Confederation ; for instance, Arretium, Cortona, and Perugia appear to have had a minor league among themselves²—a *vinculum in vinculo*—a bond arising, as in this case, from proximity and community of interest.³

Nepete, like Sutrium, never lost its name or site.⁴ In Imperial times it seems to have been of inferior consequence ;⁵ but in the middle ages rose greatly in importance, and at one period exercised no little influence over Rome herself.⁶ It is now an insignificant town, with about 1500 inhabitants.

Nepi is five miles distant from Monterosi, eight from Civita Castellana, five from Falleri by a path through the woods, the line of the ancient Via Amerina ; seven from Sutri by a short cut, and nine by the carriage-road.

¹ Liv. VI. 9, X. 14, XXVI. 34, XXVII. 9, XXIX. 15. Festus (l. c.).

² Liv. IX. 37 ; Diod. XX. p. 773.

³ Müller (Etrusk. II. 2, 1) thinks both Nepete and Sutrium were originally dependent on Veii ; Nibby (II. p. 398) that the latter only was dependent on Veii, and Nepete on Falerii.

⁴ It is called Nepete by Livy, and by inscriptions, but Nepita by Strabo (V. p. 226), Nepe by Paterculus, and the Peutingerian table, Nepet by Pliny (III. 8), Nepeta by Ptolemy (Geog. p. 72), Nepis by Frontinus (de Col.), Nespetus by Dionysius (XIII. ap. Steph. Byz.).

⁵ Strabo (V. p. 226) classes Sutrium with Aretium, Perugia, and Volsinii, as cities (πόλεις) of Etruria ; while Nepete is mentioned among the smaller towns (πολίχναι).

⁶ This was in the eighth century, when Totone, Duke of Nepi, created his brother Pope, under the title of Constantine II., and maintained him in the seat of St. Peter for thirteen months. “Nepi seems at that epoch to have risen like a meteor, and rapidly to have sunk to her former condition.”—Nibby, *voce* Nepi.

CHAPTER VI

CIVITA CASTELLANA.—*FALERII (VETERES)*

Faliscis,

Mœnia contigimus victa, Camille, tibi.—OVID. Amor.

Poi giunsi in una valle incolta e fiera,
Di ripe cinta e spaventose tane ;
Che nel mezzo sù un sasso havea un castello,
Forte, e ben posto, e a maraviglia bello.—ARIOSTO.

FROM Nepi, which is thirty miles from Rome, the high road runs direct to Civita Castellana, a distance of nearly eight miles ; but to the traveller on horse or foot I would recommend a route, by which he will save two miles. On passing the bridge of Nepi, let him turn immediately to the right ; a mile of lane-scenery with fine views of Nepi will carry him to Castel di Santa Elia, a small village, which looks much like an Etruscan site, and was perhaps a *castellum* dependent on Nepete. The road to it and beyond it seems in some parts to have been ancient, cut through the tufo ; there are few tombs by its side, but here and there portions of masonry, serving as fences to the road, may be observed, which are of ancient blocks, often found in such situations. He then enters on a bare green down, rich in the peculiar beauties of the Campagna. A ravine yawns on either hand. That on the right, dark with wood, is more than usually deep, gloomy, and grand. Beyond the other runs the high road to Civita ; and in that direction the plain—in winter an uniform sheet of dark rich brown from the oak-woods which cover it, studded here and there with some tower or spire shooting up from the foliage—stretches to the foot of the Ciminian Mount. Ronciglione and Capraruola gleam in sunshine on its slopes, each beneath one of its black wooded peaks. The towers of Civita Castellana rise before him. Towns shine out from the distant mountains of Umbria. The plain on the right is variegated in hue, and broken in surface. Soracte towers in dark and lonely majesty in the midst ; and the chain of Apennines in grey or snow-capped masses billows along the horizon. A shepherd,

shaggy with goat-skins, stands leaning on his staff, watching the passing traveller; and with his flock and huge baying dogs, occupies the foreground of the picture. Just so has Dante beautifully drawn it—

“Le capre

Tacite all' ombra mentre che 'l sol ferve

Guardate dal pastor che 'n su la verga

Poggiato s' è, e lor poggiato serve.”—Purg. XXVII. 79.

All in the shade

The goats lie silent, 'neath the fervid noon,

Watched by the goatherd, who upon his staff

Stands leaning; and thus resting, tendeth them.

But the beauty and calm of the scenery seem at variance with the minds of the inhabitants, for a stone-piled cross by the way-side records that here

“Some shrieking victim hath

Poured forth his blood beneath the assassin's knife.”

To reach Civita Castellana by this road, you are obliged to cross the wide and deep ravine which forms its southern boundary. The high-road, however, continues along the ridge, approaching the town by level ground, and enters it beneath the walls of the octagonal fortress—the masterpiece of Sangallo, and the political Bastille of Rome in the nineteenth century.

What traveller who has visited Rome, has not passed through Civita Castellana? There is scarcely any object in Italy better known than its bridge—none assuredly is more certain to find a place in every tourist's sketch-book; and well does it merit it. Though little more than a century old, this bridge or viaduct is worthy of the magnificence of Imperial Rome; and combines with the ravine, the town on its verge, the distant Campagna, Soracte, and the Apennines, to form one of the choicest unions of nature and art to be found in that land where, above all others, their beauties seem most closely wedded. Yet beyond this, little or nothing is known of Civita Castellana. Not one in five hundred who passes through it, and halts awhile to admire the superb view from the bridge, or even descends from his carriage to transfer it to his sketch-book, ever visits the tombs by the Ponte Terrano. Still fewer descend to the Ponte di Treia; and not one in a thousand makes the tour

178 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

of the ravines, or thinks of this as a site abounding in Etruscan antiquities. My aim is to direct attention to the objects of antiquarian interest with which Civita Castellana is surrounded.

Very near the bridge, and on the verge of the cliff on which the town is built, is a portion of the ancient walls, of tufo, in *emplecton*, seventeen courses in height, and precisely similar in the size and arrangement of its blocks, to the walls of Sutri and Nepi, already described. It forms an angle at the verge of the precipice, and is nothing more than an embankment, or *revêtement*, to the ground within.

If you here enter the town, and continue down the long street on the left, you will arrive at the nunnery of St. Agata, at the north-east angle of the plateau, on which Civita is built. By its side is a road cut in the rock, which a very little experience will tell you is Etruscan. It has on one side a water-course or gutter sunk in the tufo, and which, after running high above the road for some distance, discharges its waters over the precipice. There are tombs also—genuine Etruscan tombs—on either hand, though the forms of some are almost obliterated, and others are sadly injured by the purposes they are now made to serve—shepherds' huts, cattle-stalls, and hog-sties. They are mostly in the cliff, which, as the road descends rapidly to the valley, rises high above your head. Here, too, opening in the cliff, are the mouths of several sewers, similar to those of Sutri and the Etruscan sites described.¹

It was probably these subterranean passages that gave rise to the notion of this being the site of Veii, being, perhaps, ignorantly mistaken for the *cuniculus* of Camillus; but such sewers are to be found beneath the walls of almost every Etruscan city in the tufo district of the land, where the rock would admit of easy excavation. Here you are at the extreme angle of the plateau of Civita Castellana; the ravine which is spanned by the celebrated bridge opens on one hand, another and wider glen lies on the other, bounding the

¹ The first of these is 5 ft. 6 in. in height, 2 ft. 8 in. wide at the bottom, tapering upwards to 1 ft. 6 in. It runs into the rocks some little distance, and then rises in an upright square chimney, into which another passage opens horizontally above. These are the usual dimensions and characteristics of these sewers, which are found on all the ancient sites of the Campagna, even in the Capitoline hill of Rome.

plateau to the east.¹ The road passes two ruined gateways of the middle ages, and winds down into this valley, through which flows the Treia, spanned by a neat bridge of three arches. Here stands a large building in ruins, once a *Locanda*, destroyed by the French. The table-land of Civita here rises above your head in a range of steep, lofty cliffs of red tufo, based on a stratum of white sandy breccia. At the brow of the cliff, just above the bridge, is a long line of wall of the middle ages, in one place based on more ancient masonry of larger blocks, evidently part of the Etruscan walls, the very "*mœnia alta*" sung by Ovid.² A sewer in the cliff beneath them tends to confirm their antiquity.

This line of cliff runs due north and south for some distance—it then suddenly turns at right angles, where a glen opens to the west, and the streamlet of the Saleto, or, as it is also called, the Ricano, issues from it to unite its waters with those of the Treia. It is a lonely, and wild, but attractive spot. No sign of man save in the stepping-stones over the stream, or in the narrow track through the meadows or brushwood. Not a sound to remind you of the neighbourhood of the town over your head. The lofty cliffs on either hand bare their broad faces with a contrasted expression—smiling or scowling as they catch or lose the sun.

Here it is advisable to cross the stream to get a better view of the cliffs of the city. Soon after entering this glen

¹ Gell points out this angle of the cliff pierced by tombs and sewers as the site of the ancient city (which he supposes to have been Fescennium), and adds, "This platform seems to have been only accessible at one angle, which united it with the height of Civita Castellana by a narrow and very defensible isthmus. Travellers seem to have overlooked this position, and the numerous and unequivocal remains of the ancient city that are to be found here, and have been surprised at finding few or no antiquities in the modern town." (I. p. 292.) Yet, having clearly intimated his opinion that the city occupied this corner of the plateau only, he remarks in the following passage, that "ruins of the walls of Fescennium may be observed behind the post-house," alluding to the piece of wall near the bridge which I have already mentioned. It is evident that Gell never made the tour of the height of Civita Castellana, or he would have observed unequivocal traces of the ancient city in several places widely distant, proving that it was not confined to a mere corner of the plateau, but extended over the whole space, whose limits are defined by natural boundaries, and was thus one of the largest cities in the south of Etruria. The peninsular platform, which he mistook for the site of the entire city, was probably that of the Arx.

² Ovid. Amor. III. Eleg. XIII. 34.

180 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

you may perceive a portion of ancient wall sunk in a hollow of the cliff, and filling a natural gap. You may count as many as twelve courses. A little beyond you meet with another piece in a similar situation, and of five or six courses. You cannot inspect the masonry as you could wish, on account of the height of the cliff, which rises more than two hundred feet above your head, and, as the wall is at the very brink of the precipice, it is obviously not to be viewed from above. A practised eye, however, has no difficulty in determining its character—the difference between it and the medieval masonry, a long line of which presently follows, is most decided. Under this wall, and half-way up the cliff, are many tombs, with traces also of sewers.

At the Ponte Saleto, where you meet the short cut from Civita to Nepi, you cross the stream, and take the road to the city, passing many tombs hollowed in the rock, resembling those near the Ponte Terrano, which will presently be described. The cliff here turns to the north-west, and a path runs along its edge, outside the modern walls. On this side there is rather a natural fosse than a ravine, for the cliff rises about one hundred feet from the lower part of the isthmus which unites the plateau of Civita with the plain of the Campagna. It is probable that wherever the cliffs were not sufficiently steep they were scarped by art, to increase the natural strength of the position—not so difficult a task as might be supposed, as tufo has a tendency to split vertically. Remains of the ancient walls may be observed in the foundations of the modern, from which they are easily distinguished by the superior massiveness of the blocks, by their different arrangement, and by the absence of cement. It will be remarked that all these fragments of ancient walling either exist in situations at the verge of the precipice, most difficult of access, or serve as foundations to more modern walls; whence it may be inferred that the rest of the ancient fortifications have been applied to other purposes; and a glance at the houses in the town suffices to show that, like Sutri, Civita is in some measure built of ancient materials.

Passing round the castle of Sangallo, you re-enter the town by an adjoining gate, where are traces of an ancient road cut in the rock at the verge of the precipice, which

bounds the city on the north ; its character marked by the tombs in its side. The wall of the city must here have been on the top of the rock in which the tombs are hollowed and the road sunk ; and it seems most probable that here was the site of a gate, and that the modern fortress stands without the walls of the ancient city. It is curious to observe how close to their cities the Etruscans bury their dead—even up to the very gates ; though very rarely within the walls, as was the custom in some of the cities of Greece, and occasionally permitted at Rome.¹ These tombs are large conical niches or pits, eight or nine feet high, by six in diameter. They are very common in the tufo district of Etruria, and are also met with in the neighbourhood of the ancient cities of Latium, in the Campagna south of the Tiber, and also in Sicily. Some have supposed them depositories for grain,² and were they found only as close to ancient cities as in this case, this would be probable enough ; but around Civita there are others in very different situations ; and having seen them on other Etruscan sites, far outside the ancient walls, and in the midst of undoubted tombs, I have not the smallest doubt of their sepulchral character. Besides, they have, almost invariably, above the cone a small niche of the usual sepulchral form, as if for a *cippus*, or for a votive offering. I think it not unlikely that they contained figures of stone or terra-cotta, probably the effigies of the deceased, which were at the same time sarcophagi,

¹ For this custom in Greece, see Becker, Charicles. Excurs. sc. IX. At Rome it was forbidden by the Twelve Tables to bury or burn the dead within the walls, but the privilege was occasionally granted to a few, illustrious for their deeds or virtues. Cic. de Leg. II. 23. Plut. Publicola.

² The corn-pits for which these tombs have been taken were called *σείποι* or *σιποί* by the Greeks of Cappadocia and Thrace. Varro, de Re Rust. I. cap. 57 ; Eurip. Phryxus. 4. But these Pollux (X. cap. v. p. 428) mentions among the parts of a city, with cellars, wells, bridges, gates, vaults ; whence we may conclude they were within the walls. Such pits are still known in Sicily by the name of *Sili*. Müller (Etrusk. III. 4, 9, 10) thinks there was some relation between such corn-pits and the Mundus, into which the first-fruits were thrown ; and suggests that the Mundus—the gates of the unseen world—was, according to the original idea, a corn-pit also ; and that the Etruscans, to whom he would trace the Mundus, believed in a similar relation between the blessings of the earth and the workings of the world below, to that which lies at the bottom of the Eleusinian and other myths of the Greeks.

182 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

holding the ashes of the dead—such figures as may be seen in the Casuccini museum at Chiusi.

Instead of entering the town, follow the brink of the precipice to the Ponte Terrano—a bridge which spans the ravine, where it contracts and becomes a mere bed to the Rio Maggiore. It has a single arch in span, but a double one in height, the one which carries the road across being raised above another of more ancient date. Over all runs an aqueduct of modern construction, which spares the Civitonici the trouble of fetching water from the bottom of the ravines.

The cliffs above and below the bridge are perforated in every direction with holes—doorways innumerable, leading into spacious tombs—sepulchral niches of various forms and sizes—here, rows of squares, side by side, like the port-holes of a ship of war—there, long and shallow recesses, one over the other, like an open cupboard, or a book-case, where the dead were literally laid upon the shelf,—now again, upright like pigeon-holes,—or still taller and narrower, like the *créneaux* in a fortification. This seems to have been the principal necropolis of the Etruscan city. If you enter any of the tombs, which are all in the faces of the low cliffs into which the ground breaks, you will find one general plan prevailing, characteristic of the site. Unlike those of Sutri, where the door opens at once into the tomb, it here leads into a small antechamber, seldom as much as five feet square, which has an oblong hole in the ceiling, running up like a chimney to the level of the ground above. The tomb itself is generally spacious—from twelve to twenty feet square, or of an oblong form—never circular—mostly with a massive square pillar in the centre, hewn out of the rock, or, in many cases, with a thick partition-wall of rock instead, dividing the tomb into two equal parts. The front face of this, whether it be pillar or projecting wall, is generally hollowed out, sometimes in recesses, long and shallow, and one over the other, to contain bodies, sometimes in upright niches, for cinerary urns or votive offerings. Around the walls are long recesses for bodies, in double or triple tiers, just as in the catacombs and tombs of the early Christians, forcibly reminding you, by their size, form, and arrangement, of the berths in a steamer's cabin. The door-posts are frequently grooved to hold the stone slabs

with which the tombs were closed. The chimney in the ceiling of the antechamber probably served several purposes—as a *spiramen*, or vent-hole, to let off the effluvium of the decaying bodies or burnt ashes—as a means of pouring in libations to the Manes of the dead—and as a mode of entrance on emergency after the doors were closed. That they were used for the latter purpose is evident, for in the sides of these chimneys may be seen small niches, about a foot or eighteen inches one above the other, manifestly cut for the hands and feet. These chimneys were probably left open for some time, till the effluvium had passed off, and then were covered in, generally with large hewn blocks. Similar trap-doorways to tombs are found occasionally at Corneto, Ferento, Cervetri, and elsewhere in Etruria, but nowhere in such numbers as at Civita Castellana and Falleri, where they form a leading characteristic of the sepulchres.¹

A few of these tombs have a vestibule or open chamber in front, sometimes with a cornice in relief, benches of rock against the walls for the support of sarcophagi, and niches recessed above, probably for votive offerings. In one instance there is a row of these niches, five on each side the doorway, high and narrow, like loopholes for musketry, save that they do not perforate the rock. Sometimes a large sarcophagus is hollowed out of a mass of rock. It is not uncommon to find graves of the same form sunk in the rock in front of the tomb, probably for the bodies of the slaves of the family, who, in death as in life, seem to have lain at their masters' doors.

In the front wall of the tomb next to that with the row of niches, is an inscription in Etruscan letters,—“Tucthnu”—which I do not recognize as an Etruscan name. It is probable that this is but part of the original inscription, the rest being obliterated. The letters retain traces of the red paint with which, as on the sarcophagi and urns generally, they were filled, to render them more legible. No other Etruscan tomb could I find on this site with an inscription on its exterior; it does not seem to have

¹ The tombs of Phrygia, described by Steuart (*Ancient Monuments of Lydia and Phrygia*, pl. vii.), had similar trap-doors above, but they had no other mode of entrance, the façade having merely a false doorway, as in the tombs of Castel d'Asso and Norchia.

184 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

been the custom in this part of Etruria, as in some *necropoleis* north of the Ciminian, to engrave epitaphs on the rock-hewn façades of the sepulchres.

On the inner wall of a large tomb, close to the Ponte Terrano, is an Etruscan inscription of two lines rudely graven on the rock, and in unusually large letters, about a foot in height.¹ It is around one of the long body-niches, if I may so call them, which are hollowed in the walls of this tomb in three tiers, and is of importance as it proves these niches to be of Etruscan formation, and not early Christian, as many have imagined. The same is proved even more decidedly by the tombs of Cervetri—that of the Tarquins, for example.

From the tombs on this site we learn that it was the custom here to bury rather than to burn the dead—the latter rite seems to have been more prevalent at Sutrium. These differences are worthy of notice, as every Etruscan city had its peculiar mode of sepulture; though there is in general an affinity among those in similar situations.

The Ponte Terrano is a modern structure, but on an ancient basement. Observing some ancient blocks below the northern pier, I was led to examine it more minutely; and found that the whole pier, to the height of ten courses and to the width of twenty-three feet, was of the same *emplecton* masonry—Etruscan in style and in the size and arrangement of the blocks. Above it is small irregular masonry of modern times. The opposite pier is of rock, overhung with ivy and ilex. The lower arch is of the middle ages, so that the bridge unites in itself the work of three distinct epochs. Its antiquity has scarcely been noticed by former writers.²

Whoever would see the chief beauties of Civita Castellana, should descend into the deep ravine on this side of the town. The most convenient path is near the great bridge or viaduct. It is a zigzag track, cut through the tufo, and of ancient formation, as is proved by the water-troughs by its side, and the tombs in the rocks.

¹ It is given by Buonarroti (ap. Dempst. II. tav. 82, p. 26), who visited it in 1691. Gori and Lanzi give copies of the same,—the latter with a slightly different reading (Saggio, II. p. 463).

² Gell and even Nibby seem to have overlooked it. Westphal alone (Römische Kampagne, p. 139) mentions it as ancient.

From the bottom of the descent the bridge is seen to great advantage, spanning the ravine with its stupendous double tier of arches, with a grandeur that few aqueducts, save the Pont du Gard, can surpass. A mimic cataract rushes down the cliff to join the stream—a rustic mill or two nestling beneath the bridge, are the only other buildings visible, and contrast their humility with its majesty, as if to show at one glance the loftiest and meanest efforts of man's constructive power. Whoever has seen the magnificent Tajo of Ronda, in the south of Spain, will recognize immediately some resemblance here; but this ravine is by no means so profound—the bridge is of a different character, wider, lighter, less solid, and massive—and here are no cascades, and lines of ivy-grown mills, as on the Rio Verde. Nevertheless, there is something in the general features of the ravine which will not fail to recall to the mind of him who has seen it, the glorious Tajo de Ronda.

The cliffs, both above and below the bridge, are excavated into tombs and niches of various forms, but few have retained their original shape. It must be confessed that the Etruscans often displayed great taste in selecting the sites of their sepulchres. Where could be found a more impressive, a more appropriate cemetery, than a ravine like this—a vast grave in itself, sunk two hundred and fifty feet below the surface—full of grandeur and gloom? Here, far below the noise and tumult of the city, they might sit by the tombs of their departed relatives, listening to the incessant murmurs of the stream, which to their imaginations, so prone to symbolize, might seem an emblem of eternity. The lofty perpendicular cliffs shutting them out from the world, the narrow strip of sky overhead, the subdued light, the damp chill, would combine with the sacredness of the spot to impress solemn feelings upon their minds. The wild pigeons nestling in the crannies of the precipices, and wheeling above their heads, to their rapt fancies might seem the souls of the departed, haunting the neighbourhood of their earthly abodes.¹

¹ It is supposed, not without reason, that the souls of the deceased are sometimes symbolized on the monuments as birds, especially doves. *Ann. Inst.* 1842, p. 107.—Welcker, cf. *Micali, Ant. Pop. Ital.* III. p. 85, tav. LVII. Micali is of opinion that the sirens so often represented on the early vases and bronzes of Etruria, are symbols of the soul (*Mon. Ined.* p. 256). He states that the Parsees represented the

186 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

To the modern traveller, the ravine yields no such associations, but is fertile in the picturesque. Ascend the course of the stream, and just above a rustic bridge you obtain a fine view of the Ponte Terrano spanning the glen in the distance, the Castle cresting the precipice on the left, and a ruined tower frowning down upon you from the opposite height. The cliffs rise on either hand, of yellow and red tufo, dashed with grey, white, or dark brown, with occasional ledges of green; the whole crested with ilex, and draped here and there with ivy, clematis, and wild vine. Below the great bridge you have still more of the picturesque. The walls of warm yellow cliff, variegated with foliage, here approach so close as to make this a mere chasm—the fragment of Etruscan walling crowns the precipice on the right—huge masses of cliff fallen from above, lie about in wild confusion, almost choking the hollow—tall trees shoot up from among them, by the banks of the stream, but are dwarfed into shrubs by the vast height of the all-shadowing cliffs.

There is no lack of accommodation at Civita Castellana. The principal inn, La Posta, has received a bad name from Murray's "Hand-book," on account of the alleged insolence of the landlord, but I have met travellers who tell a different tale. If there be any hesitation on this score, let the traveller go to La Croce Bianca, in the Gran Piazza, where he will be certain to find clean and comfortable accommodation, and every requisite civility and attention from the buxom landlady. Sausages are not now famous here, as in ancient times.¹ Civita Castellana contains scarcely more than two thousand souls, and extends over but a small part of the area occupied by the Etruscan city; which is now for the most part covered with gardens and vineyards. This city, from its size, must have been of considerable importance among those of Southern Etruria. It has been

disembodied soul as a fabulous bird, like a Siren—even called in their language "Sireng," and quotes De Hammer in proof of his assertion. Curious, indeed, if true! That doves were emblems of divinities in oriental mythology is well known. Mithras, the great deity of the ancient Persians, was so symbolized. Ann. Inst. 1833, p. 96. Doves were also supposed to be the utterers of the oracles of Dodona, and of Jupiter Ammon in Libya. Herod. II. 55-57.

¹ Varro (L. L. V. 111) says they were called *Falisci ventres*. So also Martial. IV. epig. 46. 8., cf. Stat. Silv. IV. 9. 35.

supposed to be Veii, and there is an inscription in the cathedral to that effect, calling the church "Veiorum Basilica;" but this opinion has not the slightest foundation—its distance from Rome being three times greater than that of Veii, as mentioned by Dionysius.¹ Gell supposes it to have been Fescennium, but gives no reason for his opinion, in which he follows Müller and Nardini.² There is much more probability that it is the ancient Falerium, or Falerii, so prominent in the early history of the Roman Republic. My reasons for holding this opinion will be given in the next chapter, when I treat of the ruined town, a few miles distant, now called Falleri.

¹ II. p. 116, ed. Sylb.

² Gell, I. p. 290.



PORTA DI GIOVE, FALLERI.

CHAPTER VII

FALLERI.—*FALERII* (NOTT)

Ebbi improvviso un gran sepolcro scorto, . . .
 E in brevi note altrui vi si sponca
 Il nome e la virtù del guerrier morto.
 Io non sapea da tal vista levarmi,
 Mirando ora le lettere, ed ora i marmi.

TASSO.

THE road from Ponte Terrano leads to Santa Maria di Falleri, or Falari, a ruined convent on another ancient site, about four miles from Civita Castellana. After two or three miles over the heath, you reach the Fosso de' Tre Camini, and where you cross the stream are traces of an ancient

bridge. Just before coming in sight of Falleri, you reach a tomb, which cannot fail to strike you with admiration as you come suddenly upon it, even should you already have seen every other necropolis in Etruria. A wide recess in the cliff is occupied by a spacious portico of three large arches, hewn out of the rock, but with a bold cornice of masonry above, of massive tufo blocks, now somewhat dislocated, and concealed by the overhanging foliage. A door in the inner wall of the portico, of the usual Etruscan form, slightly narrowing upwards, opens into the sepulchre. Sepulchre! to an unpractised eye the structure looks far more like a habitation; and in truth the antiquary must see in it an imitation of an ancient abode. The portico is surrounded by an elegant cornice, carved in the rock; the door, to which you ascend by steps, is ornamented with mouldings in relief. Within it, is the small antechamber, with the usual chimney or funnel in its ceiling; and then you enter a spacious, gloomy chamber. Its flat ceiling is supported in the midst by a massive square pillar, in the front of which are three long, shallow niches, one over the other; and in the walls of the tomb are smaller niches for urns or votive offerings. Under the portico the rock is cut into benches for sarcophagi, and long holes are sunk in the ground for the reception of bodies, which, with the exception of being covered over with tiles, must have been exposed to the passers-by, as the arches of the portico could hardly have been closed. The cornice around the portico and the mouldings of the door are almost Roman in character; yet that the tomb is of Roman construction I do not believe. In form and arrangement it is too nearly allied to the Etruscan tombs of this district. It is probable that the Romans appropriated it to their own dead; and possible that they added these decorations; but, though an architectural adornment be proved to have been used by that people, it by no means follows that they originated it. Had not history informed us that the Corinthian capital was of Greek origin, the frequency of it in the ancient buildings of Rome and Italy, and the all but total absence of it in Greece, would have led us to a very different conclusion. Now, we know almost nothing of Etruscan architecture from written records; and therefore when we find, in a position which favours an Etruscan origin,

190 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

architectural decorations analogous to those used by the Romans, it were illogical to pronounce them necessarily to be the work of the latter. On the contrary, it were more reasonable to regard them as Etruscan, knowing that, before the time of the Empire at least, the Romans were mere imitators of the Etruscans and Greeks in the arts, servile enough in that respect—*imitatores, servum pecus*!—however they may have taken the lead of the world in arms. Nevertheless, should these mouldings be Etruscan, the tomb is probably of a late period.

This is the only instance known of an Etruscan tomb with a cornice of masonry, and it was thought to be unique also as regards its portico; but I was fortunate enough to discover a group of tombs of similar character, very near this, which were before unknown.¹

Among them is one which seems also to have had a portico, but the cliff out of which it was hewn is broken away. What now forms its front, has been the inner wall, if not of a portico, of an antechamber or outer tomb, and on it, to my astonishment, I found a Latin inscription, in very neatly formed letters, about four or five inches high, graven deep in the tufo.

L. VECILIO. VI. F. E
PO . . AE. ABELES.
LECTV. I. DATV
. . VECILIO. L. F. ET. PLENESTE
. ECTV. I. AMPLIVS. NIHIL
INVITEIS. L. C. LEVIEIS. L. F.
ET. QVEI. EOS. PARENTARET
NE. ANTEPONAT

The last line was buried in the earth, and having no instrument at hand, I could not uncover it; but I communicated the discovery to the Archæological Institute² of Rome; and my friend, Dr. Henzen, one of the secretaries, proceeded purposely to Falleri to inspect the inscription. To him is due the discovery of the last line, which explains the whole. To him also am I indebted for the correction and explanation of the inscription.

¹ One has two arches in its portico; another has only one standing, though it seems to have had two more; and a third is a mere portico of two arches, without an inner chamber, the portico itself being the tomb, as is shown by the rock-benches within it.

² See Bull. Instit. 1844, p. 92.

"To Lucius Vecilius, son of Vibius and of Polla (or Pollia) Abeles, one bed (sepulchral couch) is given—to . . . Vecilius, son of Lucius and of Plenesta, one bed.—Let no one place anything before (these beds) save with the permission of Lucius and Caius Levius, sons of Lucius, or (with the permission) of whoever may perform their obsequies (*i. e.* their heirs)."

The beds are the long niches in the walls of the tomb, of which there are eleven. The inscription is curious for its ancient Latinity alone; but most interesting as an evidence of the fact that the Romans made use of the tombs of the Etruscans, or else constructed sepulchres precisely similar. No one can doubt the Etruscan character of this particular tomb, and yet it belonged to the Roman family of the Levii, who gave it or let it out to the Vecilii, as we know to have been frequently the case with the *ollæ* of Roman *columbaria*. The mention of the mother's name after the father's is a genuine Etruscanism.¹ It is general in Etruscan epitaphs, and was retained even under Roman domination, for some sarcophagi bear similar epitaphs in Latin, with "*natus*" affixed to the mother's name in the genitive or ablative. But those sarcophagi were found in Etruscan tombs, in the midst of others with Etruscan inscriptions, and are only the coffins of the latest members of the same families, belonging to a period when the native language was being superseded by that of the conquerors. This may be the case here also—the Levii may have been an Etruscan family; as indeed seems highly probable.² If not, we have here a Roman usurpation of an Etruscan sepulchre, or it may be an imitation of the Etruscan mode of burial, and also an instance of the adoption of the customs of that people by the Romans.³

¹ This custom the Etruscans must have derived from the East, as it was not practised by the Greeks or Romans; but the Lycians always traced their descent through the maternal line, to the total exclusion of the paternal—a fact recorded by Herodotus (I. 173), and verified by modern researches. Fellows' *Lycia*, p. 276. The Etruscans being less purely Oriental, made use of both methods.

² The name of Levnei, the female termination, occurs twice on the urns in the Museum of Perugia (Vermiglioli *Isc. Perug.* I. pp. 284, 290); and a name very similar commences the inscription in the tomb at the Ponte Terrano, mentioned in the last chapter, page 183.

³ *Vide* Bull. Inst. 1844, pp. 129, 161 (Henzen), where all the peculiarities of this inscription are eruditely set forth. Dr. Henzen, who is very learned in the archæology of inscriptions, refers this to a remote

192 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

Just beyond these tombs the city of Falleri comes into view. And an imposing sight it is—not from its position, for it is on the very level of the plain by which you approach it—but from its lofty walls and numerous towers, stretching away on either hand to a great distance in an almost unbroken line, and only just dilapidated enough to acquire a picturesque effect, which is heightened by overhanging foliage. You approach it from the east, at an angle of the wall where there is an arched gateway on either hand—one still open,¹ the other almost buried in the earth. The walls



THE WALLS OF FALLERI, FROM THE EAST.

here are about seven feet thick, and in thirteen courses, or about twenty-five feet high; they are of red tufo blocks, of the size usual in the *emplecton* masonry of Etruria, fitted together without cement and with great nicety. In parts the tufo has lost its surface, but in others the masonry looks

period, undoubtedly to the time of the Republic, and considers the tomb as one of the most ancient on this site.

¹ This gate, as will be seen in the woodcut, has a tower immediately to the left of him who approaches it, which is contrary to the precepts of Vitruvius (I. 5), who recommends that the approach to a city-gate be such, that the right side of the foe, which is unprotected by his shield, be open to attack from the ramparts. The angular form of this city, and of the towers in its walls, is also at variance with the rules laid down by the same author, who denounces angles, as protecting the foe rather than the citizen.

as sharp and fresh as though it had been just constructed, without a sign of age beyond its weather-given coating of grey. Both walls and towers are perpendicular or nearly so; the latter, which are at unequal distances, but generally about one hundred feet apart, are square—about seventeen feet wide, and projecting ten feet. They are external only; the inner surface of the wall, which rises high above the level of the ground within, is unbroken by any projections; it is similar in appearance to the outer surface, but not so neatly smoothed and finished.

Following the northern wall of the city, after passing ten towers, you reach a small arched gate or postern. Outside it are remains of Roman tombs of *opus incertum*, on mounds by the side of the road which issued from this gate; blocks of basalt, now upturned by the plough, indicate its course. It was the Via Amerina, which ran northward to Horta and Ameria. Passing a breach which Gell takes for a gateway, you next cross a long wall or embankment stretching away at right angles from the city; it is of ancient blocks, probably taken from the city walls. A little beyond is what seems a window, high in the wall and partly blocked up, but it is a mere hole cut in later times.

On turning the corner of the wall you reach the Porta di Giove, a fine gate in excellent preservation, flanked by towers. The arch-stones and encircling moulding are of peperino; and in the centre over the keystone, is a head in bold relief. Why called Giove I could not understand; it has none of the attributes of Jupiter, but in its beardless youth and gentleness of expression, seems rather to represent Bacchus or Apollo.¹ Within the gate is a double line of ancient wall, flanking a hollow way or road, which now leads to the ruined convent of Santa Maria di Falleri, the

¹ The gate is nearly eighteen feet in height, and ten feet eight inches in span. The depth of its door-posts is more than seven feet, which is also the thickness of the city wall. The imposts are also of peperino—above them the arch is blocked up with brickwork.

Cav. Canina is inclined to regard this gate as Etruscan. He says (Archit. Ant. VI. p. 54), from a comparison of it with those of Pæstum and Volterra, that it cannot be otherwise than of early date, and not wholly Roman, as some have supposed; and again (Ann. Inst. 1835, p. 192) he cites the head on the keystone as a proof of this sort of decoration being Etruscan. It was also extensively used by both Greeks and Romans.

194 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

only building standing within the walls.¹ This end of the city was probably the Arx.

The wall soon turns again and follows the course of the valley through which flows the Miccino. Here it is based on low tufo cliffs, in which are the mouths of several sewers. On this side it is for the most part greatly dilapidated: sometimes you lose sight of it altogether for a considerable distance, then again trace it by detached portions or by towers only, which jet boldly into the valley on projecting masses of cliff. The rock beneath the walls is in many places hollowed into niches or caves, once evidently tombs; and on the other side of the stream are tall cliffs, full of long sepulchral niches one above the other, where the Falerians of old stored up their dead. On that side also are the remains of several Roman tombs—massive piles of *opus incertum*, towering high above the light wood that covers that bank of the stream. This necropolis has been little explored, and I regret that I have not been able to give it due examination. Dr. Henzen found one tomb here with a Christian inscription.²

One of the city-towers stands on a projection of the cliff where the wall makes a semi-circular bend inwards. Beneath this tower is a tomb of unusual size, square and lofty. It would seem at first sight to have been formed as a cellar to the tower, but further observation shows that it was of prior formation, for its original doorway is blocked up by the masonry of the tower itself. Whence it may be inferred that the city was of subsequent construction, and that the tomb had been profaned by the founders. Near this is another instance of the city-wall blocking up an ancient tomb. Facts of importance, as bearing on the question by whom and in what age the city was built.

A little beyond this you reach another deep recess in the line of cliff, with a magnificent mass of walling rising to the height of twenty-eight courses, or fifty-four feet, and stretching completely across the hollow. In the centre is a gate, the Porta del Bove, fine in itself, but appearing quite

¹ Just within the gate, to the right as you enter, is a sewer-like hole, now blocked up, which seems to have been a window. It is not visible from without, because the ancient wall just in that part is faced with medieval masonry; but its form is distinguishable.

² Bull. Inst. 1844, p. 168.

insignificant—a mere drain-hole in the vast expanse of wall.¹ Towers, bannered with oak-saplings, and battlemented with ivy, crest boldly the projecting cliffs at the angles of the recess. “Desert caves, with wild thyme and the gadding vine o’ergrown,” yawn around. Soracte soars blue in the distance above the wooded glen. The whole scene is one of picturesque grandeur, rendered more impressive by the silence, loneliness, and desolation.²

The southern wall of the city extends but a short way beyond the Porta del Bove. It then turns to the north; and after passing nine towers in excellent preservation, you may observe the site of another gate, now destroyed. Outside it, a Roman tomb rises to a considerable height.³ From this spot, a short distance carries you to the gate at the north-eastern angle, where you complete the tour of the city. According to Gell, the circuit of the walls is 2305 yards, or more than one English mile and a third.⁴ The form of the city is a right-angled triangle, with the angles truncated. About fifty towers are standing, and eight or

¹ This is perhaps the loftiest relic of ancient city-walls extant in Italy, save the Bastion in the polygonal walls of Norba in Latium, which is about the same height. The wall of the Forum of Augustus at Rome, in the same style of masonry, is, however, considerably higher.

² The gate derives its present appellation from something carved in relief on its keystone, which may once have been a bull’s head, but is now quite undistinguishable. Another appellation, Porta della Puttana, is yet more difficult of explanation. Within are traces of a vaulted passage, much wider than the gate itself, leading up to the higher ground of the city. It must have been a very steep ascent, as the gate opens at the bottom of a deep gulley, and the ground within is almost on a level with the top of the wall. A large tree, now reduced to charcoal, lies prostrate on the ramparts, which when it flourished high above the wall, must have greatly increased the picturesque effect from below. The gate is 8 feet in span, and the depth of the arch, or the thickness of the wall in this part, is 9 feet. There are 13 voussoirs in the arch, each 3 feet 9 inches deep, fitted together with great neatness—all are of tufo, and are rusticated in the return facing of the arch. The *boucranium* or bull’s skull was a favourite ornament of gateways among the Romans. I need cite only the Gate of San Lorenzo at Rome.

³ The lower part is square and of massive masonry, surmounted by a mass of *opus incertum*, which seems to have been circular. Within is a square chamber, vaulted and with piers or pilasters against its walls, but without niches. The doorway is arched over with blocks of tufo, yet the arch is filled up, as in some Etruscan tombs at Chiusi and Cortona, with masonry of the same massive character.

⁴ Gell, I. p. 421.

196 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

nine gates may be traced. "Perhaps," as Sir William Gell remarks, "no place presents a more perfect specimen of ancient military architecture."

Within the walls there are but few remains. On the spot where the theatre was found nothing can now be traced of the seats or arches. A high bank, encircling a hollow, marks the outline. Here, as on the other spots where excavations have been made, are fragments of cornices and columns of travertine and marble, and other traces of the Romans. Several fine statues have been found on this spot.¹ Excavations have been made of late years by Sign. Carlo Campanari, but with small success.

The only building now standing within the walls is the convent of Sta. Maria di Falleri, but even this shares in the ruin of the spot, and, instead of chaunt and orison, resounds with the bleating of sheep and lowing of oxen. It is of the Lombard style, so common in the ecclesiastical architecture of Italy, but of a more simple character than usual. It is constructed of the materials of the ancient city, and apparently is of the twelfth century.

We have now to consider the origin and ancient name of this city. That an Etruscan population occupied this or a neighbouring site is evident from the multitude of tombs and niches excavated in the cliffs, undoubtedly of that character, and too remote to belong to the necropolis of the city which occupied the site of Civita Castellana. The walls are certainly in the Etruscan style as regards the masonry; but this is not decisive of their origin, for precisely the same sort of masonry is to be seen in Rome itself and other places south and east of the Tiber; in almost every case, however, prior to the Empire. For before her intercourse with Greece, Rome was indebted to Etruria for all her arts, as well as for most of her institutions, religious, political, and social; and either employed Etruscan artists and artisans, or imitated their handiwork. Nibby² is of opinion that these walls show the Roman method of

¹ The theatre is said to have been cut in the rock, like the amphitheatre of Sutri (Bull. Inst. 1829, p. 57). It was excavated in 1829 and 1830. It seems to have been of the time of Augustus, from a fine statue of Livia as Concord, and some mutilated statues of C. and L. Cæsar, which were found among its ruins. A fine statue of Juno has also been excavated within the walls of Falleri.

² II. p. 27.

fortification with quadrilateral towers at equal distances, and that the arching of the gateways is similar to that of Roman archways of the fifth and sixth centuries of the City; as are also the sculpture and mouldings; from which, together with the fact that the theatre and other ancient relics within the walls are purely and unequivocally Roman, he infers that the remains now extant belong to a Roman city. Cav. Canina, a superior authority on architectural matters, sees much Etruscan character in the gateways.¹ The name of the original town, moreover, seems preserved in its modern appellation, which it possessed through the middle ages, and which seems to indicate it as the Falerii of the Etruscans. Let us consider what is said of this town by ancient writers.

At an early period, says tradition, shortly after the Trojan war, a body of Greeks from Argos, led by Halesus, or Haliscus, son of Agamemnon, settled in this part of Italy,² drove out the Siculi, who then possessed it, and occupied their towns of Falerium and Fescennium.³ Whether they were subsequently conquered by the Tyrrheni or Etruscans, or entered into alliance with them, does not appear, but it is certain that they were incorporated with that people, and under the name of Falisci⁴ continued to possess this part of Etruria till its conquest by Rome. Yet they were always in some respects a distinct people; their language was said to differ from the Etruscan;⁵ and even as late as the time of Augustus, they retained sparks of their Argive origin, in

¹ See note 1, page 193.

² Dion. Hal. I. p. 17. Ovid. Fast. IV. 73, and Amor. III. Eleg. 13, 31. Cato ap. Plin. III. 8. Serv. Æn. VII. 695. Steph. Byzant. v. Φαλίσκος. Solinus II. p. 13. All agree as to the Argive origin of the Falisci, save Justin (XX. 1), who derives them from the Chalcidenses—an origin which Niebuhr (III. p. 179) rejects.

³ Dionys. Hal. I. pp. 16, 17. Neither Dionysius, Cato, nor Stephanus makes mention of Halesus as the founder. Servius (Æn. VII. 695) points out the change of the initial H into F, the adoption by the Romans of the Æolic digamma to express the Greek aspirate,—sicut Formiæ, quæ Hormiæ fuerunt ἀπὸ τῆς ὀρμῆς. The Spaniards in most instances have restored the initial F to its original H, dropping, however, the aspirate, as Filius—hijo; fabulare—hablar; facere—hacer; femina—hembra; focus—huego, &c.

⁴ Dionysius (l. c.) calls this Argive colony Pelasgi, and the similarity, almost amounting to identity, of this word to Falisci is remarkable; in fact it is not improbable that the appellation Falisci was one simply indicative of their Argive (i. e. Pelasgic) descent.

⁵ Strabo, V. p. 226.

198 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

their armour and weapons, and in various customs, especially in what regarded their temples and religious rites. The temple of Juno at Falerii is said to have been the counterpart of one to the same goddess at Argos, *i. e.* the Heræum, and her worship to have been similar.¹ There seems to have been a third city, Faliscum, similar in origin to the other two, and deriving its name from the chief of the original colonists.²

We see then that there were three cities, probably not far removed from each other, inhabited by a race, which, though of Greek origin, was, at the period it is mentioned in Roman history, to all intents and purposes, Etruscan; amalgamated, like the inhabitants of Agylla, Cortona, and other Pelasgic cities of Etruria, with the mixed race of the Tyrrhenes, and bearing, from the general testimony of ancient writers, the generic name of Falisci.³

Of these three cities, Falerii, or Falerium, as it is indifferently called, was evidently the most important. There is every reason to believe it one of the Twelve cities of the Confederation.⁴ Plutarch says it was so strong by nature and so admirably prepared to sustain an attack, that the citizens made light of being besieged by the Romans,⁵ even

¹ Dion. Hal. l. c. Ovid. Amor. III. Eleg. 13, 27, *et seq.*: see also Fasti, VI. 49. This Juno had the epithet of Curitis or Quiritis, as we learn from Tertullian (Apolog. 24)—Faliscorum in honorem patris Curis, unde accepit cognomen, Juno,—and from inscriptions found on the spot (Holsten. ad Cluv. p. 57. Gruter, p. 308, 1). In the Sabine tongue Quiris signifies “lance,” she was therefore the “lance-Juno,” and is represented holding that weapon. Plut. Romul. Minerva also was worshipped at Falerii, Ovid. Fast. III. 843. Mars seems to have been another god of the Falisci, as they called the fifth month in their calendar after his name. Ovid. Fast. III. 89. A four-faced Janus was also worshipped here, from whom the temple of Janus Quadrifrons at Rome had its rise. Serv. Æn. VII. 607. Festus (*v.* Stroppus) speaks of a festival kept by the Falisci under the name of Strupearia, but in honour of what deity he does not mention.

² See Note I. in the Appendix to this Chapter.

³ There are certain silver coins with the legend **FAΛEION**, sometimes contracted into **FAA** or **FA** (Lanzi, Saggio, II. pp. 25, 66), which were long ascribed to Falerii; but it is now decided by numismatists that they belong to Elis in the Peloponnesus—the initial being but the digamma. See Müller’s Etrusker, I. p. 339, and the authorities he cites.

⁴ See Note II. in the Appendix to this Chapter.

⁵ Plut. Camil.: see also Val. Max. VI. 5. 1.—*moenia expugnari non poterant.*

though led by Camillus ; and according to Livy the siege bid fair to be as tedious as that of Veii ;¹ which could not have been the case had not the city occupied a site strong by nature as well as art. Ovid speaks of the steepness of the ascent to the celebrated temple of Juno within the city.² Zonaras also mentions the natural strength of its position on a lofty height.³ All descriptive of a site widely different from that of Falleri, and perfectly agreeing with that of Civita Castellana, which, in accordance with Cluverius, Holstenius, Cramer, and Nibby, I am fully persuaded is the representative of the Etruscan Falerium.

There it is we must place the scene of the well-known story of the treacherous schoolmaster.

The Falerians, trusting in the strength of their town, regarded with indifference the Roman army encamped about it, even though commanded by Camillus, the conqueror of Veii, and pursued their ordinary avocations. It was the custom of the Falerians, derived probably from their Greek ancestors, to have a public school for the tuition of the male children generally. The schoolmaster during the siege took his boys out of the city for exercise, as usual in time of peace, and to accomplish his treacherous design, led them daily further from the walls, till he drew them at length to the Roman camp, and delivered them up to their foes. As among them were the children of the principal citizens, he thought in them to transfer to the Romans the destinies of the city itself, and thus purchase for himself the favour of Camillus. But the Roman general, with that noble generosity and inflexible virtue which characterized many of his countrymen of early times, scorned to profit by such baseness, and sternly replied,—“Not to such wretches as thyself art thou come with thy base offers. With the Falisci we have no common bond of human making ; but such as nature hath formed, that will we ever respect. War hath its laws as well as peace ; and its duties we have learnt to execute, whether they demand our justice or our valour. We are arrayed, not against that tender age which is sacred even in the moment of successful assault, but against those who, though neither injured nor annoyed by us, took up arms and attacked our camp at Veii. Them hast thou

¹ Liv. V. 26.

² Amor. III. Eleg. 13, 6.

³ Zonar. Ann. VII. 22 ; and VIII. 18.

200 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

surpassed in iniquity ; and them will I overcome, as I have the Veientes, by Roman skill, determination, and valour." Then commanding the wretch to be stript, and his hands to be bound behind his back, he delivered him to the boys, who with rods and scourges drove him back to the city. The anxiety and terror of the inhabitants at the loss of their children was turned to joy on their return, and they conceived such admiration of the Roman general that they forthwith surrendered the city into his hands.¹

This was in the year of Rome 360 ; but the Falisci, as a people, are mentioned in Roman history as early as the year 317 ;² from which time, to the capture of the city, they several times warred against Rome, in alliance with either the Veientes, Fidenates, or Capenates. The Falisci remained subject to Rome till the year 397, when they revolted, and joined the Tarquinienses, but were subdued by the dictator, Marcius Rutilus.³ In 461 they joined the other Etruscan cities in the final struggle for independence.⁴ In 513, after the first Punic war, they again revolted ; but were soon reduced.⁵ Zonaras, who has given us an account of this final capture, says that "the ancient city situated on a steep and lofty height was destroyed, and another built in a place of easy access."⁶ The description of the latter, which will not apply at all to the site of Civita Castellana, agrees precisely with that of Falleri, which, as already shown, stands on two sides on the actual level of the plain, and on the third, on cliffs but slightly raised from the valley—such a situation, as, by analogy, we know would never have been chosen by the Etruscans, but is not at all inconsistent with a Roman site.⁷ Regarding Falleri, then, to be the city rebuilt at this period, all difficulty with regard to its name is removed. It is not necessary to suppose it the Etruscan Falerii ; for the name of the original city was transferred

¹ Livy, V. 27. Plut. Camil. ; Dion. Hal. Excerpt. Mai. XII. c. 16. Val. Max. VI. 5, 1. Florus. I. 12. Frontin. Strat. IV. 4. Zonaras, VII. 22.

² Liv. IV. 17.

³ Liv. VII. 16, 17. Diod. Sic. XVI. p. 432.

⁴ Liv. X. 45, 46.

⁵ Polyb. I. 65. Val. Max. VI. 5. Eutrop. II. 28. Zonaras, Ann. VIII. 18. Orosius, IV. 11.

⁶ Zonar. loc. cit. "Ταπτερον δὲ ἡ μὲν ἀρχαία πόλις, εἰς ὕρος ἐρυμνὸν ἰδρυμένη, κατεσκάφη· ἑτέρα δ' ὠκοδομήθη εὐέφθοδος.

⁷ See Note III. in the Appendix to this Chapter.

with the inhabitants to this site which has retained it, while the ancient site lay desolate, it is probable, for many ages,¹ till long after the fall of the Empire, in the eighth or ninth century, the strength of its position attracted a fresh settlement, and it was fortified under the name of Civitas Castellana.

That Civita was the site of the original, and Falleri of the second city of Falerii, is corroborated by the much superior size of the former, and by the fact that no Roman remains have been discovered there, while they abound at the latter place.²

This is the opinion regarding Falerii held by most antiquaries of note, and it seems clear and consistent.³ Some few, as Nardini, Müller, and Gell, led astray by the resemblance of the name, view Falleri as the original Falerii,⁴ and without just grounds regard Civita Castellana as the site of Fescennium.⁵

Regarding, then, the remains of Falleri as belonging to Roman times, the resemblance of its walls and gates to Etruscan masonry and architecture is explained by the date of their construction, as they belong to a period when the

¹ The "apple-bearing Falisci" mentioned by Ovid (*Amor.* III. *Eleg.* 13), as the birthplace of his wife may have been Falleri; but the temple of Juno continued in his day to occupy the original site, as is proved by his mention of the walls conquered by Camillus, and the steep ascent to the town,—*difficilis clivis via*—there being nothing like a steep to Falleri. The dense and venerable grove, too, around the temple, may perhaps mark the desolation of the site, though a grove generally surrounded every temple. It is possible, however, that there was still some small population on this spot, as usual in the immediate neighbourhood of celebrated shrines, and to that Ovid may have referred under the name of Falisci. The *Colonia Junonia*, referred to by Frontinus (*de colon.*)—*quæ appellatur Faliscos, quæ a III viris est assignata*—and by an inscription found at Falleri, must apply to the second city.

² Nibby, II. v. Falerii.

³ See Note IV. in the Appendix to this Chapter.

⁴ Mannert (*Geog.* p. 422) joins them in this opinion.

⁵ Gell acknowledges that the description left us of Falerii would apply with more truth to the site of Civita Castellana, and sees that the affair of the schoolmaster is not applicable to Falleri; but goes on to state the certainty of the towns of Falerii and Fescennium having been intimately connected, "if it be not even clear that one of them having been destroyed, the ruined town was transferred to the site of the other." That they were inhabited by the same race, and intimately connected, there is little doubt, but for the latter conjecture that Gell hazards, there is no foundation.

202 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

Romans were imitators of the Etruscans in all their arts ; besides, the inhabitants were still of the latter nation, though they had received a Roman colony. This may also, to some extent, explain its tombs, which, with a few exceptions, are purely Etruscan. Nevertheless, as already shown, there is ground for believing that such tombs existed here long prior to the erection of the walls of Falleri, and therefore that a genuine Etruscan town occupied a neighbouring site—but where this town may have stood, or what its name may have been, I pretend not to determine. It was probably some small town dependent on Falerii, the name of which has not come down to us.

Falleri was on the Via Amerina which branched from the Via Cassia at Le Sette Vene, and ran northward through Nepi to Todi and Perugia. It is five miles from Nepi, as set down in the Table, and three from Corchiano on the same line of ancient road.¹ In this direction, or northwards from Falleri, the road may be traced by fragments more or less perfect almost as far as Orte, on the Tiber.

For my guide to Falleri I took a man from Civita Castellana, named Domenico Mancini, a most obliging, civil fellow, simple but intelligent, and, what is more than can be said for Italian guides in general, satisfied with a just remuneration. Having tended cattle or sheep all his life-time in the neighbourhood, he knows the site of every *grotta* or tomb, and in fact, pointed out to me those with the porticoes and Latin inscription, which were previously unknown to the world. The antiquity-hunter in Italy can have no better guide than an intelligent shepherd ; for these men, passing their days in the open air, and following their flocks over the wilds far from beaten tracks, become familiar with every cave, every fragment of ruined wall, and block of hewn stone ; and, though they do not comprehend the antiquity of such relics, yet, if the traveller makes them aware of what he is seeking, they will rarely fail to lead him to the sites of such remains, and often, as in my case, give

¹ Its distances are thus marked in the Peutingerian Table :—

Roma		Castello Amerino	XII.
Ad Sextum	VI.	Ameria	VIII.
Veios	VI.	Tuder	—
Vacanas	VIII.	—	VI.
Nepe	VIII.	Vetona	XX.
Faleros	V.	Pirusio	XIII.

him good cause to rejoice in his interrogatory, "Gentle shepherd, tell me where?" The visitor to Falleri cannot do better than engage the services of the said Domenico, which he may do at a few *paoli* a day, taking care to ask for "Domenico, detto Figlio del Re," or the King's Son; which is no reflection on any crowned head in Europe, but is a *sobriquet* belonging to him in right of his father, who was generally called "The King," whether from his dignified bearing, or from out-topping his fellows, like Saul, I know not. These *cognomina* are general among the lower orders in Italy—a relic, perhaps, of ancient times—and no one seems ashamed of them; nay, a man is best known by his nickname. At Sutri I was guided by a Sorcio,—or "Mouse"—(remember the three great Republican heroes of the same name, P. Decius Mus!); at Narni, I was driven by Mosto,—or "New Wine;" at Chianciano by the "Holy Father" himself; and at Pitigliano I lodged in the house of Il Bimbo, or—"the Baby." I should mention that this son of the shepherd-king of Civita Castellana, will provide the traveller with horses at three *paoli* each, per diem.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VII

NOTE I.—THE THREE TOWNS OF THE FALISCI.

NIBBY doubts the existence of a third town, and thinks that Faliscum is merely another name for Falerium, seeing that Falisci was the name of the people, and Falerii of their city; just as the inhabitants of Rome were called Quirites, and of Ardea, Rutuli. Cluver also (II. p. 554) is much of the same opinion. Now, though "Falisci" was undoubtedly the name of the race, as shown by most writers, particularly by Livy, and though sometimes employed, in this sense, indifferently with Falerii, and though Faliscum, Falisca, or Falisci, is often confused with Falerii the town, as by Ovid, Pliny, Diodorus (XIV. p. 310), and perhaps by Servius; yet Faliscum is mentioned by Strabo (V. p. 226), by Stephanus (v. Φαλίσκος), and Solinus (II. p. 13), in addition to Falerium. The last-named author speaks of the three cities in the same passage,—ab Haleso Argivo Phaliscam; à Phalerio Argivo Phalerios; Fescennium quoque ab Argivis. See Müller's opinion on this passage (Etrusk. IV. 4, 3, n. 31). Strabo also mentions "Falerium and Faliscum" in the same breath; and as by the former he must mean the second, or Roman Falerii, seeing that the original Etruscan city had ceased to exist long before his

204 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

time, it is clear that the latter must refer to some other place—probably the *Æquum Faliscum*, which he indicates as lying on the Flaminian Way between Oriculum and Rome. See Note III.

NOTE II.—FALERII ONE OF THE TWELVE.

That Falerii was one of the Twelve Cities of the Etruscan Confederation, there is every reason to believe. Its position, in a portion of Etruria which could scarcely belong to Veii, or to Volsinii, the nearest cities of the League—its size, much superior to any of the known dependent towns, and second only to Cære and Veii, among the cities south of the Ciminian—and the importance ascribed to it by ancient writers—make it highly probable that it was one of the principal cities of Etruria. Cluver (II. p. 545) thinks the fact may be deduced from the passage of Livy (IV. 23) already commented on, in connection with Veii (*ut supra*, p. 41). Müller thinks Falerii has equal claims to this honour with Veii and Cære; and it was much too powerful, and acted too independently, to be the colony of another city. Etrusk. II. 1, 2. Eutropius (I. 18) says it was not inferior to Veii. Dempster (*de Etruriâ Regali*, II. p. 52) places Falerii among the Twelve. Niebuhr is not of this opinion; perhaps because he regarded the Falisci as *Æqui*, rather than as Etruscans. Hist. Rom. I. pp. 72, 119, Eng. trans.

NOTE III.—ÆQUUM FALISCUM.

Müller (Etrusk. einl. II. 14) is of opinion that the epithet of *Æqui*, attached by Virgil (*Æn.* VII. 695) and Silius Italicus (VIII. 491)¹ to the Falisci, refers to the position of the second city of Falerium in the plain, as stated by Zonaras. Servius, however, in his comment on this passage of Virgil, interprets *Æqui* as "Just, because the Roman people, having got rid of the Decemvirs, received from the Falisci the Feclal laws, and some supplements of the XII. Tables which they had had from the Athenians." Cluver (*Ital. Ant.* II. p. 538) and Müller (Etrusk. II. 3, 6) refute this statement; and the latter will not allow that they were called *Æqui* Falisci, either from their uprightness, or their origin from the race of the *Æqui*, as Niebuhr supposes;² but solely from the situation of their second city.

¹ Elsewhere (V. 176) he calls a man born at Soracte, which was in the Faliscan territory, *Æquanum*.

² Hist. Rom. I. p. 72, Eng. trans. Niebuhr thinks they were *Æqui* or Volsci, and remarks, in the name Falisci, that of Volsci is clearly discernible. Müller, (einl. II. 14), however, shows that the Etruscan element was predominant at Falerii; nor is the city ever found in political connection with the Sabines, Umbrians, or *Æquians*, but solely with the Etruscans.

I pretend not to reconcile the variances of such authorities ; but merely point out the glaring anachronism of which the Mantuan bard is guilty, provided the opinion of Müller be correct. The same epithet, however, in another case—Æquimælium—we are expressly told, was significant of the level nature of the ground (Dion. Hal. Excerpt. Mai. XII. 1). It seems to me more probable, from a comparison with Strabo (V. p. 226), that Æquum Faliscum was a synonym not of Roman Falerii, but of Faliscum, the third city of the Falisci. See Note I. and page 215.

NOTE IV.—FALLERI NOT THE ETRUSCAN FALERII.

The name of most weight in the opposite scale is that of Müller ; but though his opinion was “the result of careful consideration,” it is, in this case, of no weight, seeing that it is founded on a mistaken view of the local characteristics of Falleri, which, it is evident, he had never visited. He has been misled by false statements, and his arguments, on such premises, are of course powerless. He says (Etrusker, einl. II. 14), “the walls of the ancient city of Falerii, built of polygonal blocks of white stone, uncemented, are situated on the heights about three miles to the west of Civita Castellana ; and the site is still called Falari.” He takes his information, as to the position of the ruins, from Nardini, (Veio Antico, p. 153), and from Sickler’s Plan of the Campagna, a map full of inaccuracies, both in names and sites ; though he owns that Cluver, Holstenius, and Mazocchi state that Falleri is in the plain. But it is on this false notion that he founds his main argument, which is the correspondence of the position of Falari with that ascribed to Falerii, by ancient writers. Again, he says, “it is quite incredible that such massive walls as these are the work of the conquered Falisci, or of a Roman colony. Falari must therefore be regarded as the ancient Falerii.” Now, there are no polygonal walls in existence in Southern Etruria, save at Pyrgi on the coast ; and the blocks of which those of Falerii are composed are of the comparatively small size, usually employed in Etruscan cities in this part of the land, and precisely accord in dimensions and arrangement with those of the Tabularium on the Capitol, and many other remains in and around Rome. The second town of Falerii—Æquum Faliscum, as he calls it—he places, with Nardini, on some undetermined site in the Plain of Borghetto, near the Tiber, because Strabo says it was near the Via Flaminia. Civita Castellana, he follows Nardini and the early Italian antiquaries, in supposing to be the ancient Fescennium, and contents himself with saying that it cannot be Falerii, as Cluverius and Holstenius supposed.

The early antiquaries of Italy, led away by the similarity of the name, fancied that Monte Fiascone—or Mons Phiscon, as Annio of Viterbo called it—was the site of Falerii.

206 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

It should have been stated that Festus offers a singular derivation for the name of this city—Faleri oppidum à sale dictum—which Cluver (II. p. 542), explains as the consequence of a blunder in transcribing from the Greek authors—ἀπὸ τοῦ ἅλος instead of ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀλήσου. Its obscurity is in some measure relieved by Servius (*Æn.* VIII. 285), who calls Alesus the son of Neptune, and by Silius Italicus (VIII. 476), where he refers to Halesus as the founder of Alsium, on the sea-coast.;

CHAPTER VIII

FESCENNIUM

Though nought at all but ruines now I bee,
And lye in mine own ashes, as you see ;
Verlame I was ; what bootes it that I was,
Sith now I am but weedes and wastefull grass ?

SPENSER.

Hem ! nos homunculi indignamur, si quis nostrum interiit aut occisus est quorum vita brevior esse debet, cum uno loco tot oppidum cadavera projecta jaceant ?

SERV. SULPIT., Epist. ad M. Tull. Cicer.

THE second town of the Falisci, Fescennium, or Fescennia, or Fescenium, as Dionysius calls it, was founded, like Falerii, by the Siculi, who were driven out by the Pelasgi ; traces of which latter race were still extant in Dionysius' day, in the warlike tactics, the Argolic shields and spears, the religious rites and ceremonies, and in the construction and furniture of the temples of the Falisci.¹ This Argive or Pelasgic origin of Fescennium, as well as of Falerii, is confirmed by Solinus.² Virgil mentions Fescennium as sending her hosts to the assistance of Turnus ;³ but no notice of it, which can be regarded as historical, has come down to us ; and it is probable that, as a Faliscan town, it followed the fortunes and fate of Falerii. It was a Roman colony in the time of Pliny.⁴ We know only this in addition, that here are said to have originated the songs, which from an early period were in use among the Romans at their nuptials ;⁵

¹ Dion. Hal. I. pp. 16, 17.

² Solin. II. p. 13. Servius however ascribes to Fescennium an Athenian origin, and calls it a town of Campania.

³ Virg. Æn. l. c.

⁴ Plin. III. 8.

⁵ Servius. l. c. Festus, *voce* Fescennini versus. Plin. XV. 24. Catul. LXI. 126. Seneca, Medea, 113. Claudian gives a specimen of Fescennina, on the nuptials of Honorius and Maria. Festus offers a second derivation—quia *fascinum* putabantur arcere—which Müller (Etrusk. IV. 5. 2., n. 8) thinks is not a satisfactory explanation. Dr. Schmitz, in Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities, objects to the Fescennian origin of these songs, on the ground that "this kind of amusement has at all times been, and is still, so popular in Italy, that it can scarcely

208 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

and which were sung also by the peasantry in alternate *extempore* verses, full of banter and raillery.¹

To the precise site of Fescennium we have no clue, though, from its connection with Falerii, and the mention made of it by Virgil, we may safely conclude it was in the district between Soracte and the Ciminian Mount, *i. e.* in the *ager Faliscus*. Müller's opinion, that it occupied the site of Civita Castellana, has been shown to be incorrect.² The assumption of Cluver, that it is represented by Gallese, a village about nine miles to the north of Civita Castellana, seems wholly gratuitous;³ he is followed, however, in this by subsequent writers⁴—*magni nominis umbra*. The truth is, that there are numerous Etruscan sites in this district, none of which, save Gallese, have been recognized as such, so that, in the absence of definite description by the ancients, and of all monumentary evidence on the several localities, it is impossible to pronounce with certainty which is the site of Fescennium.

The district lying between the Ciminian on the west, Soracte on the east, the Tiber on the north, and the modern Via Cassia on the south, with the exception of the road

be considered as peculiar to any particular place." He further maintains that these songs cannot be of Etruscan origin, because Fescennium was not an Etruscan, but a Faliscan town. But whatever may have been the origin of the Falisci, ages before we find mention of the Fescennine verses, they had been incorporated with the Etruscan Confederation, and were as much Etruscans as the citizens of Cære, Cortona, Alsium, Pyrgi, all of which had a Pelasgic origin.

¹ Livy (VII. 2) calls them—versum incompositum temere ac rudem. Catullus (loc. cit.)—procax Fescennina locutio. So also Seneca (loc. cit.)—

Festa dicax fundat convicia Fescenninus.

Fescennine seems to have been a proverbial synonym for "playing the fool." Macrob. Saturn. II. 10. In their original character these Fescennines, though coarse and bold, were not malicious; but in time, says Horace, the freedom of amiable sport grew to malignant rage, and gave rise to dissensions and feuds; whereon the law stepped in, and put an end to them altogether. Epist. II. I. 145. Augustus himself wrote Fescennines on Pollio, who would not respond, save with a witty excuse—non est facile in eum scribere, qui potest proscribere.—Macrob. Satur. II. 4.

² See Chapter VII. pp. 201, 204, 205.

³ Cluv. Ital. Antiq. II. p. 551.

⁴ Nibby, II. p. 28. Cramer. I. p. 226. Abeken's Mittelital. p. 36. Westphal, Map of the Campagna.

which passes through Nepi and Civita Castellana to Ponte Felice, is to travellers in general, and to antiquaries in particular, a *terra incognita*. This tract of country, though level, is of exceeding beauty—not the stern, barren grandeur of the Campagna around Rome—but beauty, soft, rich, and luxuriant. Plains covered with oaks and chestnuts—grand gnarled giants, who have lorded it here for centuries over the lowly hawthorn, nut, or fern—such sunny glades, carpeted with green sward!—such bright stretches of corn, waving away even under the trees!—such “quaint mazes in the wanton groves!”—and such delicious shady dells, and avenues, and knolls, where Nature, in her springtide frolics, mocks Art or Titania, and girds every tree, every bush, with a fairy belt of crocuses, anemones, purple and white cistuses, delicate cyclamina, convolvuluses of different hues, and more varieties of laughing flowers than I would care to enumerate. A merrier greenwood you cannot see in all merry England; it may want the buck to make it perfect to the stalker’s taste; but its beauty, its joyousness, must fill every other eye with delight—

“It is, I ween, a lovely spot of ground,
And in a season atween June and May
Half pranked with spring, with summer half embrowned . . .
Is nought around but images of rest,
Sleep-soothing groves, and quiet lawns between,
And flowery beds that slumb’rous influence kest
From poppies breathed, and beds of pleasant green.”

Ever and anon the vine and the olive come in to enrich, and a flock of goats or of long-horned cattle,¹ to animate the landscape, which is hedged in by the dark, forest-clad Ciminian, the naked, craggy, sparkling Soracte, and the ever-fresh and glorious range of Apennines, gemmed with many a town, and chequered with shifting shadows.

All this is seen on the plain; but go northwards towards the Tiber, and you find that you are far from being on low ground; the river flows a thousand feet beneath you, through

¹ The waters or the pastures of this district, the “ager Faliscus,” were supposed by the ancients to have the property of turning cattle white (Plin. Nat. Hist. II. 106. Ovid. Amor. III. Eleg. 13, v. 13), but the breed is now of the grey hue common in the Campagna. This district was anciently fertile in flax—*indutosque simul gentilia lina Faliscos*—Sil. Ital. IV. 223. There is little enough, either of produce or manufacture, at present.

210 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

a valley which in fertile beauty has few rivals, even in Italy. Or attempt to approach some one of the towns whose spires you see peering above the woods of the plain ; and many a ravine, darkly profound, unseen, unthought of till you stand on its brink, yawns at your feet, and must be traversed to its uttermost recesses ere you attain your object. In these lower regions you are amid scenes widely different from those on the upper level. Your horizon is bounded by walls of rock, but what it wants in distance it gains in intrinsic beauty. The cliffs, broken into fantastic forms, and hollowed into caves of mysterious interest, display the richest hues of brown, red, orange, and grey ; wood hangs from their every ledge, and even crests their brows—a wood as varied in mass as in tint—ilex, ash, alder, oak, chestnut—matted together with ivy, vines, clematis, and honeysuckle ; a stream winds brawling through the hollow, here spanned by a rustic bridge, there sinking in a mimic cascade ; now struggling among the fallen, moss-grown crags, now running riot through some lowly mill, half hid by foliage. A white shrine or hermitage looks down from the verge of the cliff, or a bolder-featured town, picturesque with the ruin of ages, towers above you on an insulated mass at the forking of the glen ; so lofty, so inaccessible is the site, you cannot believe it the very same town you had seen for miles before you, lying in the bosom of the plain. Such are the general outlines of the scenery ; but every site has its peculiar features, which I shall only notice in as far as they have antiquarian interest.

About six miles northwards from Civita Castellana lies Corchiano, now a wretched village of five or six hundred souls, ruined by the French half a century since, and never rebuilt. There is nothing of antiquity within the walls, but the site is clearly Etruscan. No walls of that origin are extant, but the ravines around contain numerous sepulchres, now defaced by appropriation to other purposes. Traces of Etruscan roads, too, are abundant. On the way to Gallese, to Ponte Felice, and to Civita Castellana, you pass through deep clefts, sunk in the rock in ancient times ; and in the more immediate neighbourhood of the village are roads cut in the rock, and flanked by sepulchres, or built up on either hand with large blocks of tufo, which have every appearance of remote antiquity. The tombs have no remarkable features

—being mostly square chambers, with benches of rock around, and sometimes with a pillar or partition-wall in the centre. There are some *columbaria* as at Falleri, and not a few of those singular conical tombs, sunk in the ground, and having an opening above, which have been stated to abound at Civita Castellana. But the most remarkable monument on this site is about half a mile from Corchiano, on the road to Falleri. After crossing the river—the Rio Fratte—you ascend to the level of the plain by a road sunk in the tufo, on the wall of which is an inscription, in letters fifteen inches in height, and with an intaglio of at least three inches—

211ND A · J37 · 0DAJ

which, in Roman letters, would be LARTH. VEL. ARNIES. On the rock just beyond there has been another inscription, but one letter only is now traceable. There is no appearance of a tomb, and the rock does not seem to have been hewn into a monumental form, yet the inscription of a proper name, in such a situation (and complete in itself, as the smooth surface testifies), can hardly have been other than sepulchral. Here, at least, is proof positive of the Etruscan antiquity of the road, and a valuable guide by which to judge of other roads. There has been a water-course down one side, and, a little above the inscription, a sewer, just like those beneath the walls of Etruscan cities, opens on the road, bringing the water from the ground above into the course; and again, some distance below the inscribed rock, another similar sewer opens in the tufo, and carries the water through the cliff, clear of the road, down to the river. Both sewers have evidently been formed for no other purpose; and have every appearance of being coeval with the road. This, which ran here in Etruscan times, must be the same as that afterwards called by the Romans Via Amerina; it led northward from Nepi, through Falleri, to the Tiber near Orte. Corchiano, the ancient name of which is utterly lost,¹ was also on the road, perhaps a *mutatio*.

¹ Among the sepulchral inscriptions of Chiusi, we find the proper name of "Carcu" "Carca" "Carcna," and "Carcuni," which in Latin would be Carconia. (Mus. Chius. II. p. 218. Lanzi, II. pp. 348, 409, 432, 455.) The name of "Curcli" which bears a very strong

212 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

There is considerable interest around Corchiano, and the antiquary or artist, who would explore the neighbourhood, would do well to make it his head-quarters, as it is centrally convenient, and accommodation may be had in the house of the butcher and general shopkeeper of the place, Giuseppe Lionidi. The persons who entertain strangers at these out-of-the-way places are often butchers, and generally well to do in the world, that is, as well-doing is esteemed in Italy. Giuseppe proves his substance by being about to send his eldest daughter to a convent, for no fair one can become the bride of Christ without a handsome dowry. At such places the traveller cannot look for much comfort, but here he will at least meet with great attention from the whole household, from Pepe himself, and his handsome wife, Maria, down to the merry-eyed, pretty little Lucia. As a guide to the sites of interest round Corchiano, I can recommend a meagre, fever-faced lad, named Costantino.

About two miles from Corchiano on the road to Bassanello, at a spot called Puntone del Ponte, is a singular tomb, with a sort of court in front sunk in the rock, and with the remains of a portico, of which but one square pillar is now standing.¹ On the inner wall of the portico, high under the cornice, is an Etruscan inscription, which is imperfect. It seems to state the age of the defunct.

The general style of the tomb is like that of the triple-arched tomb at Falleri. The existence of this monument has hitherto been unknown to antiquaries. It now serves as a pig-sty; therefore beware of fleas—swarming as in Egyptian plagues—beclouding light nether garments!

Seven miles north of Corchiano, on the road to Orte, is Bassanello, perhaps an Etruscan site. There is nothing of interest here; but half-way between it and Corchiano, is a

affinity to Corchiano, occurs in an inscription said by Buonarroti to be cut on some rocks in the mountains near Florence, (p. 95, ap. Dempst. II.) Vermiglioli (*Isc. Perug.* I. p. 298) gives another version of apparently the same name—Carcznas, which he thinks equivalent to Carconia.

¹ As Etruscan tombs are often imitations of houses, this court in front of the portico must represent the vestibule described by Cæcilius Gallus (ap. A. Gell. XVI. 5; Macrob. Sat. VI. 8) as a vacant space before the door of the house, through which lay the approach to it.

deserted town called Aleano or Liano, alias Sta. Bruna, from a ruined church on the site. The walls and other ruins, as far as I could see, are medieval, highly picturesque; but there are tombs of more ancient date in the cliffs beneath the walls, and in the neighbourhood. In many parts of this road you trace the Via Amerina, by the line of basaltic blocks, running almost due N. and S., and in one part, near the Puntone del Ponte, you tread the ancient pavement for some distance.

Three miles from Corchiano and nine from Civita Castellana, lies Gallese, the town which has been supposed to occupy the site of Fescennium.¹ It stands, as usual, on a mass of rock at the junction of two ravines. It has evidently been an Etruscan site, and though no walls of that construction are extant, there are several sewers in the cliffs beneath the town, and plenty of tombs in the rocks around. Within the walls are a few Roman remains, fragments of columns, inscriptions, and bas-reliefs, but nothing which throws light on the ancient name of the place. This, however, has been determined by a worthy *canonico* of Gallese, recently deceased, to be the *Æquum Faliscum*, mentioned by Strabo, Virgil, and Italicus,² and he wrote a work thereon, still in manuscript, entitled, “La Antica Falisca, o sia notizie istoriche della città di Gallese, dal Canonico Teologo Amanzio Nardoni.” His is not a new idea, for on the front of the Palazzo Comunale or Town-hall is inscribed—

SÆCULA DUM VIVENT DURABIT VITA PHALISCIS.

The derivation of Gallese from Halesus, or Haliscus, the son of Agamemnon, and reputed founder of the Faliscan race, is plausible enough; but another less venerable origin has been sought for the name by the townspeople, who have assumed for the arms of the town a cock—Gallese *à gallo*. *Æquum Faliscum* seems, from Strabo, to have been on the Flaminian Way, but Gallese lies about midway between that and the Via Amerina, two or three miles from each. The town is circumscribed by nature, and can never have been of

¹ Spanheim (cited by Lanzi, *Saggio*, II. p. 65) seems alone in the opinion that Gallese was the ancient Falerii.

² Strabo, V. p. 226. Virg. *Æn.* VII. 695. Sil. Ital. VIII. 491. The last two, however, refer the name to the race, rather than to any locality.

214 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

much importance—scarcely large enough, I should opine, to be the ancient Fescennium. It is distant five miles from Ponte Felice, and nine from Orte.

Six miles north-west of Corchiano lies Vignanello, also an Etruscan site, but with no remains of interest. It is a mean and dirty town with a villanous *osteria*, yet of such importance that a vehicle, miscalled *diligence*, runs thither from Rome twice a week. Its wine has more renown than merit. Four miles beyond Vignanello is Soriano, another ancient site, possibly the Surrina Vetus whose existence may be inferred from the "Surrina Nova" which occupied the site of Viterbo. It is boldly situated on the lower slope of the dark Ciminian, lorded over by its venerable castle; and still retains many a picturesque trace of the earthquake which shattered it in the last century.

I had the fortune to discover the site of an ancient city in this district, which seems to me to be more probably that of Fescennium, than any one of those yet mentioned. It lies about a mile and a half west of Ponte Felice, on the way to Corchiano, and the site is indicated by a long line of walling, an embankment to the cliffs on the opposite side of a ravine. From the character of the ground the city must have been of great size, for it is not the usual narrow ridge between two ravines, but a wide area, some miles in circuit, surrounded by ravines of great depth; more like the site of the ancient Falerii, on the heights of Civita Castellana, than of any other town in this neighbourhood. The area of the city is covered with dense wood, which greatly impedes research; on it stands the ruined church of San Silvestro, which gives its name to the spot. The wall is the facing to a sort of natural bastion in the cliff, considerably below the level of the city. It is so conspicuous that I am surprised to find no mention of it in any work on the Campagna, not even in Westphal or Nibby.

Forcing a way through pathless thickets, I climbed to the wall and found it to extend in an unbroken mass for 150 or 200 feet.¹ In the size and arrangement of its blocks it is

¹ About eight or ten courses are standing, formed of tufo blocks, from 18 to 22 inches in height, and square, or nearly so (not alternating with long blocks as in the usual *emplecton*), and laid often one directly over the other, as in the Tullianum prison, and other very early structures.

more like the fragments at Veii and Cære, than any other remains I can recollect in Etruria. The whole is much ruined in surface, and bears the appearance of very high antiquity. It has evidently been the wall of a city, for no mere castle would have had a bastion such as this, nor would it have occupied such a site, on a ledge of the cliff, completely commanded by higher ground; and though in the style of its masonry it differs somewhat from the general type, yet in its position, as a *revêtement* to the cliff, it exactly corresponds with the usual walling of Etruscan cities. That such is its character is corroborated by the existence of numerous tombs, not in the cliffs of the ravines, but, as at Nepi, on the level of the high ground opposite, together with fragments of walling, and sewers which were probably intended to drain this level and keep the tombs dry.

The size of this city, so much superior to that of the neighbouring Etruscan towns, and its vicinity to the Via Flaminia which ran just below it to the East on its way to the Tiber and Otricoli, greatly favour the view that here stood Fescennium. Not that that city is known to have been on the Flaminian, but the ancients generally made their roads to accommodate any place of importance that lay in the same direction;¹ and that Fescennium was of more importance than the many nameless Etruscan towns in this district, it is fair to conclude from the mention of it by Dionysius and Virgil, and from its being coupled with Falerii, one of the cities of the Confederation. If it were certain that Æquum Faliscum was not merely another name for Falerii, it might well have occupied this site, for Strabo seems to indicate it as being on the Flaminian Way, between Otricoli and Rome, which must mean a little on the Roman side of the former place.² In one of the three Itineraries,

¹ The ancient road departed from the line of the modern Via Flaminia about Aqua Viva, leaving Civita Castellana two or three miles to the left, and continued to Borghetto, crossing the Tiber by the bridge now in ruins, called *Le Pile d' Augusto*; but its precise course through this district has not been determined. Westphal, *Römis. Kamp.* p. 136. It did not run to the original Falerii, because that city had been destroyed before its formation, and the second Falerii was accommodated by the Via Amerina. But Fescennium continued to exist under the Empire, and therefore was most probably connected with the City by a road.

² Strabo, it must be observed, does not speak from his own know-

216 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

indeed, which give the stations on the Flaminian, a town of that name is placed in this neighbourhood ; but on the wrong bank of the Tiber.¹ Neither Fescennium nor Æquum Faliscum is mentioned by Ptolemy. If this be the site of Fescennium, as the latest mention of that town is made by Pliny, it is probable that at an early period of the Empire, it fell into decay, and was deserted, like so many other Etruscan towns, and “the rejoicing city became a desolation, a place for beasts to lie down in.” Its only inhabitants are now the feathered tribes, and the only nuptial songs which meet the ear are those of countless nightingales, which in spring-time not only “smooth the rugged brow of Night,” but even at noonday fill the groves and ravines with tuneful echoes,

“Stirring the air with such a harmony”

as to infuse a spirit of joy and gladness into this lonely and desolate spot.

ledge, though he must have known the road, but records it as a report — *οἱ δὲ Αἰκουμφαλίσκον λέγουσιν*, &c. (V. p. 226). This is according to the version of Cluver (II. p. 538), who reads it *Æquum Faliscum*, an emendation of the evidently corrupt text also approved of by Müller (Etrusk. einl. II. 14, n. 101). Both these authorities, however, take this for a synonym of the second Falerii, which was built in the plain, not of the third city (Faliscum) of the Falisci.

¹ In that of Antoninus, the earliest, there is a gap of 25 miles between Villa Rostrata and Oriculum, and in the Jerusalem Itinerary there is a distance of twelve miles between Aqua Viva and Civitas Oricoli, without any intermediate station. In the Peutingerian Table beyond Aqua Viva, but on the Sabine side of the Tiber, we find—

Aequo Falsico (Falisco) XVI.
Inter Manana (Interamnina) XII.

This position must be an error of the transcriber.

CHAPTER IX

ORTE.—*HORTA*

By the rushy-fringed bank,
Where grows the willow and the osier dank,
My chariot stays. MILTON.

OF the ancient history of Horta, we have no record, unless the notice by Virgil, the application of which to this town has been doubted, be received as historical.¹ We know, however, from better authority than that of the Mantuan bard, namely, from its extant monuments, that Horta was an Etruscan city, and the archaic character of those remains even leads us to regard it as among the most ancient in the land. The only other mention of it is by Pliny, who cites it among the "inland colonies" of Etruria;² but we learn from inscriptions that it was one of the military colonies of Augustus.

Orte lies on the right bank of the Tiber, about twelve miles above Ponte Felice, and crowns the summit of a long narrow isolated ridge of tufo rock. Beneath the walls of the town this ridge breaks into naked cliffs, and then sinks gradually in slopes clad with olives and vines to meet the Tiber and the plain. Viewed from the north or south its situation appears very similar to that of Orvieto, though far from being so elevated and imposing, but from the east or west it has a less commanding though more picturesque appearance. At the western end the ridge is particularly

¹ Qui Tiberim Fabarimque bibunt, quos frigida misit
Nursia, et Hortinæ classes, populique Latini.—ÆN. VII. 715.

² Plin. III. 8. Padre Secchi, the learned Jesuit of Rome, follows Müller (Etrusk. III. 3, 7) in thinking the place derives its name from Horta, an Etruscan goddess equivalent to the Roman "Salus," and distinct from Nortia or Fortuna, the great deity of Volsinii. This goddess Horta is mentioned by Plutarch (Quæst. Rom. XLVI.), who says her temple was always kept open. A distinction between her and the Etruscan Fortuna is indicated by Tacitus (Ann. XV. 53). Secchi, *Il Musaico Antoniniano*, p. 47, n. 5.

Fontanini (de Antiq. Hortæ, I. cap. I.) would fain make it appear that Horta was founded by the Pelasgi, and was one of the twelve chief cities of Etruria.—"The baseless fabric of a vision."

218 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

narrow, terminating in a mere long wall of cliff, called La Rocca, which communicates with the city by a viaduct. Thus the plan of the whole takes the form of a battle-dore, of which the handle is the Rocca and the body the city. Orte is still a place of some importance ; and though its air in summer-time be in no good repute, it retains its population throughout the year. The only place of entertainment for the traveller is the " Antica Trattoria e Locanda " of the Bell, kept by a buxom, attentive hostess, Caterina Ripetti ; but " it is not enough to have a clean table-cloth ; " for if you make a tolerable meal by day, you furnish forth a dainty feast by night to thousands of hungry banqueters, whose nimbleness gets them off scot-free, though credit is not the order of the house, as is pompously set forth in the *cucina*—

" *Credenza è morta—
Il creditor l' ha uccisa—
Amico, abbi pazienza,
Piacer ti farò, ma non credenza.*—"

" Here Credit is dead, it
Is killed by the creditor ;
Here I will make you right jolly and mellow ;
But not one penn'orth on tick, my good fellow ! "

Orte preserves no vestiges of its ancient walls, nor is there a sign of high antiquity in either of its three gates. Nothing of classic times, in fact, is to be seen within the town save a few Roman relics. The Ortani show a house on the walls as Etruscan, but—*credat Judæus !* Let no one, however, express such a doubt within the walls of Orte, for he will have to combat not merely the prejudices of her 3000 inhabitants, but a formidable array of piety and learning in her clergy.

" Odi, vede, e tace
Se vuoi viver in pace."

These gentlemen, whose want of experience in such matters may well excuse this blunder, deserve all credit for the interest they take in the antiquities of their town, and to the learned canon Don Giovanni Vitali I am especially indebted for his courtesy in furnishing me with information about the excavations which have been made at Orte, and in giving me copies of inscriptions there brought to light which his antiquarian zeal has preserved from oblivion.

What little I have to say of the Etruscan antiquities of Orte, as scarcely anything is now to be seen, I derive from his lips, and from those of Signor Brugiotti, a gentleman who took part in these excavations.

To the south of the town, at the distance of a mile or more, rise lofty, cliff-bound heights, apparently ranges of hills, but in fact the extremity of the high table-land of the Campagna. Here, near the Convent of Bernardines, a few tombs are seen in the cliffs, and in the rocks on the plain above are others, said to resemble those of Castel d'Asso, hereafter to be described, having a false moulded doorway in the façade, an open chamber beneath it, and the sepulchre itself below all, underground. Excavations were made in this plain in 1837, with no great profit. They were carried forward, however, more successfully by an association of the townsmen, under the direction of Signor Arduini, on a still loftier height to the south-west of Orte, near the Capuchin Convent, where the tombs had no external indications, but lay beneath the surface of the ground. The articles found were similar in character to those from the neighbouring site of Bomarzo—no figured pottery, none at least with Greek paintings, but common and rude ware of every form and description, many articles of glass, and abundance of bronzes. Among the latter were candelabra of great elegance and beauty, now in the Gregorian Museum at Rome, tripods, mirrors, vases with figured handles, and small statues of deities. A winged Minerva, with an owl in her hand, is unique in metal, though the goddess is so represented on some painted vases. A leaden spade, which must have been a votive offering, is curious as the type of those still in use in this part of the country. *Alabastra* of glass, figured blue and white. Eggs in an entire state,—often found in Etruscan tombs. A singular jar of earthenware, hermetically sealed, and half-full of liquid, which was heard when the jar was shaken, and when it was inverted would exude from a porous part in drops of limpid water. If testimony be here trustworthy, this must be the most ancient liquid relic extant. What it was originally is not to be determined. Water it can hardly have been, or why so carefully seal it? If it were wine, it must have been of a venerable age in old Cato's time, too "languid" to have thawed his virtue, or

220 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

to have tickled Horace's palate. Were it once *tawny* as a Moor, twenty and odd centuries in bottle would suffice to render it as *pale* as any epicure could desire, with proportionate mildness of flavour and odour.

Numerous urns of terra-cotta or *nenfro* were discovered, generally quite plain, with inscriptions; sometimes with a head projecting from the lid, as at Veii; as many as sixty have been found in one tomb. Only one large sarcophagus, with a reclining figure on its lid, so common at Tarquinii and Toscanella; whence it is evident that the Hortani burnt rather than buried their dead. Coins and other relics of Roman times were occasionally found in the sepulchres along with articles of undoubted Etruscan antiquity. One instance was found of a painted tomb, in which a bear was represented chained to a column; but I could not learn satisfactorily if this were of Etruscan or Roman times. It was almost immediately destroyed by the peasantry.¹

In the cliffs beneath the town are a few tombs, now greatly defaced, some of them *columbaria*; and near the gate of S. Agostino is a sewer of the usual size and form. On the banks of the Tiber, below the town, are the remains of a Roman bridge which carried the Via Amerina across the river on its way to Tuder and Perugia. The bridge was repaired during the middle ages, and the masonry of its piers, now standing on the banks, and of the masses prostrate in the water, is of that period. Castellum Amerinum, the last stage on the Via Amerina within the Etruscan territory, which was distant twelve miles from Falerii and nine from Ameria, must have been in the near neighbourhood of Orte, probably on the heights to the south of the town, near the spot where the modern road from Corchiano begins to descend into the valley of the Tiber.

If you follow the banks of the Tiber for about four miles above Orte, you will reach the "Laghetto" or "Lagherello," or "Lago di Bassano," so called from a village in the neighbourhood. In it you behold the Vadimonian Lake of antiquity, renowned for the defeat of the Etruscans on two several occasions—first, by the Dictator, Papirius Cursor, in the year 445, when after a desperate and hard-

¹ For other notices of the results of these excavations, see Bull. Instit. 1837, p. 129.

contested battle the might of Etruria was irrecoverably broken ;¹ and again, in the year 471, when Cornelius Dolabella utterly routed the allied forces of the Etruscans and Gauls on its shores.² In after times it was renowned for its floating islands,³ a minute description of which is given by the younger Pliny.—

“ They pointed out to me a lake lying below the hill, the Vadimon by name, and told me certain marvellous stories concerning it. I went thither. The lake is in the form of a wheel lying on its side, even all round, without sinuosity or irregularity, but perfectly uniform in shape, as though it had been hollowed out and cut round by the hand of man. The water is whitish rather than blue, inclined to green, and turbid, of sulphureous smell, medicinal taste, and glutinous quality. The lake is but moderate in size, yet it is affected by the winds and swells into waves. No vessel is on its waters, for it is a sacred lake, but grassy islets, covered with reeds and rushes, float on its bosom, and on its margin flourish the plants of the rankest marshes. Each of these islets has a distinct form and size, and all have their edges smoothed off, from constantly rubbing against the shore and against one another. All are equal in height and in buoyancy, for they sink into a sort of boat with a deep keel, which is seen from every side ; and there is just as much of the island above as below water. At one time these islands are all joined close together, like a part of the mainland ; at another they are driven asunder and scattered by the winds ; sometimes thus detached, the wind falling dead, they float apart, motionless on the water. It often happens that the smaller ones stick to the greater, like skiffs to ships of burden ; and often both

¹ Liv. IX. 39.

² Flor. I. 13. Polyb. II. 20. Eutrop. II. 10. Florus relates this as occurring before Fabius crossed the Ciminian, while in fact it was nearly 30 years after ; unless indeed he is here anticipating the event, and mentions it out of its chronological order. But there is probably some confusion between the two routs of the Vadimonian. No author mentions both. Dio Cassius (Scrip. Vet. Vat. Mai. II. p. 536, Excerpt. 26) represents Dolabella as attacking the Etruscans during their passage of the Tiber, and says the blood and corpses carried the first tidings of the fight to Rome. cf. Dion. Hal. Excerpt. Mai. XII. 49.

* Plin. Nat. Hist. II. 96. Senec. Nat. Quæst. III. 25. Sotion, de Mir. Font.

222 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

large and small seem to strive together in a race. Again, all driven together into one spot, add to the land on that side, and now here, now there, increase or diminish the surface of the lake; and only cease to contract it, when they float in the middle. It is a well-known fact that cattle attracted by the herbage, are wont to walk on the islets, mistaking them for the shore of the lake; nor do they become aware that they are not on firm ground, till borne away from the shore, they behold with terror the waters stretching around them. Presently, when the wind has carried them again to the bank, they go forth, no more aware of disembarking than they were of their embarkation. The water of this said lake flows out in a stream which, after showing itself for a little space, is lost in a cave, and runs deep underground; and if anything be thrown into it before it thus dives, it is brought to light again where it emerges. I have written of these things to thee, thinking they would be as novel and pleasing to thee as to myself, for we both delight in nothing so much as the works of Nature."¹

The lake lies beneath the heights, in the plain by the banks of the Tiber; but he who would expect Pliny's description to be verified, might search for ever in vain. It is, indeed, no easy matter to find the lake; for it has so shrunk in dimensions, that what must have been a spacious tract of water in the olden time, is now but a small stagnant pond, almost lost in the tall reeds and bulrushes that wave over it. These we may conclude represent the islets, which either existed in Pliny's imagination alone, or have now clubbed together to stop up the lake.² The water has still

¹ Plin. Epist. VIII. 20.

² This process is still going forward in certain lakes in Italy. In the Lago d' Isole Natanti, or Lake of Floating Islands, near the road from Rome to Tivoli, and well known from the description of Sir Humphrey Davy in his "Last Days of a Philosopher." (See also Westphal's *Römische Kampagne*, p. 108.) Also in the Lacus Cutiliæ in Sabina, renowned by the ancients for its floating islands (Plin. Nat. Hist. II. 96. Senec. Nat. Quæst. III. 25. Varro. L. L. V. 71. Macrobian. Sat. I. 7), and now called the Pozzo Ratignano. "Its banks appear to be approaching each other by incrustation; there is no shelving shore, the rock being suspended over the lake, like broken ice over a deep abyss." The waters are sulphureous, yet there are fish in the lake. "The phenomenon of floating islands may still be observed; they are nothing more than reeds or long coarse grass, the roots of which bound together by the petrifying nature of the water, are sometimes detached from the shore." Gell's Rome, II. p. 370.

a sulphureous appearance, though not too highly flavoured for the frogs, whose croakings mingling with the shrill chirrup of the *cicala*, rise eternally from the pool. I fancied I saw the stream of which Pliny speaks, in a small ditch which carries the superfluous water towards the Tiber; but I did not perceive it to take a subterranean course.

Whoever visits the Vadimon, will comprehend how it was that decisive battles were fought upon its shores. The valley here forms the natural pass into the inner or central plain of Etruria. It is a spot, indeed, very like the field of Thrasymene—a low, level tract, about a mile wide, hemmed in between the heights and the Tiber, which here takes the place of that lake; but the heights rise more steeply and loftily than those by the Thrasymene, and are even now densely covered with wood, as no doubt they were in ancient times, this being part of the celebrated Ciminian forest. Though the Consul Fabius had once passed that fearful wood, it was against the express command of the Senate; so when the Etruscans were next to be attacked, the Roman general, instead of again crossing the mountain, turned its extremity, and there found the Etruscan army drawn up in this natural pass into their land, leagued together by a solemn bond to defend their country to the utmost—a determination which caused them to offer so desperate and extraordinary a resistance.¹

The vale of the Tiber is here rich and beautiful—the low ground highly cultivated with corn, wine, and oil; the slopes on the Etruscan side clothed with dense oak-woods, on the Umbrian with olive-groves and vineyards; the towns of Giove and Penna crown the latter heights; Bassano overhangs the lake from the former. Looking up the stream, Mugnano is seen on its hill, backed by the loftier ground of Bomarzo; looking down, the horizon is bounded by the distant range of the Apennines, with their “silent pinnacles of aged snow.”

Bassano has been supposed by Cluver,² Cramer,³ and

¹ Livy says,—non cum Etruscis toties victis, sed cum aliquâ novâ gente, videretur dimicatio esse,—(IX. 39). Müller (II. i. 4) and Mannert (p. 422) seem to me to be in error in supposing that the Etruscans made their stand on this spot on account of the sacredness of the lake. The nature of the ground, with which those writers seem to have been unacquainted, sufficiently accounts for the fact.

² Ital. Ant. II. p. 551.

³ Ancient Italy, I. p. 224.

224 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

others, to be the Castellum Amerinum on the Via Amerina, mentioned by the Peutingerian Table, because it overhangs the Vadimon, as Pliny describes the Amerine estate—*Amerina prædia*—of his wife's grandfather to have done.¹ But the Castellum must have been near Orte, as already stated, because the road took a direct course from Nepi to Ameria, and the distance, twenty-six miles, between these places is correctly stated by the Table, but would have been considerably increased had the road made a *détour* to Bassano. Besides, I have myself traced the road by its fragments from Nepi to within a mile or two of Orte, and its course is due north and south, without deviation; and there can be no doubt that it crossed the Tiber by the bridge at Orte, now in ruins. The ground about Bassano may nevertheless have been called Amerine, though the Castellum itself was three or four miles distant.

Bassano is a miserable place, without accommodation for the traveller; and with no signs of antiquity, or anything to interest, beyond its picturesque character and glorious scenery. It is nearly two miles from the Vadimonian Lake, four from Orte, by the direct road, four or five from Bomarzo, seven or eight from Soriano, and the same from Vignanello.

¹ Plin. Epist. l. c.

CHAPTER X

FERONIA AND CAPENA

Hæc duo præterea disjunctis oppida muris.—VIRG.

Itur in agros

Dives ubi ante omnes colitur Feronia luco

Et sacer humectat fluvialia rura Capenas.—SIL. ITAL.

ANOTHER Etruscan city which played a prominent part in the early history of Rome, was Capena.¹ It is first mentioned by Livy in his account of the last Veientine war, when it united with Falerii in endeavouring to assist Veii, then beleagured by the Romans. The latter city, from her power and proximity to Rome, was the bulwark of Etruria; and it was foreseen by the neighbouring people, that should she fall, the whole land would be open to invasion.² Falerii and Capena, fearing they should be next attacked, made strenuous attempts to raise the siege, but finding their efforts vain, they besought the aid of the great Confederation of Etruria.³ Now, it had so happened that the Veientes had greatly offended the Confederation, first, by acting contrary to the established custom of the land, in taking to themselves a king; and in the next place, their king had made himself personally obnoxious by interrupting the solemn games—an act amounting to sacrilege. So the Confederation had decreed that no succour should be afforded to Veii as long as she retained her king.⁴ To the representations of the Falisci and Capenates, the magnates

¹ Capena is evidently a name of Etruscan origin. A tomb of the family of "Capeni," or "Capenia," was discovered at Perugia in 1843 (Vermigl. Scavi Perugini, p. 9). Beside which, among Etruscan family names, we meet with "Capnas" (Verm. Isc. Perug. I. p. 226) and "Capevani," which Lanzi (II. p. 371) thinks a derivation from Capena with the insertion of the digamma. In the tomb of the Cilnii, the name "Caupna" occurs, which has probably the same derivation; and "Carpna" is found on a sepulchral tile at Chiusi (Mus. Chius. II. p. 109). Stephanus calls this town *Capinna*.

² Liv. V. 8.

³ Liv. V. 17. From an obscure and mutilated passage of Cato (ap. Serv. Æn. VII. 697), it seems that Capena was a colony of Veii sent out, as Niebuhr (I. p. 120) interprets it, by the vow of a sacred spring (cf. Müller, Etrusk. einl. II. 14). This would be an additional reason for her eagerness to assist the latter in her need.

⁴ Liv. V. 1.

226 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

of Etruria in conclave assembled, replied, that hitherto they had refused Veii assistance on the ground that as she had not sought counsel of them, neither must she seek succour, and that they must still withhold it, being themselves in peril from the sudden invasion of the Gauls.¹ The two allies nevertheless persisted in their efforts to raise the siege, but in vain: their lands were several times ravaged,² and their armies overthrown;³ and on the fall of Veii, the fate they had anticipated, befell them. Their territories were again invaded, and though the natural strength of their cities preserved them from assault, their lands were laid waste, and the produce of their fields and orchards utterly destroyed.⁴ The territory of Capena was particularly fertile,⁵ and such a blow as this was more efficacious than the sword, for it compelled the citizens to sue for peace, though at the expense of their independence. A few years later (A.U. 365) the Roman citizenship was granted to such of the inhabitants of Veii, Falerii, and Capena, as had sided with Rome in the recent struggle; and the conquered territory was divided among them.⁶ Such means did Rome employ to facilitate her conquests, and secure them more firmly to herself.

That Capena continued to exist as late as the time of Aurelian, is proved by scattered notices in ancient writers and by inscriptions. From that time we lose sight of her. Her site probably became desolate; and her name was consequently forgotten.⁷ When interest was again awakened in the antiquities of Italy, she was sought for, but long in vain. Cluver⁸ placed her site at Civitella San Paolo, not far from the Tiber; Holstenius,⁹ at Morlupo; while Galetti, from the evidence of inscriptions discovered on the spot,¹⁰ has determined it to have been at Civitucola, an uninhabited hill, half-way between the two.¹¹

¹ Liv. V. 17.

² Liv. V. 12-14.

³ Liv. V. 13, 19.

⁴ Liv. V. 24.

⁵ Cicero pro Flac. XXIX.

⁶ Liv. VI. 4. Those of Capena were formed into a new tribe, called *Stellatina*. Festus. *s. voce*. cf. Liv. VI. 5.

⁷ Nibby, Dintorni di Roma. *voce* Capena.

⁸ Cluv. II. p. 549.

⁹ Adnot. ad Cluv. p. 62.

¹⁰ Galetti, *Sopra il Sito di Capena*, pp. 4-23. One of these inscriptions is at Morlupo, another in the church of S. Oreste, and a third in that of S. Silvestro, on the summit of Soracte. cf. Gruter, p. 189. 5. and 466. 6. Fabretti, p. 109.

¹¹ Cramer, I. p. 231; Nibby, loc. cit. Gell, I. p. 263. Some misled

This hill lies far from any high road or frequented path, and still further from any town where the traveller may find accommodation—in a part of the Campagna which is never visited by strangers, save by some adventurous antiquary, or some sportsman, led by his eagerness far away from his accustomed haunts. It was more accessible when the Via Flaminia was in use as the high-way from Rome to Civita Castellana, for it lies only four or five miles off that road. The nearest point on the present road from which it may be visited is Civita Castellana, fifteen or sixteen miles distant ; and it is a long day's journey there and back, on account of the nature of the country to be traversed, which is practicable only on foot or horseback.

Let not the traveller put much faith in the capabilities of his steed, for the animals hired in these country-towns are mere beasts of burden, accustomed to carry wood, charcoal, or flour, and with difficulty are to be urged out of their usual deliberate pace. Their mouths are as tough and insensible as their hides ; the whip is of little avail, and spurs are indispensable. As these are not always to be had, it would be advisable for whoever would explore the bye-roads of Italy, to add a pair to his luggage. On this excursion the traveller should leave Civita at break of day, or he runs the risk of being benighted—no agreeable thing at a good distance from quarters, in a country particularly lonely, and whose inhabitants are not too well reputed for honesty.

Domenico, my guide to Falleri, could not attend me to Capena, and sent his brother in his stead—Antonio, commonly called “Il Re”—the King—a *nom de guerre* which, as the eldest son, he had inherited from his father. Domenico, I learned, was having his pigs blessed. A mad dog had attacked them, and the hogs had defended themselves

by the resemblance of the name, have fancied it occupied the site of Canapina on the southern slope of the Ciminian. Dempster (Et. Reg. II. p. 179) made the blunder, as others had done before him, of placing it in Latium, on the Appian Way, because the Porta Capena of Rome opened on that road, as Servius (*Æn.* VII. 697) had said :—*Porta Capena juxta Capenos est.* There can be little doubt that the Gate derived its name, not from Capena, which lay in the opposite direction, but from Capua, and that the termination is but the early Latin adjectival form, as we know it to have been the Etruscan. Frontinus indeed (*de Aquæd.* p. 27) says the Via Appia led—a *portâ Capenâ usque ad Capuam* ; and Dionysius (VIII. p. 483) calls the gate *πύλη Καπυίνη*.

228 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

stoutly, rushing upon and goring him with their tusks till they trampled his dead body under their feet. They paid dearly for it, however ; ten of them were bitten in the conflict, and to save them from hydrophobia Domenico had sent to the *sacerdote* to bless them and put the iron of San Domenico on their foreheads.

I requested an explanation.

Saint Domenick, it seems, was once on a time on his travels, when his horse dropped a shoe. He stopped at the first farrier's he came to, and had it replaced. The farrier asked for payment. The saint-errant was as astonished as the knight of La Mancha could have been at so monstrous a demand ; but with less courtesy he said to his horse, "Give him back the shoe." Whereupon the obedient animal flung out his heels, and with a blow on the forehead laid the farrier dead. Domenico in his simplicity could not perceive that the farrier was at least as worthy of his hire as the priest, to whom he had paid three pauls for saying a benediction over his hogs, and branding their foreheads with the mark of a horse-shoe.

For the first five miles the road was the modern Via Flaminia, which after crossing the Treia, ascends to the level of the Campagna, and continues through a country but partially wooded and cultivated, yet not without beauty, to the foot of Soracte. The mountain itself is sufficient to obviate all tedium on the ride. At first it presents the form of a dark wedge or cone, the end towards you being densely clothed with wood ; but as you approach it lengthens out gradually, peak after peak disclosing itself, till it presents a totally different aspect—a long serrated ridge, rising at first in bright green slopes from the plain, then darkening above with a belt of olive-groves, and terminating in a bald crest of grey rock, jagged and craggy, its peaks cap't with white convents, which sparkle in the sun like jewels on a diadem. The whole mass reminded me of Gibraltar ; it is about the same length—more than three miles—it rises to about the same height above the plain¹—it has the same pyramidal

¹ Gibraltar is about 1500 feet above the sea. Soracte, according to Nibby, is 2150 French feet ; according to Gell (II. 250), 2270 French feet in height. Westphal calls it 2200 feet. But the plain from which Soracte is viewed, being considerably elevated above the level of the sea, the heights of the two mountains *appear* nearly equal.

form when foreshortened, a similar line of jagged peaks. But there is less abruptness, and more fertility. There is not the stern savage grandeur of the Andalucian Rock ; but the true Italian grace and ease of outline—still the beautiful though verging on the wild.

At the Romitorio, a hamlet or a few ruined houses, I felt the Via Flaminia, and striking across some fields and through a wood, ascended, by wretched tracks saturated with rain, to the olive-groves which belt the mountain. The view on the ascent is magnificent—the vast expanse of the wild, almost uninhabited, Campagna at my feet—here dark with wood, from which the towers of a few towns arose at wide intervals—there sweeping away in league after league of bare down or heath—the double-headed mass of the Ciminian on the right—the more distant Alban on the other hand—the sharp wooded peak of Rocca Romana between them—the varied effects of light and shade, of cloud and sunshine, as storms arose from time to time and crossed the scene, darkening and shrouding a portion of the landscape, which presently came forth laughing in brilliant sunshine ; while the lowering crowd moved on, blotting out one object after another on which the eye but a moment before had been resting with delight.

On emerging from the wood, Sant Oreste was seen before us, situated on a bare elevated shoulder of the mountain. From the rocky ridge leading to the village a new scene comes into view. A richly wooded valley lies beneath, with the Tiber winding through it ; and the Apennines rise beyond, peak above peak in steps of sublimity, and stretch away far to the south till they sink all faint and grey into the Latin valley, at the steep of Palestrina.

The rock of which the mountain is composed here starts up in bold crags on every side ; it is a sort of limestone, called from its colour "*palombino* ;" it is not however of dove-colour alone, but is to be found of various shades of grey, and sometimes almost white. Among these crags a path winds up to the summit of the mountain. Here the traveller will find a colony of recluses, and the several churches of Sta. Lucia, La Madonna delle Grazie, Sant Antonio, and San Silvestro. The latter stands on the central and highest peak of the mountain, and is supposed by Gell and Nibby to occupy the site of the ancient temple of

230 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

Apollo, to which deity Soracte was sacred.¹ It can boast of no small antiquity itself, having been founded in A.D. 746, by Carloman, son of Charles Martel, and uncle of the celebrated Charlemagne, in honour of the saint whose name it bears. If anything could reconcile me to the life of a recluse it would be a residence in such a situation as this—commanding one of the most magnificent views in this all-glorious land.²

Sant Oreste is a wretched village, with steep, foul streets and mean houses—without any accommodation for the stranger. I was at once impressed with the conviction that it must have been an Etruscan site. Its situation is too strong by nature to have been neglected, and is just such as would have been chosen for a city in the northern part of Etruria; the plateau rising just as high above the plain as those of Cosa, Rusellæ and Saturnia. At the foot of the steep and rocky hill on which the village stands I found confirmation of my opinion in a number of tombs in cliffs of tufo. I did not observe any remains of ancient walls on the height, but if they were of tufo—as is most probable, since that sort of rock is hewn with so much facility, that notwithstanding the transport of the blocks up the hill, there would have been less labour than in preparing the hard limestone close at hand³—they may have been

¹ Sacrum Phœbo Soracte.—Sil. Ital. VIII. 494. Sancti custos Soractis Apollo,—Virg. Æn. XI. 785. See also Sil. Ital. V. 179, *et seq.*—VII. 662; Plin. VII. 2; Solinus, Polyhist. II. p. 15. Nibby fancied the name of the Mount was Pelasgic, and suggested Σωρὸς—ἄκτῃ as its derivation.

² “From S. Silvesiro,” says Gell, “the Tyber, with its numerous windings, is seen issuing from the woody hills beyond Magliano of Sabina, and its course may be clearly distinguished as it flows between the territory of the Capenates and the plains below Nerola, Monte Libretti, Moricone, and Mounts Pennecchio and Gennaro. The high citadel of Palestrina, the range of Lepinus, Monte Albano, and, in short, the whole Campagna di Roma, are also visible. In another direction are the castle and lake of Bracciano, and the peak of Rocca Romana; and in another, the beautiful villages of Fara, Farfa, Filacciano, Torrita, Nazzano, Civitella di San Paolo, and the site of Capena, with the valley of the Grammiccia below.”—II. p. 253.

³ This was done at Tivoli, whose walls are volcanic (Gell, II. p. 272), though the rocks are travertine and limestone; and also at Segni, where a gate and a portion of the walls are of tufo, though the rest are formed of the natural limestone of the hill on which the city stands. The *palombino* of Soracte was quarried by the Romans, and is classed

destroyed for the sake of materials to construct the houses of the village. What may have been the name of the Etruscan town which occupied this site is not easy to determine; but I am inclined to agree with Nibby in regarding it as Feronia, which Strabo says was situated under Soracte, and its name seems to be preserved in that of Felonica, a fountain at the foot of this hill, on the road to Civitella di San Paolo.¹

At or near Feronia was a celebrated temple to the goddess of that name, which, like many ancient shrines, stood in a thick grove—*Lucus Feroniæ*.² She seems to have been identical with Proserpine,³ and was worshipped by the Sabines, and Latins, as well as by the Etruscans.⁴ Hither, on yearly festivals, pilgrims resorted in great numbers from the surrounding country, many to perform vows and offer sacrifice—and those who were possessed with the spirit of the goddess, walked with naked feet over heaps of burning coal and ashes, without receiving injury⁵—and many

by Vitruvius (II. 7) with travertine, as a stone of moderate hardness, a mean between tufo and *silex* or lava.

¹ Nibby, II. p. 108; Strab. V. p. 226. Gell (*voce* Feronia) thinks, quite unnecessarily, it seems to me, that this Felonica is "the site of the temple, grove, and fountain of Feronia." Holstenius (Adnot. ad. Cluver. p. 60) also placed Feronia in the plain about a mile from S. Oreste, where he said there were extensive remains of a town. The site he referred to is probably the same as that indicated by Westphal (Römis. Kamp. p. 136) as occupied by an unimportant ruin, and vulgarly called the site of Feronia. It lies between the Flaminian and the mountain.

² Liv. I. 30, XXVI. 11, XXVII. 4; Sil. Ital. XIII. 83; Plin. III. 8; Strabo (loc. cit.) calls Feronia a city, and says the Grove was on the same spot. This must not be confounded with the other *Lucus Feroniæ* in the north of Etruria near Luca, which Ptolemy (Geog. p. 72. ed. Bert.) places among the "inland colonies" of that land—still less with the Temple of Feronia mentioned by Virgil (*Æn.* VII. 800) as situated in a green grove—*viridi gaudens Feronia luco*—which was near Terracina and the Circean promontory. It is also to this latter shrine and the fountain attached to it that Horace refers on his journey to Brundisium (Sat. I. 5. 24).

³ Dion. Hal. III. p. 173. According to Servius (*Æn.* VII. 799) Juno, as a virgin, was also called Feronia. Servius elsewhere (VIII. 564) calls her the goddess of freedmen, who, in her temple at Terracina, placed a *pileus*, or felt scull-cap, on their shaven crowns. Here also was a stone bench, inscribed with these words: "Benemeriti servi sedeant, surgent liberi."

⁴ Dion. Hal. l. c.; Liv. XXVI. 11. Varro (de Ling. Lat. V. 74) says she was a Sabine goddess—Feronia, Minerva, Novensides, a Sabinis.

⁵ Strab. V. p. 226. The same is related of the shrine of Apollo on

232 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

merchants, artisans, and husbandmen, taking advantage of the concourse, brought their goods hither for sale, so that the market or fair held here was more splendid than any other in Italy.¹ From the numerous first-fruits, and other gifts offered to the goddess, her shrine became renowned for its riches, and was decorated with abundance of gold and silver.² But it was despoiled by Hannibal on his march through Italy.³ It was however maintained till the fall of paganism in the fourth century. That the temple itself stood on a height seems probable from the fact, mentioned by Livy, of its being struck by lightning.⁴

In a geological point of view, Soracte is interesting. It is a mass of limestone rising out of the volcanic plain, not resting, as Gell supposes, on a basis of tufo. One of those convulsions of the earth, which ejected from the neighbouring craters the matter which constitutes the surface of the

this mountain. Plin. N. H. VII. 2; Solinus, II. p. 15; Virgil *Æn.* XI. 785, *et seq.*; Sil. Ital. V. 177, *et seq.*

¹ Dion. Hal. III. p. 173; cf. Liv. I. 30.

² Liv. XXVI. 11; Sil. Ital. XIII. 84, *et seq.*

³ Liv. I. c.; Sil. Ital. I. c. Cramer, however (*Ancient Italy*, I. pp. 232, 309), opines that the temple Hannibal rifled was one to the same goddess at Eretum in Sabina, and quotes Fabretti (*Insc. Ant.* p. 452) who states that inscriptions have been found near Eretum, which mention a temple to Feronia at that place. Livy, however, records a tradition that Hannibal spoiled this said shrine in the *ager Capenatis*, on his road from Reate to Rome, "turning out of his way from Eretum," which he must certainly have done, if Monte Rotondo be the site of Eretum, as there is every reason to believe. See Cluver. II. p. 667. The battle of Eretum, in which the Sabines were defeated by Tullus Hostilius, was the consequence of that people having laid violent hands on some Romans, at the fair of Fanum Feroniæ. Dion. Hal. loc. cit. cf. Liv. I. 30.

⁴ Liv. XXXIII. 26. Cluver (II. p. 549) places the site of this temple at Fiano, six or seven miles to the southward, in which name he fancies he can trace the "*Feroniæ fanum*" of antiquity; but Fiano is now generally supposed to be the representative of the ancient Flavinum mentioned by Virgil (*Æn.* VII. 696; Serv. in loco). Silius Italicus (VIII. 492) calls it "*Flavina*." At Nepi, in the Piazza, is an inscription referring to the shrine of Feronia:

HERMEROS
TI. CLAVDII. CAESARIS. AVG.
GERMANICI SER
THEAMIDIANVS AB MARMORIB
MAGISTER
FERONIAE ARAS QVINQVE
D.S.D.D

Campagna, upheaved this huge mass of limestone, and either drove it through the superincumbent beds of tufo ; or, what is more probable, upraised it previous to the volcanic disturbances of this district, when the Campagna lay beneath the waters of the ocean.¹

Sant Oreste is about eight miles from Civita Castellana, or about half-way from that town to the site of Capena. On journeying this latter half of the road, I learned two things, by which future travellers would do well to profit—first, not to attempt to cross a desolate country without a competent guide, especially on Sundays or fête-days, when there are no labourers or shepherds in the fields ; secondly, to look well to the horses they hire, to ascertain before starting that they have been fed, and, if need be, to carry provender for them.

Antonio, my guide, had never been beyond Sant Oreste, but the road I wished to take was pointed out to us so clearly by some people of that town, that it seemed impossible to miss it. But among the lanes and hollows at the foot of Soracte we were soon at fault—took a wrong path—wandered about for an hour over newly-ploughed land, swampy from recent rains—at length found the right path—lost it again immediately on a trackless down—and then, like Dante, found ourselves at the middle of the journey in a dark and savage wood. No poet,—“*od ombra od uomo certo*”—nor any other being, came to our assistance, for not a sign of humanity was in sight ; and, to crown our difficulties, one of the horses sunk from exhaustion, owing to want of food. Remembering the proverb, “*sacco vuoto non regge in piede*,”—“an empty sack will not stand upright,”—we transferred what store of refreshments we had brought for our own use to our horses’ stomachs, and quietly awaited their time. Patience—no easy virtue when the rain was coming down in deluging showers—at length overcame all difficulties, and we found ourselves in the right track, on the banks of the Grammiccia, which led us to the site of Capena.²

The city crowned a hill of some elevation, rising steeply

¹ Abeken (Mittelital. p. 16) seems to regard it as of earlier formation than the surrounding tufo, and thinks it was probably once an island in the midst of the sea.

² The stream itself seems to have been anciently called Capenas. Sil. Ital. XIII. 85. It is now sometimes called Fosso di San Martino.

234 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

from the valley, and whose highest point is now crested with some ruins, called the church of San Martino; by which name the spot is known among the peasantry, and not by that of Civitucola, as I had been led by former writers to suppose. The latter appellation is one assigned to the spot by some documents of the middle ages. The whole declivity was frosted over with the blossom of the wild pear-trees which cover its face. Through these I had to climb by sheep-tracks, slippery with the rain. The ruins just mentioned are the only remains on the height on which the city stood. They are of *opus incertum*, and probably formed part of a villa of Imperial times, which may subsequently have been converted into a Christian chapel. That a city originally stood here there are unequivocal proofs in the broken pottery which thickly strews the hill. It occupied an elevated ridge on one side of a deep hollow, which Gell supposes to be an extinct crater,¹ and which is now called Il Lago.

No remains of walls could I find, save at the western angle, overhanging the Lago, where a few blocks mark the foundations; but on the slopes beneath, to the south and east, many blocks lie scattered about.² The form of the city, however, is easily traced by the pottery, and character of the ground: it was long and narrow, especially so in the centre of its length, near the ruins of San Martino. Its circumference can hardly have been a mile and a half, and this marks it as of very inferior importance. The highest part was to the west, and there, in all probability, was the Arx. I observed the sites of three gates—one at the eastern, one at the western extremity, and one to the south, where the land narrows opposite the ruin. By this gate alone vehicles could have reached the city, so steep are the cliffs and slopes around it. After making the tour of Capena, it is easy to comprehend how the Roman armies several times entered the territory, and laid it waste, but never attacked the town. It was as elevated as Falerii, and could on no side be approached on level ground.

¹ Gell, I. p. 263.

² Gell states that the walls may be traced by their foundations round the summit of the hill; but either he was deceived by the natural breaks of the tufo rock, which at a little distance may be easily mistaken for masonry, or the blocks since his time have been carried off by the peasantry.

I could perceive no tombs in the cliffs around or beneath the city, and one only in the low ground, to the north.

The view from the height of Capena is wildly beautiful. The deep hollow on the south, with its green carpet: the steep hills overhanging it, dark with wood—perhaps the groves celebrated by Virgil:¹ the bare swelling ground to the north, with Soracte towering above: the snow-capt Apennines in the eastern horizon: the deep silence, the seclusion; the absence of human habitations (not even a shepherd's hut) within the sphere of vision, save the distant town of Sant Oreste, scarcely distinguishable from the grey rock on which it stands;—it is a scene of more singular desolation than belongs to the site of any other Etruscan city in this district of the land.

A visit to this spot will scarcely repay the traveller for the difficulty of reaching it; that is, as far as the extant antiquities are concerned. But the scenery on the way is delightful, especially between San Martino and Rignano, about seven miles distant, which road I took on my return. It is a mere mule-track, and passes over very rough ground. Now it descends into ravines picturesque with cliff and wood, and an overshot mill, it may be, in the hollow—now pursues the level of the plain, commanding glorious views of Soracte, with a changing, but ever beautiful foreground of glen, heath, wood, or corn-land. On the approach to Rignano, the view is particularly fine; for beneath the town opens a wide ravine which seems to stretch up to the very base of Soracte, its cliffs overhung with wood, and a pretty convent nestling in its bosom. Around Rignano the land presents a singular stratification of white and grey rock—the white, which is called "*cappellaccio*," is a sort of friable tufo; the grey, with which it alternates, is a sandstone, in very thin layers.

Rignano is a miserable town; tolerably flourishing, it is said, when the Via Flaminia, on which it stands, was the high road to Rome, but now rapidly falling into decay. It is evidently a Roman site, for altars, *cippi*, fragments of

¹ Lucosque Capenos.—Æn. VII. 697. But the groves here referred to may with equal probability be those around the shrine of Feronia, which was in the Ager Capenatis. Liv. XXVI. 11, XXVII. 4, XXXIII. 26. Cato also mentions—lucus Capenatis (ap. Priscian IV. p. 36, ed. Ald.).

236 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

statues and cornices, and other traces of that people, abound in the streets. There is also a curious relic of the middle ages, a primitive cannon, made like a barrel, with staves of iron hooped at intervals, and with rings attached to serve as handles. It is the counterpart of one I have seen, I think in the armoury of Madrid. Rignano lays claim to be the birthplace of the infamous Cæsar Borgia.

No one who values comfort will care to remain long at the *osteria* of Rignano. Woe betide the man who is compelled to pass a night within its walls. To avoid the companionship of squalid monks and disgusting cripples, who were ever forcing their sores on my notice, I resolved to push on for Civita, though it was almost dark, and there were still nine miles before our jaded beasts. By the time we reached the Romitorio, Soracte loomed an indistinct mass against the sky. Near this my guide pointed out a tree by the road-side, in which when a boy he had taken refuge from the wolves. He was returning from Rignano one winter's night, when the ground was covered with snow. On reaching this spot he heard their howlings in the wood by the road-side. They seemed to scent him, for he had barely time to climb the tree when it was surrounded by a dozen yelling demons, whose eyes, he said, shone with "the fire of hell." The tree was then but a sapling, and bent fearfully with his weight; so that he was in dread lest it should break and precipitate him among them. After a time of terrible suspense he was left alone, and at break of day ventured to descend, and with the protection of the Virgin reached Civita in safety. At that time the wood was very thick on Soracte, and afforded shelter to multitudes of wolves and bears which were wont to ravage the Campagna for miles round. About twenty years since the wood was cut, and the wild beasts disappeared with it, and retired to the Apennines.

The wolves of Soracte were celebrated in ancient times. Servius relates that sacrifices were once being offered on this mount to Pluto, when some wolves rushed in, seized the smoking entrails from the altar, and bore them away to a cave, which emitted pestiferous vapours.¹ The shepherds

¹ On the eastern side of the mountain, near the church of Santa Romana, is a cave, with deep fissures near it, called Le Voragini, which emit foul vapours. Hence the fable related by Servius must have taken

pursued them thither, but were arrested by these fumes. A pestilence was the consequence. They consulted the oracle, and received for answer that the plague would be staid when they imitated wolves, *i. e.* led a life of rapine. So they became robbers by divine right. Hence they were called Hirpini Sorani, or Pluto's Wolves, from *hirpus*, which signified a wolf in the Sabine tongue, and *Soranus*, another name for Dis Pater.¹ It was the descendants of these Hirpini, or Hirpi, as they are otherwise called, who made the annual sacrifice to the god of the mountain, and performed the marvellous feat of walking bare-footed over live coals.² This asbestic exploit seems to have continued in fashion to a late period; at least to the third century of our era, for Solinus speaks of it as existing in his day. Varro suspected jugglery, and would allow nothing marvellous in it, for he says they rubbed their soles with a certain medicament.³

Wolves are not the only beasts for which Soracte was renowned. There was a race of wild goats—*caprae ferae*—perhaps roe-bucks, on the mountain, which, like magnified its rise. Pliny (II. 95) seems to refer to these fissures, but says the vapours were fatal to birds alone. But elsewhere (XXXI. 19) he cites Varro as saying that fatal effects were produced by a fountain on all birds which tasted of it. To this spring, Vitruvius (VIII. 3, 17) seems also to allude; though he places it—agro Falisco viâ Campanâ in campo Corneto. This fountain, Nibby (III. p. 112) thinks is represented by the Acqua Forte, in the plain between Soracte and the Tiber, about two miles from Ponzano.

¹ Serv. Æn. XI. 785; cf. VII. 696. Festus (*voce* Irpini) and Strabo (V. p. 250) say the Irpini were a colony of Samnites, and were so called from Irpus, their leader, which word signified a wolf in the Samnite tongue. The Samnites, be it remembered, were of the Sabine race. Varro de L. L. VII. 29. Servius says the mountain was sacred to the Manes, but this is contrary to the testimony of other ancient writers, who concur in stating that it was sacred to Apollo. It seems probable that the singular inscription in Latin characters, said to have been found at Falerii, which Müller (Etrusk. einl. I. 14) shows to be in the Umbrian language, from its similarity to the Eugubian Tables, had some reference to these Irpini of Soracte. It runs thus—LERPIRIOR. SANTIRPIOR. DVIR. FOR. FOVEER. DERTIER. DIERIR. VOTIR. FARER. VEF. NARATV. VEF. PONI. SIRTIR. Lanzi (Sagg. II. p. 541) proposes an amended reading. It is inscribed on a bas-relief which contains the figure of Apollo, and of a female called "Clatra."

² Plin. Nat. Hist. VII. 2; Varro ap. Serv., Æn. XI. 787. Solinus Polyh. II. p. 15. See p. 231, note 5.

³ Varro, loc. cit.

238 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

fleas, could leap more than sixty feet at a bound ! Well done, old Cato !¹

At Somnavilla, a village on the Sabine side of the Tiber, opposite Soracte, tombs have been found containing vases and other furniture, extremely like those of Etruria.²

¹ Cato ap. Varro. *Re Rust.* II. cap. 3.

² For an account of these discoveries, see *Bull. Inst.* 1836, p. 172, Dr. Braun ; *Bull.* 1837, p. 65 ; pp. 70-73, Braun ; pp. 209-313, Fossati ; *Bull.* 1838, p. 71.

CHAPTER XI

MONTE CIMINO.—*MONS CIMINUS*

Cimini cum monte lacum.—VIRGIL.

How soon the tale of ages may be told !
A page, a verse, records the fall of fame.
The wreck of centuries—we gaze on you
O cities, once the glorious and the free !—
The lofty tales that charmed our youth renew,
And wondering ask if these their scenes can be.

HEMANS.

WHO that has seen has not hailed with delight the exquisite little lake of Vico, which lies in the lap of the Ciminian Mount, just above Ronciglione ? Its own singular beauty is charm enough, but in English eyes it possesses the additional interest of similarity to some of our own island lakes. The first time I saw it was one evening when I had strolled up from Ronciglione, and had come upon it unexpectedly, not aware of its close proximity. The sun was sinking behind the hills, which reared their broad, purple masses into the clear sky, and shaded half the bosom of the calm lake with their hues—while the other half reflected the orange and golden glories of an Italian sunset. Not a sound broke the stillness, save the chirping of the *cicala* from the trees, whose song served but to make the silence heard—and not a sign of human life was there beyond a high column of smoke wreathing up whitely in front of the dark mountains. When I next visited the lake, it was under the glare of a noonday sun—its calm surface deepening the azure of the sky into a vivid sapphire, was dashed at the edge with reflections of the overhanging woods, in the richest hues of autumn ; and with Siren smiles it treacherously masked the destruction it had wrought.¹

¹ The waters of this lake, called by the ancients *Lacus Ciminus* (Virg. *Æn.* VII. 697 ; Sil. Ital. VIII. 493), are said to cover a town called *Succinium*, or *Saccumum*, engulfed by an earthquake (Ammian. Marcell. XVII. 7. 13 ; Sotion. de Mir. Font.). The latter writer states the same of the *Lacus Sabatinus*, or *Lago Bracciano*. The lake is evidently the crater of an extinct volcano. Fable, however, gives it another

240 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

Who has not hailed with yet higher delight the view from the summit of the long steep ascent which rises from the shores of the lake to the shoulder of the mountain—more especially if he be for the first time approaching the Eternal City?—for from this height, if the day be clear, he will obtain his first view of Rome. There lies the vast, variegated expanse of the Campagna at his feet, with its framework of sea and mountain. There stands Soracte in the midst, which

“from out the plain
Heaves like a long-swept wave about to break,
And on the curl hangs pausing.”

The white convent of San Silvestro gleams on its dark craggy crest, as though it were an altar to the god of poetry and light on this his favourite mountain. There sweeps the long range of Apennines, in grey or purple masses, or rearing some giant, hoary peak, into the blue heaven. There flows the Tiber at their feet, from time to time sparkling in the sun as it winds through the undulating plain. There in the southern horizon swells the Alban Mount with its soft flowing outlines; and there, apparently at its foot, lies Rome herself, distinguishable more by the cupola of St. Peter's than by the white line of her buildings. Well, traveller, mayest thou gaze, for even in her present fallen state

Possis nihil urbe Romæ
Visere majus.¹

Nor must the dense and many-tinted woods, which clothe the slopes of the mountain around and beneath, be passed without notice. It is the Ciminian forest, still as in olden times the terror of the Roman,² and still with its majestic

origin. When Hercules was on this mount, he was begged by the inhabitants to give them some proof of his marvellous strength; whereon he drove an iron bar deep into the earth. When they had tried in vain to stir it, they besought the hero to draw it forth, which he did; but an immense flood of water welled up from the hole, and formed the Ciminian Lake. Serv. *Æn.* VII. 697. Strabo (V. p. 226) and Columella (*de Re Rust.* VIII. 16) say this lake abounded in fish and water-fowl.

¹ Horat. *Carm. Sæc.* II.

² It was so dreaded by the ancient Romans, that the Senate, even after the great rout of the Etruscans at Sutrium, in the year 444, dispatched legates to the consul Fabius, charging him not to enter the wood (*Liv.* IX. 36; *Florus*, I. 17); and when it was known that he had done so, all Rome was terror-struck (*Liv.* IX. 38).

oaks and chestnuts vindicating its ancient reputation—*silvæ sunt consule dignæ!*

On descending from the crest of the pass on the road to Viterbo, a new scene broke on my view. The slopes around and beneath were still densely clothed with wood¹—a wide plain again lay at my feet—mountains also rose beyond—the sea glittered in a golden line on the horizon—a lake shone out from the plain—even Soracte had its counterpart: the general features of the scene were the same as on the other side of the mountain, but there was more tameness, more monotony in their character, and the same stirring interest did not attach to every spot as the site of some historic event or romantic legend; nor was there one grand focus of attraction to which every other object was subordinate. Yet was it a scene of high interest. It was the great Etruscan plain, the fruitful mother of cities renowned before Rome was—where arose, flourished, and fell that nation which from this plain as from a centre extended its dominion over the greater part of Italy, giving laws, arts, and institutions to the surrounding tribes, and to Rome itself—the twin-sister of Greece in the work of civilizing Europe. I could not, as the consul Fabius once did from this same height, admire “the rich fields of Etruria,”²

¹ The height on the northern shore of the lake is called Monte Venere—a name it is said to owe to a temple of Venus, that once occupied the summit. But as far as I can learn, the existence of a temple here has never been ascertained.

² Liv. IX. 36—*opulenta Etruriæ arva*. If it were not expressly stated by Livy that—*juga Ciminii montis tenebat*, it would be more reasonable to suppose that Fabius crossed from Sutrium by the line of the subsequent Via Cassia, than that he should have scaled this much loftier, more difficult, and dangerous pass. Possibly he chose it as being wholly undefended. He was the first Roman, it is said, who dared to penetrate the dread Ciminian forest, which before his time had never been trod even by the peaceful traveller. It is impossible to believe this statement, and that the forest was utterly pathless (Liv. l. c., Flor. I. 17), for as the Mount originally stood in the heart of Etruria, there must have been sundry passes across it for communication between the several states. Besides, as Arnold (Hist. Rome, II. p. 249) observes, the range could not have formed “an impassable barrier.” The highest peak rises 3000 feet above the sea, but there are very deep depressions between its crests; and the shoulder to the south, crossed by the Via Cassia, is of so slight an elevation, that the rise is scarcely perceptible. The difficulty must have lain rather in the density of the forest than in the height of the mountain. Niebuhr (III. p. 279) also disputes Livy’s statement, but suggests that the mountain

242 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

for the plain is in most parts a desert, with here and there a few patches of wood to relieve its monotonous bareness.

With what pride must an Etruscan have regarded this scene two thousand five hundred years since. The numerous cities in the plain were so many trophies of the power and civilization of his nation. There stood Volsinii, renowned for her wealth and arts, on the shores of her crater-lake—there Tuscania reared her towers in the west—there Vulci shone out from the plain, and Cosa from the mountain—and there Tarquinii, chief of all, asserted her metropolitan supremacy from her cliff-bound heights. Nearer still, his eye must have rested on city after city, some in the plain, and others at the foot of the slope beneath him; while the mountains in the horizon must have carried his thoughts to the glories of Clusium, Perugia, Cortona, Vetulonia, Volaterræ, and other cities of the great Etruscan Confederation. How changed is now the scene! Save Tuscania, which still retains her site, all within view are now desolate. Tarquinii has left scarce a vestige of her greatness on the grass-grown heights she once occupied; the very site of Volsinii is forgotten; silence has long reigned in the crumbling theatre of Ferentum; the plough yearly furrows the bosom of Vulci; the fox, the owl, and the bat are the sole tenants of the vaults within the ruined walls of Cosa: and of the rest, the greater part have neither building, habitant, nor name—nothing but the sepulchres around them to prove they ever had an existence.

Did he turn to the southern side of the mountain?—his eye wandered from city to city of no less renown, studding the plain beneath him—Veii, Fidenæ, Falerii, Fescennium, Capena, Nepete, Sutrium—all then powerful, wealthy, and independent. Little did he foresee that yon small town on the banks of the Tiber would prove the destruction of them all, and even of his nation, name, and language.

may have been left in a savage state by mutual agreement to serve as a natural frontier between Latium and Etruria. He was evidently, however, quite ignorant of the pass by the Vadimonian Lake, between the foot of the Mount and the Tiber. Frontinus (*Strat. I. 2. 2.*) simply observes, that the forest had not previously been attempted by the Roman army.

CHAPTER XII

VITERBO.—*SURRINA*

Cernimus exemplis oppida posse mori.—RUTILIUS.

Multa retro rerum jacet, atque ambagibus ævi
Obtegitur densâ caligine mersa vetustas.—SIL. ITAL.

ALMOST every town in Italy and Spain has its chronicle, written generally by some monk, who has made it a labour of love to record the history, real or imaginary, of his native place from the creation down to his own time. In these monographs, as they may be termed, the great object appears to be to exalt the antiquity and magnify the pristine importance of each respective town, often at the expense of every other. It is this feeling which has ascribed to many of the cities of Spain a foundation by Japhet or Tubal-Cain; and to this foolish partiality we owe many a bulky volume replete with dogmatical assertions, distortions of history, unwarranted readings or interpretations of ancient writers; and sometimes even blackened with forgery.

Among those who have been guilty of this foulest of literary crimes, stands foremost in impudence, unrivalled in voluminous perseverance, Fra Giovanni Nanni, commonly called Annio di Viterbo, a Dominican monk of this town, who lived in the fifteenth century. He was a wholesale and crafty forger; he did not write the history of his native place, but pretended to have discovered fragments of various ancient writers, most of which are made, more or less directly, to bear testimony to its antiquity and pristine importance. Besides these fragments of Berosus, Manetho, Archilochus, Xenophon, Fabius Pictor, Cato, Antoninus, and others, he forged, with the same object, a marble tablet with an edict purporting to be of King Desiderio, the last of the Lombard dynasty, in which it is decreed that "within one wall shall be included the three towns, Longula, Vetulonia, and Tirrena, called Volturna, and the whole city thus formed shall be called Etruria or Viterbum,"¹ which city

¹ Elsewhere, in his work, "*Antiquitatum Variarum Volumina*," p. 12,

244 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

Annio further attempted to prove one of the Twelve, and the metropolis of ancient Etruria. His forgeries for some time imposed on the world ; but they have been long exposed, and he is now universally regarded as an impostor.¹

One of his statements, however, that Viterbo was the site of the Fanum Voltumnæ, the shrine at which the princes of Etruria were wont to assemble in frequent conclave to deliberate on the affairs of the Confederation—has been assented to by many of his opponents, and is an opinion still generally entertained.² That the Fanum was somewhere in this district is probable enough ; but as Livy, who alone mentions it, has given no clue to its locality,³ and as no inscriptions have thrown light on the subject, it can be but pure conjecture to assign to it this or that particular site. Viterbo, inasmuch as it contains a church named Santa Maria in Volturna,⁴ may be considered as having some claims to that honour, certainly much stronger than can be urged for Castel d'Asso. Yet such is far from amounting to positive evidence, for, to say nothing of the corruption of words in the course of two thousand years, Voltumna or Volturna was a deity of the Etruscans, and probably had many temples in different parts of the land.⁵

Annio calls the four cities of the Tetrapolis "Voltursena, Vetulonia, Tusca, and Harbanum." In the Palazzo Comunale are the arms of the town, supported by two lions, with the letters F.A.V.L., which are explained as "Fanum Auguste Volturne Lucumonum," and this doggerel distich below :—

Hanc Fanum, Arbanum, Vetulonia, Longula quondam
Oppida, dant urbem prima elementa F.A.V.L.

¹ The authenticity of the Desiderio decree has been much disputed. Even Holstenius (Adnot. ad Cluver. p. 68) contended for its authenticity ; and as late as 1777 Faure maintained it to be genuine.

² Cluverius, II. p. 565. Cellarius, Geog. Ant. tom. I. p. 581. Ambrosch, Mem. Inst. IV. p. 149. Perhaps the forged fragments of the Itinerary of Antoninus, long received as genuine, in which Annio places "Fanum Volturnæ" immediately after "Juga Cyminia," on the road to Volsinii, may, in some degree, have favoured this opinion. Orioli (Ann. Inst. 1833, p. 26), however, thinks the reasons adduced in its support quite as frivolous as those which would place Vetulonia, Longula, and Arbanum on this site.

³ Liv. IV. 23, 25, 61 ; V. 17 ; VI. 2.

⁴ Lanzi. Saggio, II. p. 107 ; Camilli, Mon. di Vit. pp. 13, 39. On this fact rests the sole argument for the Fanum being on this site.

⁵ Orioli (Nouv. Ann. Inst. 1836, p. 41) thinks that nothing more can be deduced from this, than that a temple to Vertumnus at some period or other occupied this site.

Though Viterbo has been a bone of contention to archæologists ever since the days of Annio, its name contains a clear indication of its antiquity, being evidently compounded of *Vetus urbs*.¹ There are, moreover, indisputable proofs of the existence of an Etruscan town on this spot, in the numerous sepulchral caves in the cliffs around, and in the tombs which from time to time have been excavated, yielding genuine Etruscan objects, some of which are preserved in the Museum of the city. No remains of the ancient town itself are now extant, beyond the foundations of a bridge near the cathedral, composed of large rectangular blocks of *emplecton*, in six courses, rusticated and uncemented,² and sundry sewers cut in the neighbouring cliffs. The name of the ancient town seems from Latin inscriptions to have been Surrina or Sorrina.³

The Museum is in the Palazzo Comunale, and though the collection of antiquities is small, it is worth seeing. It is under the care of the Canon Don Luca Ceccotti, a gentleman of whose urbanity I retain grateful recollection. In the court-yard below are several sarcophagi of *nenfro*, with bas-reliefs on the sides, and the effigy of the deceased as large as life reclining on the lid. In the cabinet of the Museum up-stairs, are similar sarcophagi of terra-cotta. The collection of Etruscan relics comprises urns, vases, and other articles of pottery, conical *cippi* with sepulchral inscriptions, a few small idols of bronze, and other objects

¹ Yet old Fazio degli Uberti could find another derivation—

“Che nel principio Veghienza fu decta,
Sino al tempo che a Roma fu nemica,
Ma vinta poi agli Roman dilecta,
Tanto per le buone acque e dolcie sito
Che’n vita Erbo del suo nome tragea.”

—DITTAMUNDI, III. cap. 10.

² Urlichs (Bull. dell’ Inst. 1839, p. 74) calls the blocks *peperino*, but they are of the same hard green sandstone that forms the pavement of the town. In dimensions and arrangement they are like Etruscan; but the material differing from the red tufo rock on which they rest, and the general style of the masonry, make me unhesitatingly pronounce them of Roman construction. This hill, on which the cathedral stands, down to the thirteenth century was called Castellum Herculis. Its cliffs are pierced with sewers and caves, as are also two neighbouring heights—that to the north, on which stand the churches of San Giovanni and Sant Agostino, is honeycombed with caves.

³ See Appendix, Note I.

246 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

of the same metal. The pottery is plain, either black or uncoloured, showing antiquity, not richness or elegance—being generally of coarse material, and comprising none of the beautiful, figured, Greco-Tyrrhene vases of the more luxurious cities of Vulci, Tarquinii, or Clusium. Here is also a collection of geological specimens from the neighbourhood. In another room in the palace is the marble tablet with the decree of the king Desiderio, already mentioned, the authenticity of which has given rise to so much discussion,¹—and the *Tabula Cibellaria*, another of Annio's forgeries, by which he sought to make it appear that his town was as ancient as Corythus, or prior to the foundation of Troy.

In the square in front of this palace, fixed against the wall of the church of St. Angelo in Spata, is a marble sarcophagus with a bas-relief of a lion fighting a boar, with hunters around, called by some Etruscan,² but evidently of Roman workmanship. An inscription attached shows it to have been raised in honour of a Viterbian damsel of the olden time, who had such extraordinary beauty, that, like Helen, she was made the cause of a war—"causa teterrima belli." On her account the city was besieged by the Romans; and after unsuccessful assaults they agreed to raise the siege, on condition of the fair Galiana displaying her charms from the ramparts—an instance of "the might, the majesty of loveliness" never surpassed in any age.³

It may partly be owing to this Italian Helen that the daughters of Viterbo still enjoy a proverbial reputation for beauty. But these are delicate matters not to be handled by an antiquary. What more shall I say of Viterbo? It is the second city in the Papal State within the limits of ancient Etruria, and can boast of thirteen or fourteen thousand inhabitants, and in former times was often the residence of the Popes. I will say nothing of the remains of Santa Rosa, the holy patroness of the city—of the pulpit of San Bernardino of Siena—of the celebrated "Deposition" of Sebastian del Piombo, from the design of Michael Angelo—of the palace where Olimpia Pamfili held her revels—of the Gothic Cathedral, stained with the royal

¹ It may be found in Gruter, p. 220.

² Camilli, *Monum. di Viterbo*, p. 18.

³ See Appendix, Note II.

blood of England¹—are they not all written in the guide-books of Starke and Murray? Yet I must testify to the neatness and cleanliness of Viterbo—to the Tuscan character of its architecture—to its well-paved, ever dry streets—to its noble fountains, proverbial for their beauty—all so many evidences of its vicinity to the frontier of the more civilized Dukedom—and above all in importance to the traveller, to the comfort and civility experienced in the spacious hotel of the Aquila Nera, which he should make his head-quarters while exploring the antiquities of the neighbourhood.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XII

NOTE I.—SURRINA.

THE existence of a "Surrina Nova" is made known by sundry inscriptions, most of which have been found in the neighbourhood. In some we find "Surrinenses," (Muratori, 201, 6, and 1083, 8); in another "Sorrinenses Novenses," (Mariani, de Etrur. Metrop. p. 125). "Sorr." occurs in a fragment in the house of the Cristofori at Viterbo, and "Sorr. Nov." in an inscription in the church of S. Flaviano at Monte Fiascone. The names of Surina, and Civitas Surinæ, were attached to the place in the middle ages; and Surianum is said often to occur in old documents. Orioli (Nouvel. Ann. Inst. 1836, p. 41) says, the town of Surrina Nova stood half a mile from Viterbo, just where Annio placed it, between the Grotta di Riello, the stream of the Arcione, and the modern baths, where are numerous ruins, and traces of a town, so manifest that one must be blind not to perceive them. The same author, in opposition to Marini (Frat. Arval. II. p. 424), who referred Surrina Nova to Soriano on the eastern slope of the Ciminian, would rather consider that town to be the Surrina Vetus, from which this, distinguished as Nova, may have been originally peopled. But to me it appears more probable, that the old town of this name was that on the very site of Viterbo, on the heights of the Cathedral, as already stated, and that when the Roman settlement was made on the

¹ The cathedral is dedicated to S. Lorenzo, and occupies the site of a temple to Hercules, mentioned in early Christian documents. Orioli thinks the transfer of worship from Hercules to St. Laurence easy and natural enough, as both met their death in a somewhat similar manner; and he further suggests that some ancient picture of Hercules on the funeral pile may have given the idea of substituting for him this particular saint. Nouv. Ann. Inst. 1836, pp. 44 and 48.

248 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

lower ground, indicated by Orioli, it received the epithet of "Nova," while that on the original site was distinguished only as "the old town,"—*vetus urbs*—of which Viterbo is obviously a derivative. In the seventh and eighth centuries, says Inghirami (*Mem. Inst. IV. p. 104*, and *Mon. Etrus. IV. p. 145*), they began to record Beterbon, Veturbium, Viterbium, Castrum Viterbii.

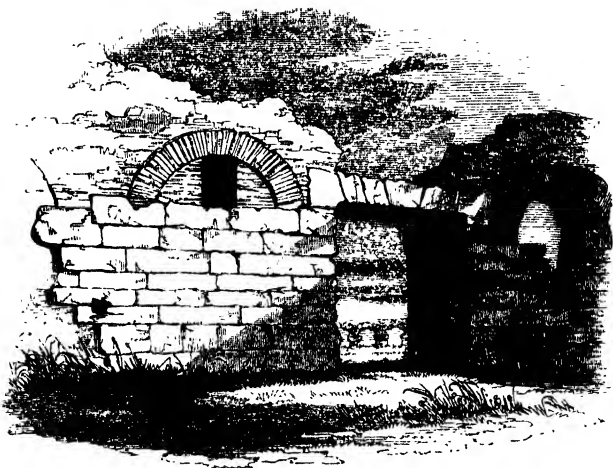
That the long lost Vetulonia occupied this or a neighbouring site, is an opinion held not only by Annio, and the early antiquaries of Italy, but even in our own times has found its advocates, who cite in support of their views the oriental magnificence of the sepulchres of Norchia and Castel d'Asso (*Inghir. Mem. Inst. IV. p. 98 et seq.*). This has been ably controverted by Dr. Ambrosch, in his reply to the letters of Inghirami on the subject. A much more probable site will be indicated for Vetulonia in a subsequent chapter.

NOTE II.—GALIANA.

For the satisfaction of the curious in such matters, I give the doggerel hexameters of Galiana's epitaph.—

Flos honor patriæ, species pulcherrima rerum,
Clauditur hic tumulo Galiana ornata venusto ;
Fœmina si qua polos conscendere pulchra meretur
Angelicis manibus diva hic Galiana tenetur.
Si Veneri non posse mori natura dedisset,
Nec fragili Galiana mori mundo potuisset.
Roma dolet nimium ; tristatur Thuscia tota ;
Gloria nostra perit ; sunt gaudia cuncta remota ;
Miles et arma silent, nimio perculsa dolore.
Organa jam fidibus pereant caritura canoris
Anno milleno centeno terque deceno
Octonoque diem clausit dilecta Tonanti.

Galianæ Patritiæ Viterbensi,
Cujus incomparabilem pulchritudinem
Insigni pudicitiae junctam
Sat fuit vidisse mortales,
Consules majestatis tantæ fœminæ
Admiratione hoc honoris ac pietatis
Monumentum hieroglyphicum exscerp.
CICCCXXXVIII.



THE THEATRE OF FERENTO—THE CENTRAL GATE.

CHAPTER XIII

FERENTO.—*FERENTINUM*

Si te grata quies
Delectat ; si te pulvis strepitusque rotarum,
Si lædit caupona ; Ferentinum ire jubebo.—HORAT.

THE neighbourhood of Viterbo is particularly rich in antiquities. It was not usual with the Etruscans to build on the summits of lofty mountains, or even on the higher slopes—therefore no remains are found on the Ciminian itself—but all along its base stood city after city, now for the most part in utter desolation, yet whose pristine magnificence can be traced in the sepulchres around them. The vast plain, also, north of the Ciminian, now in great part uncultivated, and throughout most thinly inhabited, is covered with vestiges of long extinct civilization.

Five miles north of Viterbo, on the left of the road to Monte Fiascone, and near the Ponte Fontanile, is a remarkable assemblage of ruins, commonly called Le Casacce del Bacucco. One is an edifice of two stories, by some thought

250 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

a temple of Serapis, most probably because they fancied they could trace a corruption of this word in its name, Bagni delle Serpi.¹ It is more vulgarly called La Lettighetta, or the Warming-pan. Then there are several quadrilateral buildings, evidently baths; one retaining traces of some magnificence, being surmounted by an octagon which originally supported a cupola. From the character of these ruins, and the abundance of thermal springs in this district, it has been with great probability supposed that this is the site of the Aquæ Passeris of antiquity.² All these ruins are clearly of Roman times; but there is one monument on this site apparently of Etruscan construction. It is a mound of tufo shaped into a cone, hollowed into a tomb, and walled round with rectangular masonry of travertine, like the tumuli of Tarquinii. Its interior is very plain.³

Considerably to the east of Bacucco, and about five miles north of Viterbo stand the ruins of an Etruscan city, now called Férento or Férenti. It is the ancient Ferentinum of Etruria,⁴ the birthplace of the emperor Otho; and must not

¹ Camilli, who has described it in his *Monumenti di Viterbo*, p. 57, does not attempt to decide whether it was bath, temple or sepulchre (*vide* Ann. Inst. 1829, p. 179; Orioli). Excavations were made here in 1830, and statues and mosaic pavements were brought to light. Bull. Inst. 1831, p. 84; Ann. Inst. 1835, 1-7. Camilli. At Bagnaccio, a mile or so nearer Viterbo, is a pool called Il Naviso, which Annio and other early antiquaries mistook for the Vadimonian Lake. Even Orioli was led into this error, but afterwards recanted.

² See Appendix at the end of the chapter.

³ Bull. Inst. 1831, p. 85. It is considered by Lenoir (*Annali dell' Inst.* 1832, p. 277), from the character of its mouldings, to be of Roman construction, in imitation of tombs genuinely Etruscan; but I have already shown, in treating of the tombs of Falleri, that a resemblance to Roman architecture is not necessarily an evidence against an Etruscan origin; and it is clear that the Romans could as well imitate the Etruscans in the mouldings as in the general character of the tomb. Yet should the architectural adornments be such as bespeak a late date, and strong Greek influence, the monument must be regarded as Roman; for works of architecture, as of painting and sculpture, bear in themselves the best evidence of their antiquity, as it is the nature of art not to revert from the complex to the simple, from the free and masterly to the stiff and imperfect. For an illustration of this tomb, see Mon. Ined. Inst. I. tav. XLI. 16.

⁴ By Strabo (V. p. 226), Tacitus (Hist. II. 50), Pliny (III. 8), and Suetonius (Otho I.), it is called Ferentinum; by Ptolemy (Geog. p. 72, ed. Bertii) Pherentia; by Vitruvius (II. 7) Ferentum. It may also be referred to as Ferentum by Suetonius (Vespas. 3); as Cluver (III. p. 984) is inclined to think. It seems to have given name to an

be confounded with a town of the same name in the land of the Hernici. That, the "Ferentinum of the rock," stands on the summit of a lofty hill, and to the traveller from Rome to Naples by the upper road, is an object of interest on account of its massive Cyclopean walls; this is on the level of the great Etruscan plain, girt about, however, as usual, by profound ravines. Nor must it be confounded with Ferentum in Apulia, a town also situated in a plain.¹

We have no record of this town in Etruscan times, though the sepulchres around it give certain evidence of such an antiquity. It must have been a dependency of Volsinii.² The earliest mention of it is in the time of Augustus, when it was a Roman colony of small importance,³ and, if the passage of Horace which heads this chapter refer to this town,⁴ it was then a quiet, secluded, country village. Then we hear of it as the birthplace of the Emperor Otho;⁵ and as the site of a temple of Fortune,⁶ probably the Etruscan goddess, Nurtia, who had a celebrated shrine at Volsinii, not many miles distant. It continued in existence after the fall of the Empire, and rose into the importance of an

Etruscan family, mentioned on a sepulchral urn of Perugia—"Arnth Phrentinate Pisice." It is strange that Vermiglioli, who gives this inscription (Iscriz. Perug. I. 319), should have thought of an analogy with the Frentani of Samnium (Strab. V. p. 241; Liv. IX. 45), or with the Ferentines of Latium, rather than with the town of Etruria. Müller (Etrusk. I. p. 455) admits its derivation from Ferentinum.

1

—arvum

Pingue tenent humilis Ferenti.—

(Hor. III. Od. 4, 15.)

Cav. Canina (Ann. Inst. 1837, 2, p. 62) incorrectly refers this passage to the Etruscan town.

² This connection is evident from its proximity, and seems to be implied also by a passage in Dionysius (Excerpt. Mai, XII. 48), which speaks of a certain Oblacus, whose cognomen was Volsinius, the chief of the people of Ferentum, who was slain in the Tarentine war.

³ Strabo, V. p. 226; Frontinus (de Colon.) also calls it a colony; and Vitruvius (l. c.) and Tacitus (Hist. II. 50) a *municipium*.

⁴ Cluver (II. p. 563) is decidedly of this opinion; and shows that it could not have applied to the other Ferentinum, which was precisely amid the dust and the noise of that great thoroughfare, the Latin Way. Cramer (I. p. 225) follows his opinion.

⁵ Sueton. Otho I.; Tacit. Hist. II. 50. Aur. Vict. Imp. Otho.

⁶ Tacit. Annal. XV. 53.

252 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

episcopal see,¹ but was utterly destroyed in the eleventh century, by the Viterbesi, in their zeal to exterminate a heresy with which its inhabitants were tinctured.² "Oh *Religion*, what crimes have been committed in thy name!"

The area of the town is covered with ruins of the three epochs into which its history may be divided. The greater part are foundations of houses and other structures of the middle ages. There are considerable remains of Roman pavement of polygonal blocks of basalt;³ and several Roman structures in ruin, among which a tower with a vaulted roof is prominent. Some of the ruins of later date are raised on foundations of Roman antiquity. The walls of the town are in great part overthrown, but fragments of them remain, and many of the rectangular blocks which composed them, lie scattered on the slopes around.⁴ The sites of several gates are distinctly traceable.

But the grand monument at Féroto is the theatre. In its perfect state it must have been a truly imposing edifice; even now, though all the winds of heaven play through its open arches, it is a most majestic ruin, with every advantage of situation to increase its effect on the senses. For it stands on the brink of a precipice, overhanging a wooded and picturesque ravine, amid solitude, ruin, and desolation, where for centuries man has left his dwelling

¹ *Martyrologium Romanum*, and *Gregorius Magnus*, ap. Cluver. II. p. 562.

² Camilli, *Mon. di Viterbo*, pp. 62, 84. The heresy, according to Alberti (*Descrit. d' Ital.* p. 62), was this, that the inhabitants represented Christ on the cross with his eyes open, instead of being orthodoxly closed! Verily the dispute about the broad and narrow end of the egg finds here its counterpart.

³ The "*Via Publica Ferentensis*" is mentioned in an ancient inscription found at Viterbo. *Ann. Inst.* 1829, p. 176; cf. *Nouvelles Annales de l' Institut*, 1836, p. 35, n. 4.

⁴ The extant portions of the walls are generally of small masonry, either Roman or of "the low times;" but there are fragments on the northern side, of more ancient date and more massive character. They are indeed very peculiar, the blocks being nearly square, without any regularity in size or arrangement, and being often let into one another,—more like the masonry of that singular quadrangle on the Via Appia, which Gell called the "*Campus Sacer Horatiorum*" (*I. voce Appia*), but which Cav. Canina, with much more probability, regards as an *ustrina*, than any other ancient walling in Etruria; though there is also some resemblance to the pier of a ruined bridge at Veii, mentioned at page 93 of this work.

to the falcon, the owl, the bat, the viper, and the lizard, and where his foot or voice now rarely calls forth echoes—with the wide plain on every hand, the dark gloomy mass of the Ciminian in front, the swelling Mount of Fiascone behind, and the snowy ranges of the Umbrian Apennines in the horizon.

The stage front of the theatre is one hundred and thirty-six feet in length, of massive masonry, of large rectangular volcanic blocks uncemented; not, as in the Etruscan walls already described, laid lengthways and endways in alternate courses, but like those in the northern division of the land, arranged rather with regard to the size and form of the blocks themselves than to any predetermined order or style of masonry. From its peculiar character, and its evidently superior antiquity to the rest of the structure, I am of opinion that this façade is Etruscan. The construction of its gates might be cited as an objection. There are seven of these, the largest in the centre,—all with flat architraves composed of cuneiform blocks holding together on the principle of the arch, though without cement; as is proved in one gateway, where, the masonry being dislocated, the keystone has slipped down several inches, yet is still supported by the contiguous blocks.¹ This mode of construction, like the arch itself, has generally been supposed a Roman invention; but there is now little doubt that the arch in Italy had an Etruscan origin, and that the Romans derived it from Etruria; therefore, seeing the perfection to which the arched vault had been brought at a very early age in the Cloaca Maxima, there is nothing in the peculiar style, or difficult construction of this flat arch which militates against its being of Etruscan formation; for the principle of cuneiform sustentation once discovered, the progress from one application of it to another must have been short and easy.

This massive masonry rises to the height of ten courses. On it rests a mass of Roman brickwork, of Imperial times, with several arched openings, intended to admit light into

¹ This has since fallen, and the architrave is destroyed. Nov. 1846. Its place is seen to the left in the woodcut at page 249.

The central gate, which is represented in the woodcut, is more than 12 ft. in height, and is 10 ft. 2 in. wide; the next on either hand, 8 ft. 1 in.; the next two, 7 ft. 6 in.; and the outer gates, 7 ft. 3 in. in width.

254 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

the passage within. This passage, or *postscenium*, which runs the whole length of the façade, is about four feet wide, and its inner wall, or the *scena*, is also of red Roman brick. One vast mass of this wall has been loosened from its foundation, probably by the same convulsion of nature which dislocated the gateway, and reclines against the outer wall, adding much to the picturesque effect of the ruins. The passage must have been a means of communication for the actors behind the scenes, and in two parts it widens into a chamber—the *parascenion* of the Greek theatre—for their convenience in changing costumes. Within the theatre all is ruin—a chaos of fallen masonry, shapeless masses of rock and red brick-work, overgrown with weeds and moss—the *orchestra* filled up to the level of the stage—not a seat of the *cavea* remaining, and that part of the theatre is only to be distinguished by the semicircle of arches which inclosed it. These are of regular and most massive masonry, of a hard grey tufo whitened by lichen—a whiteness quite dazzling in the sunshine. The semicircle which they originally formed is not complete. Commencing with the first arch at the south-western angle of the arc, there are eleven in an unbroken series; then occurs a gap, where one has been destroyed; then follow nine more in succession; and six or seven are wanting to complete the semicircle. Attached to the first is another, at an angle with it, indicating the line of the chord of the arc, the division between the *cavea* and the *proscenium*; and its distance from the walls of the *scena* shows the depth of the stage. These arches are beautifully formed, the blocks shaped with uniformity, and fitted with great nicety, though without cement.¹ Cav. Canina, the Roman architect, regards them as an interior structure only, and thinks there was an outer range of arches for the external adornment, as in the theatre of Pompeii, and of Marcellus at Rome. He says that, from its excellent state of preservation, the *scena* in this ruin gives us a more complete idea of that part in ancient theatres than can be derived from any

¹ These arches vary from $7\frac{1}{2}$ ft. to 9 ft. in span. They are based on pillars about 3 ft. square, each a single block of stone, supporting a simple lip-impost, also a single block; as is likewise the mass raised on it, from which springs the arch on either side. The length of the chord of the arc, or the greatest width of the theatre, according to my measurement, is exactly 200 English feet. The depth of the stage I make 33 feet.

other remain of the same description extant, particularly in the distinction between the "royal gate" in the centre, and the "stranger-gates" on either hand.¹ Canina has called this theatre a Roman structure, as late as the time of Otho; yet in his cursory notice of it,² he must have referred only to the arches and brickwork, for the lower part of the façade has an air of much superior antiquity, and from its resemblance to the masonry of other Etruscan sites, has very strong claims to be considered Etruscan.³

Ferentum, though small, and probably at no time of political importance, was celebrated for the beauty of its public monuments. Vitruvius cites them as exhibiting "the infinite virtues" of a stone hewn from certain quarries, called "Anitianæ," in the territory of Tarquinii, and especially in the neighbourhood of the Volsinian Lake. This stone, says he, was similar to that of the Alban Mount in colour, *i. e.* it was grey like *peperino*; it was proof alike against the severity of frost and the action of fire, and of extreme hardness and durability, as might be seen from the monuments of Ferentum, which were made of it. "For there are noble statues of wondrous workmanship, and likewise figures of smaller size, together with foliage and acanthi, delicately carved, which albeit they be ancient, appear as fresh as if they were but just now finished." The brass-founders, he adds, find this stone most useful for moulds. "Were these

¹ Vitruv. V. 6. The seven gates in the outer wall are a very unusual number; but in the *scena* there is only the legitimate number of three; the rest opening into the *postscenium* alone. There are no traces of a portico in front, or rather at the back of the theatre, as was common in Greek edifices of this description. Vitruv. V. 9.

This is certainly the best preserved *scena* in Italy; but that of Taormina in Sicily is more perfect, having a second story; and that of Aspendus in Pamphylia is *entire*, with three stories inside, and four outside, as I learn from the drawings of that enterprising traveller, Mr. Edward Falkener.

² Ann. Inst. 1837, 2, pp. 62-64. The plan of this theatre, and its measurements in Tuscan *braccia*, are given in the Annals of the Institute 1839. Tav. d' Agg. F.

³ The semicircle of arches, though of the same material as this façade, and very massive, seems, from the regularity of its masonry, to be of later date. I regard it as Roman. That the brickwork is but a repair of a more ancient structure is most clear, from the irregularity of the upper line of the masonry below it, and from the brickwork filling up its deficiencies. See the woodcut at page 249. The original Etruscan theatre had fallen into decay, and Otho, or one of the early Emperors, put it into repair.

256 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

quarries near the City, it would be well to construct everything of this stone."¹ Pliny speaks of this stone in the same laudatory terms, but calls it a white *silex*.² Cav. Canina takes this stone to be *nenfro*;³ but how can that be when *nenfro* was found at Gabii, and was much used at Rome? Moreover, it has not the requisite properties. Now when last at Férénto, I sought particularly to obtain light on this subject. Among the numerous blocks with which the site is strewn, I remarked very few fragments of architectural decoration; nothing that would at all bear out the praises of Vitruvius.⁴ The cliffs beneath the town are a sort of travertine; yet the masonry of the theatre is of a yellowish tufo, not unlike *nenfro*; and the town walls are composed of the same or of limestone. This latter, which is also found in abundance among the scattered masses, seems too hard for the chisel. I could perceive nothing which answers to the description of Vitruvius.

In the neighbourhood of Férénto are sepulchres, some of Roman, but most of Etruscan construction. A few of these are tumuli, not of the large size seen at Veii, rather like those so common at Tarquinii; but the majority are caves hollowed in the rocks. Orioli mentions some remarkable tombs in a plain near the town, called Piano de' Pozzi, because they are entered by oblong wells or shafts sunk to a great depth in the earth, with niches cut in the sides for the feet and hands, as in the tombs of Civita Castellana and Falleri. One of the shafts into which he descended, was eighty feet deep, another, one hundred and twenty; and at the bottom were horizontal passages, opening at intervals into sepulchral chambers.⁵

¹ Vitruv. II. 7.

² Plin. Nat. Hist. XXXVI. 49.

³ Canina, Arch. Ant. VIII. p. 86. Abeken (Mittelital. p. 16) also holds the same opinion.

⁴ Canina perceived architectural fragments among the ruins of the more modern buildings, which he says were in the old Etruscan Doric style, whence he infers the antiquity of the town.—Ann. Inst. 1837, 2, p. 64.

There is a stone, quarried at Manziana, near the Lake of Bracciano, which has some of the properties ascribed to that mentioned by Vitruvius and Pliny, and is much used in Rome, at the present day, for moulds for metal-casting.

⁵ Orioli ap. Inghir. Monumenti Etruschi IV. p. 189. In Magna Græcia also such tombs have been found, the shafts to which are sunk sometimes perpendicularly, like wells, sometimes obliquely, as in the Egyptian pyramids.—De Jorio. Sepol. Ant. p. 10.

The visitor may vary his route on his return to Viterbo, by way of Vitorchiano, a small town three or four miles from Ferento. A competent guide, however, is requisite, for there is merely a foot-path. Vitorchiano seems to have been an Etruscan site, and slight excavations have been made in its neighbourhood. It possesses the singular and exclusive right of providing servants for the Senator of Rome—that solitary representative of the mighty body which once ruled the world. This privilege is derived, tradition asserts, from classic times, and was accorded in perpetuity to Vitorchiano by a certain emperor, because one of its townsmen extracted a thorn from his foot. In virtue thereof, every forty years, the principal families in the place assemble and draw lots for their order of annual service; each family sending one of its members to Rome in its turn, or selling the privilege, which custom has fixed at a certain price. The truth of this may be tested by any one who chooses to inquire on the Capitol of the Senator's servants, distinguished by their red and yellow, beef-eating costume. The validity of the privilege was contested, some years since, and the Vitorchianesi came off with flying colours.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XIII

NOTE.—BACUCCO, THE SITE OF AQUÆ PASSERIS.

THIS is the opinion of Cluver (II. p. 561). The Peutingerian Table places Aquæ Passeris between Forum Cassii and Volsinii, twelve miles from the former, and nine from the latter. If Vetralla be the site of Forum Cassii, the distance to Bacucco is about correct, but thence to Volsinii is fourteen miles; and this distance Cluverius thinks was originally stated by the Table, but that XIII. was corrupted in transcribing into VIII. which might very easily occur.

Professor Orioli also, who has published a long Latin inscription relative to the springs and course of these "Aquæ Passerianæ," found near the convent of Sta. Maria ad Gradus, near Viterbo, is of opinion that the said baths occupied the site of Bacucco. The inscription speaks of a "villa Calvisiana" at these Waters. (Ann. Inst. 1829, pp. 174-179.) Signor Camilli, of Viterbo, however, would make the Bulicame to be the site of the Aquæ Passeris (Ann. Inst. 1835, p. 5); but he is answered by Orioli (Nouv. Ann. Inst. 1836, p. 34).

Martial (VI. epig. 42) mentions the "fervidi fluctus Passeris" as one of the hot springs of Etruria.

CHAPTER XIV

BOMARZO

Miremur periisse homines?—monumenta fatiscunt,
Mors etiam saxis nominibusque venit. AUSON.

Ecce libet pisces Tyrrhenaque monstra
Dicere. OVID.

ABOUT twelve miles east of Viterbo, on the same slope of the Ciminian, is the village of Bomarzo, in the immediate neighbourhood of an Etruscan town where extensive excavations have been carried on of late years. The direct road to it runs along the base of the mountain, but the excursion may be made more interesting by a détour to Férento. Both roads are quite impracticable for vehicles.

From Férento the path leads across a deep ravine, past the village of Le Grotte di Santo Stefano, whose name marks the existence of caves in its neighbourhood,¹ and over the open heath towards Bomarzo. But before reaching that place, a wooded ravine, Fosso della Vezza, which forms a natural fosse to the Ciminian, has to be crossed, and here—*Chi va piano va sano*—must be borne in mind. A more steep, slippery, and dangerous track I remember not to have traversed in Italy. Stiff miry clay, in which the steeds will anchor fast; rocks shelving and smooth-faced, like inclined planes of ice, are the alternatives. Let the traveller take warning, and not pursue this track after heavy rains. It would be advisable, especially if ladies are of the party, to return from Férento to Viterbo, and to take the direct road thence to Bomarzo.

This is a village of considerable size situated on a wooded cliff-bound platform, with an old castle of the Borghese family at the verge of the precipice. It commands a glorious view of the vale of the Tiber, and the long chain of Umbrian

¹ I could not learn that excavations had been made here, though at Monte Calvello, about 1½ miles beyond, Ruggieri of Viterbo excavated in 1845 for Prince Doria, but with no great success. He found, however, another well-tomb, similar to those of Férento, the shaft to which was 127 palms deep.

and Sabine Apennines to the east ; of the vast Etruscan plain to the north, with Monte Fiascone like a watch-tower in the midst, and the giant masses of Monte Cetona and Monte Amiata in the far horizon. Like most villages in the Papal State, Bomarzo is squalid in the extreme ; so that as we rode down its main street not a house could we see whose exterior promised decent accommodation. We pulled up at one of the best, the Casa Fosci, to which we had been directed as a place where travellers were entertained.

One great point of contrast between France and Italy—I may say, between northern and southern Europe—is that in every French village or hamlet, be it ever so small, there is some one house, often several, where Pierre or Jean so-and-so “*donne à boire et à manger*,” or “*loge à pied et à cheval* ;” but in Italy such signs are as rare as notices of spiritual refreshment and halting-places for the devotee are abundant. Here and there a withered bush at a doorway shows that wine may be had within ; but as to an inn, except on the great highways—God save you ! you might as well look for a railway-station. Some one or more of the most respectable inhabitants of these country-towns and villages is always, however—thank Mercury !—ready to entertain the traveller, for a consideration—for what will not an Italian do for gain?—especially the Romans, who, however unlike in most points, resemble their ancestors in thirst for foreign spoil. *Omnia Romæ cum pretio*—holds good now as in Juvenal’s day. This occasional Boniface is generally, as in this case, a man of decayed fortunes. The Fosci were among the first people of this vicinity a few generations since, but they lost their high estate through the amorous propensities of one of their ancestors ; for such transgressions being serious breaches of the law in a land where the moral and political code are intimately blended, and the same will imposes religious ceremonies, enjoins moral duties, and enacts political laws, the guilty Fosci fell under the ban of his bishop, who by fines upon fines effected his ruin. The family now consists of a brother and sister alone, who will do everything that civility and attention can effect, and the slender resources of a country village will allow, to contribute to the traveller’s comfort. The ruder sex may be content with their modicum of this, and thank God it is not less, but should ladies desire to explore the

260 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

antiquities of Bomarzo I can scarcely recommend them to make more than a flying visit.

Under the guidance of a peasant named Tomasso, who had been much employed in excavating, we visited the site of the Etruscan town, which lies on a platform nearly two miles to the north of Bomarzo, separated from it by the deep ravine of La Vezza. From the brow of the further height the valley of the Tiber opened beneath us, the royal river winding through it, washing the base of many a town-capt height, of which that of Mugnano was the nearest and most prominent, and that of Orte the most distant, while midway lay the Vadimonian lake, on whose shores the Roman eagle twice soared in triumph, and the fate of Etruria was doubly sealed as a dependent nation.¹

The first ruin which met our eye was some Roman baths, in three parallel vaults of *opus incertum*, very massive in character. Though vulgarly called Etruscan, they are clearly of Roman construction; for cement, though not unknown to the Etruscans, was rarely, if ever, used in their architecture—never to such an extent as to form the principal portion of the masonry. This ruin is without the ancient town, and the platform on which it stands, called Pian della Colonna, is united to that of the town by a narrow neck of land. Here Ruggieri of Viterbo has recently made excavations for Prince Borghese, and has found twenty *specchi*, besides the remains of a house which, from his description, must be Roman.

On passing this strait, fragments of pottery, bricks, and wrought stone strewn over the ground, showed us we were on the site of former habitation; but no more definite remains could I perceive than some fragments of red tessellated pavement—probably marking the site of an *impluvium*, or tank in the court of a private house. The town must have been of very small importance, for its size is limited by the natural boundaries of cliffs, save at the narrow neck already mentioned; and the space thus circumscribed forms

¹ See Chapter IX. on Horta. Mugnano claims to be the birthplace of Biagio Sinibaldi, a famous traveller of the olden time, who visited Ceylon, Japan, the Eastern Archipelago, China and Tartary, at a date when Europe imported little from the East but fables and the plague. May not his own existence be called into question?—may he not be an European embodiment of the oriental myth of Sinbad the Sailor?

a single field of no great dimensions. Of the ancient walls not one stone remains on another; but beneath the brow of the hill on the east lie a few of the blocks, of red tufo, and of the dimensions usual in Etruscan walls in the volcanic district. In the cliff, on the same side, are two sewers opening in the rock, and similar to those on other Etruscan sites.¹

The name of this town in Etruscan times we have no means of determining. It has been supposed to be Mæonia, or Pneonia, but there is no authority for this in ancient writers.² By others it has been thought to be Polimartium; but as this is a name mentioned only in works of the middle ages,³ it may have had no connection with the Etruscan town, but may have been simply the original of the village of Bomarzo.

The existence of an Etruscan town on this site had for ages been forgotten, when a few years since it was proved by the discovery of tombs containing articles of value and interest. Excavations were commenced in 1830, and have since been carried on almost every winter with various success.

The principal excavators have been Ruggieri of Viterbo, and Campanari of Toscanella; Fossati and Manzi of Corneto have also carried on operations here. The platforms to the south and west of the town seem to have been the chief depositories of its dead. A few tombs are in the cliffs beneath the walls, but the greater part are sunk deep

¹ They are of sugar-loaf form, about 8 ft. high, and 2 ft. wide at the base.

² *Bullett. dell' Instit.* 1830, p. 234 (Camilli); 1832, p. 195; and 1834, p. 50 (Gerhard). The only mention of such a town in Etruria that I can find, is in the *Catonis Origines* of Annio of Viterbo, who calls it Mæonum (p. 69, ed. 1512); but such authority is not worthy of the least confidence. The said opinion is most probably founded on the name by which the site is actually known—Pianmeano—in which they may think to trace the ancient appellation. Annio (*Quæst. VIII.* p. 155), says the site bore this name in his day—*Meani planum*—*planum Mæonianum*—and that remains of the ancient town were then extant, a town which he fancied was mentioned by Ovid (*Metam. III.* 583)—*patria Mæonia est* (cf. v. 624). Dempster, Mariani, and others, have made a similar blunder in reference to this passage, but Niebuhr (*I.* p. 42) shows that it refers not to Etruria at all, but to Lydia; the Tyrrhene pirates of the legend being Lydian Pelasgi.

³ Dempster de Etrur. Reg. II. p. 110. See Note I. in the Appendix to this chapter.

262 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

below the surface of the ground as at Tarquinii and Vulci, and were entered by long narrow passages, descending obliquely. Though very many have been excavated, few now remain open; the greater part, as at Veii and Vulci, have been reclosed, in order to save for tillage the few yards of earth occupied by the entrance-passages. Were this in harmony with the character of the people it would command respect, however we might lament it; but when we remember that the Roman peasantry is among the most slothful in Europe, and that vast tracts of fertile land throughout the State are lying fallow from year to year; and, moreover, when we find that over many of these very tombs so closed no culture is carried forward, we cannot but feel vexed that these curious memorials of a past race should be lost through wantonness. Many tombs do not merit conservation, but on the other hand it is well known that some of the most interesting opened in former years in this and other cemeteries are not now to be entered, and their very sites are forgotten.

The principal group of tombs that still remain open, is on the edge of the hill facing Bomarzo.¹ Two of them merit a few words of description. One is called

GROTTA DELLA COLONNA,

from a massive pillar of Doric-like simplicity supporting the ceiling in the midst.² The chamber is about thirteen feet square, and seven in height, with a roof slightly vaulted, in the form of what is called a camber-arch. The door is of the usual Etruscan form, smaller above than below, like the Egyptian and Doric doorways; and the wall on each side of it, within the tomb, is lined with masonry—a very rare feature in Etruscan tombs, especially in those of subterraneous excavation. The object of it in this case is not obvious; it may have been intended to support the wall on that side, which, on the excavation of the tomb, may

¹ They are generally arranged in quincunx order.

² The pillar is singularly formed—the side facing the door is rounded, the back squared. The shaft is 5 ft. high, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ wide, with a plain base; and is surmounted by a capital, 2 ft. square, the lower edge of which is bevelled off towards the shaft. The whole is crowned by an abacus, more than 4 ft. square, and like the capital, about 1 ft. deep. Lenoir (*Ann. Inst.* 1832, p. 269) speaks of several other tombs with similar pillars having been found on this site.

have given signs of insecurity; or it may have been to mark more decidedly the separation from an adjoining sepulchre. It is of very massive character, and neatly rusticated, a clear proof that this style was used by the Etruscans; which fact is also attested, though less decidedly, by several other remains on Etruscan sites. It is highly probable that the Romans were indebted to this people for their rusticated masonry; and it is singular that this style, which seems to have originated in Etruria, should still be prevalent in this part of Italy; and the grand palaces of Florence and Siena, as far as masonry is concerned, may be purely traditional imitations of those of Etruscan Lucumones, raised five-and-twenty centuries ago.

The character of this tomb is most solemn and imposing. The single pillar in the midst, more simple and severe than any Doric column—the bare, damp walls of dark rock—the massive blocks of masonry—the yawning sarcophagus with its lid overthrown, and the dust of the long-forgotten dead exposed to view—the deep gloom never broken but by the torch of the curious traveller—all strike the soul with a chill feeling of awe, not unmingled, it may be, with some admiration of the good taste which constructed so appropriate a home for the dead.

GROTTA DIPINTA.

Let us leave this tomb and enter another hard by. Can we retain this opinion? We are in a chamber whose walls, gaily painted, are alive with sea-horses snorting and plunging—water-snakes uprearing their crests and gliding along in slimy folds—dolphins sporting as in their native element—and,—can we believe our eyes?—grim and hideous caricatures of the human face divine. One is the head of an old man, with eye starting from its socket, and mouth wide open as though smitten with terror. Another is a face elongated into a coffin form, or like the head of an ox, with one eye blotted from his visage, and the other regarding you with a fixed stare, no nostrils visible, his mouth gaping above a shapeless chin, and his hair standing out stiffly from his head, as though electrified. Indeed the head of this Etruscan

Monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum

264 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

reminds you of nothing so much as those scarecrow blocks, with long shaggy hair, which are used now-a-days as electrical toys. I could not readily bring myself to believe that this caricature was of ancient execution; but, after minute examination, I was convinced that it was of the same date, and by the same hand, as the other paintings in this tomb, which are indubitably Etruscan.¹ All are drawn in the same broad and careless style, with red and black crayons.

In the centre of one wall is a third head, no caricature, and probably the portrait of the individual, Velus Urinates by name, for whom the tomb was constructed, and whose ashes were found in his sarcophagus. The other two heads may represent respectively Charun and Typhon, *i.e.* the angel or minister of Death, and the principle of Destruction, both of whom are usually depicted as hideous as the imagination of the artist could conceive. A Spanish proverb says, "The devil so loved his own child that he knocked out his eye;" and this one-eyed monster is undoubtedly of demon breed.²

Hippocampi and water-snakes are symbols frequently found in Etruscan tombs, rarely indeed depicted on the walls, but sculptured on sarcophagi and urns. They are generally regarded as emblematic of the passage of the soul from one state of existence to another, an opinion confirmed by the frequent representation of boys riding on their backs. This view is, moreover, borne out by their amphibious character—horse and fish, snake and fish—evidently referring to a double state of existence. The dolphins, which form a border round the apartment, painted alternately black and red, are a common sepulchral ornament, and are supposed to have a similar symbolical reference;³ though they have also been considered as

¹ Padre Vittori (*Memorie di Polimario*, p. 36), who was present at the opening of this tomb, says this head was then on the walls.

² Typhon is here, as elsewhere, used conventionally, to express a divinity of Etruscan mythology, whose name has not yet been ascertained, but who bears some analogy to the Typhon of Egyptian and Greek mythology. See Chap. XVIII.

³ Gori *Mus. Etr.* II. p. 236. Inghirami *Mon. Etrus.* I. p. 160. Some have imagined that the dolphins so frequently introduced on Etruscan sepulchral monuments have reference to the story of Dionysos, told by the Homeridan Hymn to that god, who when seized by some Tyrrhene pirates, assumed the form of a lion (v. 44), or as Apollodorus has it, turned the mast and oars into serpents, and filled the ship with

emblematic of the maritime power of the Etruscans, the "sea-kings" of antiquity.¹ The rolling border beneath them represents the waves, in which they are supposed to be sporting—

circum clari delphines in orbem
Æquora verrebant caudis, æstumque secabant.

Next to the Typhon-head is a large jar, sketched on the wall, out of which two serpents with forked tongues are rising. These confirm the demoniacal character of that head; for the deities or genii of Etruscan mythology are very commonly represented with these reptiles bound round their brows or waists, or brandishing them in their hands, and sometimes, as in this case, having them by their side. That snakes were also made use of by the Etruscan priests and soothsayers, as by the Egyptian, to establish their credit for superior powers in the minds of the people, as evincing control over the most deadly and untractable creatures in existence, may be learned from the painted tombs, as well as from history;² and it is possible that those used in the service of the temples were kept in such jars as this.³

ivy and the music of pipes, which so terrified the crew that they leaped into the sea, and were transformed to dolphins. Apollod. III. 5, 3. cf. Ovid. Met. III. 575, *et seq.* Serv. Æn. I. 67. Hyginus, 134. Nonnus, Dionys. XLV. p. 1164. ed. Hanov. 1605. Eurip. Cycl. 112. But it is clear that these pirates were Tyrrhene Pelasgi, of the Lydian coast, not Etruscans. See Niebuhr, I. p. 42. Müller, Etrus. einl. 2, 4, and I. 4, 4. The dolphin was called from this fable—Tyrrhenus piscis—Seneca, Agam. 451. cf. Stat. Achil. I. 56. The dolphin is also an emblem of Apollo, who once assumed its form, and drove a ship from Crete to Crissa. Hom. Hym. Apol. 401, *et seq.*

¹ *Τυρρῆνοι θαλαττοκρατοῦντες.* Diod. Sic. V. pp. 295, 316. Strabo V. p. 222.

² Livy (VII. 17) records that the Etruscan priests made use of these animals to strike terror into their foes. See also Florus. I. 12, and Front. Strat. II. 4, 17.

³ The serpent was an object of divination among the Romans (Ælian. Nat. An. XI. cap. 16.), and probably also among the Etruscans, as it still continues to be among certain people of Asia and Africa. Serpents were worshipped by the Egyptians, and cherished in their temples, says Ælian (X. cap. 31, XI. 17, XVII. 5), and the Greeks kept representations of them in the temples of Bacchus (Schol. ad Aristoph. Plut. III. sc. 2, 690), probably because this reptile was a symbol of regeneration and renovation; though some would account for its connection with Bacchus, by its habit of frequenting vineyards. Ann. Inst. 1840, p. 135. The serpent is also a well-known emblem of

266 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

In this tomb was found the curious sarcophagus, now in the British Museum, of temple-shape, with a pair of serpents in knotted coils on the roof; and it appears highly probable, from this and other adornments of the sarcophagus, as well as from the serpent-jar painted on the wall, that this was the sepulchre of some *augur* or *aruspex*, some priest skilled in the mysteries of "the Etruscan Discipline," and in interpreting the will of Heaven. His name, we learn from his sarcophagus, was Vel. Urinates, a family name met

Apollo, of his son Æsculapius, and of Minerva in her character of Hygieia.

The Romans also connected the serpent with the worship of the Lares; this reptile being always found on the Lararia of the houses at Pompeii. The serpent indeed seems to have been used by the Romans as a mark of sacredness. They were wont to paint it on walls for the same purpose that the modern Italians paint crosses or souls in purgatory.

Pinge duos angues : pueri, locus est sacer : extra, &c.

says Persius (Sat. I. 113). Whether it be a traditional custom, or a mere coincidence, I know not, but the modern Italians, especially the Romans, are very fond of chalking huge serpents on walls, generally chained to a post.

Serpents were regarded by the ancients as *genii* of the place where they were found; or as ministers to the dead; as when Æneas sees one issue from the tomb of his father he was

Incertus geniumne loci, famulumne parentis
Esse putet.—Æn. V. 95.

So also Val. Flacc. Argon. III. 458.—Umbrarum famuli. So says Isidore (Orig. XII. 4)—Angues apud gentiles, pro *geniis* locorum erant habiti semper. Seneca (de Irâ II. 31) speaks of them at banquets, gliding among the goblets on the table; so also Virgil describes the serpent mentioned above, taking part in the funeral feast (Æn. V. 90).

—agmine longo

Tandem inter pateras et levia pocula serpens,
Libavitque dapes.

cf. Val. Flacc. loc. cit. Gerhard (Ann. Inst. 1833, p. 350) thinks the serpent was introduced on the painted vases, often as a simple expression of fear; but is it not enough that it was a funereal emblem, the vases being sepulchral furniture? Yet it is certain that the serpent was often made use of to inspire awe and terror—the Furies being described or delineated by the ancients, as having these reptiles bound about their brows, or as brandishing them in their hands. See Chapter XVIII. Inghirami (Mon. Etr. VI. p. 16), who is very fond of astronomical interpretation, thinks the serpent on Etruscan monuments indicates the time of the annual *inferie*, held at the autumnal equinox, when the sun approached the constellation of Serpentarius.

with in other parts of Etruria ; and his portrait is probably still seen on the right-hand wall.¹

From the freedom of the sketches on the walls, from the Greek character of the ornaments,² and the peculiar style of the sarcophagus, this tomb cannot be of very early date. It must be some centuries later than the Grotta Campana at Veii, coeval with most of the urns of Volterra, possibly subsequent to the conquest of Etruria, though betraying no foreign influence, save in its style of art, and the character of its adornments.

This is the only painted tomb yet found in this necropolis — not one in four or five hundred Etruscan sepulchres being so decorated. The generality on this site are quadrilateral, of moderate size, with a broad ledge or bench of rock round three sides, on which lay the bodies, sometimes in sarcophagi, sometimes uncoffined, with a lamp of terra-cotta or bronze at the head of each ; and weapons, vases, and other sepulchral furniture around. These benches were occasionally hollowed into sarcophagi, which were covered by large sun-burnt tiles, three feet or more in length, precisely like those used at the present day in Italy. Body-niches, so common at Sutri, Civita Castellana, and Falleri, are seldom found on this site ; and even small niches for lamps or vases are rare. I observed one tomb under the town-walls, which seems to have been circular, with a pillar in the centre—the usual form of the sepulchres of Volterra. In some instances, sarcophagi have been found not in tombs, but sunk like our modern coffins, a few feet below the surface

¹ For a description of this sarcophagus, see Note II. in the Appendix. Urinates is inscribed on a rock-tomb at Castel d'Asso. It occurs also among the Etruscan family names of Perugia. Muller (*Etrusk. I. p. 455*) is of opinion that, like Etruscan names in general with this termination, it is a derivative from some place, which, in this case, would be Urinum. The tomb is 18 ft. long by 15 wide, and nearly 7 high in the middle ; the ceiling is cut as usual into the form of the roof of a house, with a beam in relief along the centre, and rafters sloping from it downwards on either side. The floor is said to have been covered with cement (Vittori, p. 35). The walls are coated with a fine white stucco to receive the colour, not here, as at Veii and Chiusi, laid on the rock itself.

² The wave ornament is at once recognized as Greek. On the right-hand wall is an *anthemion* or honeysuckle of large size, with buds alternately black and red : a similar flower is painted on the inner wall depending from the end of the beam of the ceiling.

268 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

of the ground, covered with large tiles, or stone slabs. These were for the bodies of the poor. At this site they did not always bury their dead; for vases are often found containing calcined ashes.¹

As every necropolis in Etruria has its peculiar style of tomb, so there is a variety also in the character of the sepulchral furniture. On this site the beautiful painted vases of Vulci and Tarquinii are not common; those, however, of the later style, with yellow figures, are not so rare as the more archaic, with black on a yellow ground; and it is singular that few or none have more than two handles, while at Vulci and Tarquinii vases with three are very common. Though figured *pateræ* and *tazze* are found on this site, they are rarely in a high style of art. Articles of bronze, often of great richness and beauty, are peculiarly abundant; and are far more valuable, as proofs of native skill and records of the Etruscan mythological creed, showing comparatively little of that Hellenic character so predominant in the painted pottery. They consist principally of helmets, mostly gilt, shields, greaves, and other portions of armour; vases, frequently gilt; *specchj*, or mirrors, often beautifully figured with scenes from the Etruscan mythology; tripods and *candelabra*; and long thin plates of this metal gilt, covered with designs in relief. Besides these, have been found swords and bows of steel. But the most remarkable article in bronze here found is a circular shield, about three feet in diameter, with a lance-thrust in it, and its lining of wood, and braces of leather still remaining, after the lapse of more than 2000 years. Do you doubt this? Go to the Gregorian Museum, and behold it suspended on the walls; for the Pope purchased it of Signor Ruggieri, the fortunate excavator, for the sum of 600 *scudi*, an immense price for Italy. It was found suspended from the wall, near the sarcophagus of its owner, and the rest of his armour hung there with it – his embossed helmet, and his greaves of bronze, and his wooden-hilted sword of steel. In one tomb on this site a

¹ One tomb in this necropolis, now unfortunately reclosed, was remarkable for a peculiar connection between it and its contents. Over one of its doorways was inscribed "PELE" (Peleus) in Etruscan characters, and just below it stood a painted vase, bearing the subject of Peleus seizing Thetis (Bull. Inst. 1831, p. 6, Fossati and Manzi); though this statement has been denied by Ruggieri (loc. cit. p. 90), and questioned by Orioli (Ann. Inst. 1833, p. 49).

skeleton was discovered still retaining fragments of its shroud; and in another a purple mantle was found covering two vases and a garland of box!¹ In a third was a little cup of ordinary ware, but bearing on its foot an inscription, which proved to be no other than the Etruscan alphabet. What was the meaning of it in such a situation is hard to say—to us it is suggestive only of a present to a child. Though originally of little worth, it is now a rare treasure, being the sole instance yet found of an alphabet in the Etruscan character.² Here is a fac-simile of it—



All these articles are now in the possession of the Prince Borghese. The fullest description of the excavations at Bomarzo will be found in the work of Don Luigi Vittori, arch-priest of the village.³

We returned to Viterbo by the direct road along the foot of the Ciminian Mount. It presents many picturesque combinations of rock and wood, with striking views of the Etruscan plain, and the snow-capt mountains of Cetona and Amiata in the horizon. This district is said to be rich in

¹ Vittori, Mem. Polim. p. 38.

² A little pot was discovered at Cervetri some few years since, inscribed with an alphabet and primer; and a tomb at Colle, near Volterra, opened two or three centuries ago, had a somewhat similar epigraph on its walls. But in both those cases the letters were determined to be Pelasgic, not Etruscan. Here, however, is an alphabet, which is admitted to be in the latter character. The order adopted is singular. In Roman letters it runs thus:—A, C, E, V, Z, H, TH, I, L, M, N, P, S, R, S, T, U, 'II, CH, PH. The fifth, or the *zeta*, is of a very rare form. I have only seen it twice elsewhere of this form—in an inscription of Chiusi (Museo Chiusino, II. p. 222), where it is reversed, and on a fibula of gold in the possession of Cav. Campana. Bull. Inst. 1846, p. 8. The usual form of the Etruscan *zeta* is ζ. It will be observed that there are two *thetas*; the ante-penultimate letter in the alphabet may also be a *phi*. The difference between the two *sigmas* is supposed by Lepsius to consist in the first being accented, and the other not—but they are often used indifferently in the same word.

³ For other particulars regarding the tombs and excavations on this site, I refer the reader to the publications of the Archæological Institute of Rome. Annali dell' Inst. 1831, p. 116 (Gerhard); 1832, p. 284. (Camilli); 1832, p. 269 (Lenoir); Bullettini dell' Inst. 1830, p. 233. (Camilli); 1831, p. 6. (Fossati and Manzi); p. 85; p. 90; 1832, p. 195; 1834, p. 50. (Gerhard).

270 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

remains of Etruscan roads, sepulchres, and buildings.¹ I observed in one spot a singular line of rocks, which, at a short distance, seemed to be Cyclopean walls, but proved to be a natural arrangement;² and I remarked some traces of an ancient road; but beyond this, I saw nothing—no tombs or other remains of Etruscan antiquity. About two miles from Viterbo is the village of Bagnaja, with the celebrated Villa Lante, and thence the curious in natural phenomena may ascend to the Menicatore, or rocking-stone, near the summit of the mountain—an enormous block of *peperino*, about twenty-two feet long, twenty wide, and nine high, calculated to weigh more than two hundred and twenty tons, and yet easily moved with a slight lever.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XIV

NOTE I.—POLIMARTIUM.

THE Padre Luigi Vittori, arch-priest of Bomarzo, who has recently published a monograph on that town, translates Polimartium as signifying “city of Mars;” and from this confessedly hybrid etymology deduces its “purely Etruscan origin,” as indicating a language composed of roots partly Greek and partly Latin! (*Memorie di Polimarzio*, p. 10). The worthy arch-priest is bent on referring this name to Pagan times, though we might have expected one of his cloth to have looked for a Christian origin. How came it that he never happened to hit on πολλοὶ μάρτυρες? Surely “many martyrs” are as likely to have had part in the nomenclature of a town, whose origin can only be traced to the early ages of our era, as “many Marses” (*plures Martes*), which another antiquary opines may be the etymology of Polimartium, derived from the many battles which may (or may not) have been fought upon the site. The latter etymology, by the way, may also be rendered “many ferrets” or “polecats”—too odorous a version, as Mrs. Malaprop

¹ Ann. Instit. 1832, p. 282 (Knapp).

² It must be these same rocks which are mentioned in the *Memorie dell' Istituto* (l. pp. 79, 83), as Cyclopean walls existing about half-way on the road to Bomarzo.

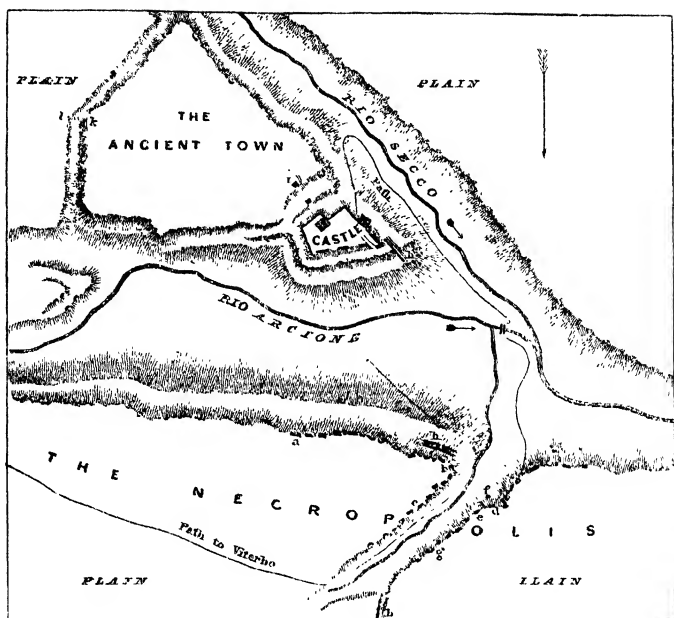
At Corviano, about three miles from Bomarzo, on this road, there is said to be a singular tomb, composed of a very long corridor lined with masonry, ending in a narrow passage which terminates in a well. On the corridor open four chambers. Orioli, who describes it, could not pronounce whether it was Etruscan, Roman, or of the Low Empire. (ap. Ingh. IV. p. 189, tav. XXXXI. 2.) The passage and shaft are quite Etruscan features.

would say, for native nostrils. The name of Mæonia certainly has a traditional habitation in this district, as may be seen by medieval documents, and by the appellation long given to the site of this Etruscan town, Pian Meano, or Pian Meoniano, as Vittori (p. 9) has it. Perhaps those are not far out who have traced Meonia in the village of Mugnano, though Vittori is loath to admit this, as he claims for this town near Bomarzo, the honour of representing Mæonia—a city which he strives to prove was the original seat of the Lydians in Etruria; though, as already shown (*ut supra*, p. 216), there is no evidence in ancient writers of a city of this name existing in the land.

NOTE II.—SARCOPHAGUS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

This sarcophagus is unique. It seems from the sloping roof, joint-tiles and antefixæ, to have represented a house or temple, yet nothing like a door is visible. The lid has a winged sphinx at each end of the ridge, and in the middle is a pair of serpents curiously knotted together like ropes. The antefixæ are female heads, probably Larvæ, as on the black pottery of Chiusi and Sarteano. At each end of the monument are griffons, or beasts of prey, devouring antelopes, and on the sides at each angle is a figure, also in relief, one representing Charun with his hammer and a crested snake in his hand; another, a winged female genius, with a drawn sword; a third, a similar figure, with an open scroll; and the fourth, a warrior, with sword and shield. The whole was originally covered with stucco and coloured, and traces of red, black, and blue, may still be detected. The name—Vel Urinates—is inscribed on one side just beneath the lid.

A plate of it is given, Mon. Ined. Instit. I. tav. XLII. For some observations on its adornments, see an article by Professor Migliarini, Ann. Inst. 1843, p. 367, *et seq.*



PLAN OF CASTEL D'ASSO AND ITS NECROPOLIS.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <i>a</i> The Great Tomb. | <i>h</i> Ancient roads hewn in the rock. |
| <i>b</i> Tomb with inscription. | <i>i</i> Tomb and Sewer opening in one. |
| <i>c</i> Do. (Ceives). | <i>k</i> Fragment of ancient walling. |
| <i>d</i> Do. (Urinates). | <i>l</i> Site of ancient gate. |
| <i>e</i> Do. (Titnei). | — — Tombs with façades. |
| <i>f</i> Fallen mass of cornice belonging to <i>e</i> . | — — Caves, formerly tombs. |
| <i>g</i> Tomb with buttresses. | |

CHAPTER XV

CASTEL D'ASSO.—*CASTELLUM AXIA*

Sovr' a' sepolti le tombe terragne
 Portan segnato quel ch' elli eran pria.—DANTE. Puig.
 Here man's departed steps are traced
 But by his dust amid the solitude.—HEMANS.

THE best guide to the Etruscan antiquities of Viterbo and its neighbourhood, is Ruggieri, a *caffettiere* of that city who,

though a master-excavator himself, will condescend, for a consideration, to act the cicerone. As he happened to be on his travels, we provided ourselves with the second-best guide Viterbo could afford, in the person of a meagre barber, Giuseppe Perugini by name, with none of the garrulity and vivacity of Figaro, that type of tonsorial excellence, but taciturn, solemn, and grave as a cat, if there be truth in the proverb—

Chi sempre ride è matto,
Chi mai è di natura di gatto.

Under his auspices we made several excursions to Castel d'Asso,¹ an Etruscan necropolis, which has already been made known to the English public by the lively description of Mrs. Hamilton Gray. It is about five miles to the west of Viterbo, and can be reached by the light vehicles of the country, though more easily on horseback.

From the gate of Viterbo, the road descends between low cliffs, here and there hollowed into sepulchres. At the extremity of this cleft is a large cave, called Grotta di Riello, once a sepulchre, and a spot long approached with mysterious awe, as the depository of hidden treasure guarded by demons. But a small Virgin having been erected at the corner of the road hard by, the worthy Viterbesi can now pass on their daily or nightly avocations without let or hindrance from spiritual foe. The same evil report is given of another sepulchral cavern, not far off, called Grotta del Cataletto.

About a mile and a half from Viterbo we entered on the open heath, and here columns of steam, issuing from the ground by the road-side, marked the Bulicame, a hot sulphureous spring, which has the honour of having been sung by Dante.² It is apparently in a boiling state, but is not of

¹ It is first found under this name in the works of Annio of Viterbo. Orioli (Ann. dell' Inst. 1833, p. 23) asserts that its true name is Castellaccio, as it has always been, and is still, so called by the lower orders of Viterbo; but the Chevalier Bunsen, on the other hand, maintains that, though there is a ruined tower some miles distant called Castellaccio, this site is always mentioned by the shepherds and peasantry as Castel d'Asso. Bullett. dell' Inst. '1833, p. 97. My own experience agrees with that of Orioli, and I have found peasants who did not understand the name of Castel d'Asso, but instantly comprehended what I meant by Castellaccio.

² Inferno, XII. 117, and XIV. 79.

274 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

intolerable heat.¹ It is inclosed by a circular wall, and is carried off in small channels, and flows steaming across the plain. This is almost the only active intimation of those latent fires which, in past ages, have deposited the strata of this district. It lies midway between the Lake of Bolsena and that of Vico, both craters of extinct volcanoes. The high temperature and medicinal qualities of these waters have given rise to baths in their neighbourhood, and from the many ruins around, there seem to have been similar edifices in former ages, at least as far back as Roman times.

We were now on the great Etruscan plain, which was here and there darkened by wood, but unenlivened by towns or villages; no habitations visible on its vast expanse save the distant towers of Toscanella, and a lonely farm-house or crumbling ruin studding its surface at wide intervals. Our guide being then new in his trade—he knows it better now—mistook one of these ruins for another, and, after wandering a long time over the moor, fairly confessed he was at fault.

*Si tienes boca
No digas à otro sopla -*

Have you a mouth of your own?—
Never say to another, blow on!

So we took the road, as the Spaniards say, into our own hands, and with much difficulty, in consequence of the numerous ravines with which the plain is intersected, reached the brink of the wide glen of Castel d'Asso. Just opposite the ruined castle of this name we found a smaller glen, opening at right angles into the large one, and here we descended, and presently came upon the object of our search. Tomb after tomb, hewn out of the cliffs, on either hand—a street of sepulchres; all with a strong house-like character! They were unlike any Etruscan tombs I had yet seen; not simply opening in the cliffs as at Sutri and

¹ Fazio degli Uberti, in his *Dittamundi*, lib. III. cap. 10, says it is so hot, that in less time than a man can walk a quarter of a mile, you may boil all the flesh off a sheep, so as to leave it a mere skeleton—

“Ma gittato un monton dentro sì cosse
In men che un huom andasse un quarto miglio
Ch' altro non se vedea che propie l' osse.”

The heat is said to be not greater than 50° Reaumur. *Ann. Inst.* 1835, p. 5.

Civita Castellana, nor fronted with arched porticoes as at Falleri, but hewn into square architectural façades, with bold cornices and mouldings in high relief, and many with inscriptions graven on their fronts, in the striking characters and mysterious language of Etruria.

I can well understand the impressive effect such a scene is calculated to produce on a sensitive mind, especially on those to whom an Etruscan necropolis is a novel spectacle. The solemnity of the site—the burial-place of long-past generations, of a people of mysterious origin and indefinite antiquity—their empty sepulchres yawning at our feet, yet their monuments still standing, in eternal memorial of their extinct civilization, and their epitaphs mocking their dust that has long ago been trampled under foot or scattered to the winds—all this cannot fail to excite reflection. Then the loneliness, seclusion, and utter stillness of the scene—the absence of all habitation—nothing but the ruined and picturesque castle on the opposite precipice, and the grand dark mass of the Ciminian, looking down on the glen—tend to make this more imposing than other cemeteries which are in the immediate neighbourhood of modern habitations.

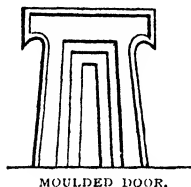
As I advanced down the glen I found that the tombs continued round the face of the cliffs, on either hand, into the great valley, in a line opposite the ruined castle. There might be thirty or forty of them—not all, however, preserving their monumental façades—occupying an extent of cliff nearly half a mile in length.¹

The façades are formed by the face of the cliffs being hewn to a smooth surface, save where the decorations are left in relief; the height of the cliff being that of the monuments, which vary, in this respect, from twelve to thirty feet. The imposing effect of these tombs is perhaps increased by their form, which is like that of Egyptian edifices and Doric doorways, narrower above than below, the front also retreating from the perpendicular—a form ordinarily associated in our minds with the remotest antiquity. Still more of Egyptian character is seen in the massive horizontal cornices, which, however, depart from that type in receding,

¹ Oriolo (ap. Inghir. Mon. Etrus. IV. p. 175) makes it to be a mile and a half in length, but the learned Professor has here decidedly stretched a point. A general view of the monuments in the small glen is given in Mon. Ined. Inst. I. tav. 60.

276 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

instead of projecting from the plane of the façade.¹ These cornices, in many instances, are carried round the sides of the monument, and even where this is not the case, each tomb is quite isolated from its neighbours; a broad upright groove, or a flight of steps cut in the rock, and leading to the plain above, marking the separation. In the centre of each façade is a rod-moulding, describing the outline of a door; in some instances having panels recessed one within



MOULDED DOOR.

the other, as in the annexed woodcut. This is not the entrance, but merely the frontispiece to the tomb, and the title is generally engraved on the lower and most prominent *fascia*, or, in some cases, on the flat surface of the façade just over the moulded door.² The letters are seldom six inches in height, though, from the depth of their intaglio,

they can be read in the sunshine from a considerable distance. Not half the tombs have inscriptions. and not all of these are legible; yet, in proportion to the number of monuments, there are more inscribed façades at Castel d'Asso than in any other Etruscan necropolis, save, perhaps, Sovana. Most of these inscriptions seem to indicate the name of the individual or family buried below, but there are others, the precise meaning of which can be only conjectured.³

So much for the title-page of these sepulchres. The preface comes next, in the form of a chamber hollowed in the

¹ The mouldings of the cornice are the torus, the fascia, the ogee, and the *becco di civetta*, or lip-moulding, generally arranged in the same relative order, but varying considerably in proportions and boldness. See the Appendix, Note I.

² This system of false doors in the façades of tombs, obtains in the ancient rock-hewn sepulchres of Phrygia, which, indeed, have many other points of analogy with these of Etruria (see Steuart's *Ancient Monuments of Lydia and Phrygia*, Lond. 1842), and also in those of Lycia, which have often recessed panellings. See Sir C. Fellows' works, and the monuments from Xanthus now in the British Museum. Moulded doorways often occur also in Egyptian monuments, and sometimes with recessed panellings, as in the above woodcut; as on a granite sarcophagus in the Museum of Leyden. Orioli (*Ann. Inst.* 1833, p. 29) takes such panellings to represent a series of inner chambers, seen in perspective.

³ All the inscriptions that remain legible will be given in the Appendix, Note II.

rock, receding, in most instances, a little from the face of the monument above it, and vaulted half over, by the rock being left to project at the base of the façade. The front seems to have been always open.¹ On the inner wall, and directly beneath the moulded door of the façade, is a similar false door, sometimes with a niche in its centre.² Here the funeral feast may have been held; or the corpse may have been laid out in this chamber, before its transfer to its last resting-place in the sepulchre beneath; or here the surviving relatives may have assembled to perform their annual festivities in honour of the dead; and the niche may have held a lamp, a *cippus*, or a vase of perfume to destroy the effluvia, or in it may have been left an offering to the infernal deities, or to the *manes* of the deceased.

Directly beneath this second moulded door, is the real entrance to the sepulchre, generally twenty, sometimes thirty or forty feet below the upper moulding. It is approached by a narrow and shelving passage, cut through the rock in front of the monument, running down at an angle of about forty degrees, and originally cut into steps. The door, like the false ones above it, tapers upwards, but is often arched. Forcing my way down these passages, mostly choked with rocks and bushes, and squeezing my body through the doorways, now often nearly reclosed with earth, by the aid of a taper, without which nothing would have been visible, I explored most of the sepulchres. They are now half filled with earth, and I had to crawl on all-fours, over upturned sarcophagi, fragments of pottery, and the bones and dust of the ancient dead.

The tombs are of various sizes, some very spacious, others extremely small—all rudely hollowed in the rock, and most of a quadrilateral form. The ceilings are generally flat, though sometimes slightly vaulted; but I do not recollect an instance of beams and rafters in relief, so common in other cemeteries. The resemblance to houses is here external only. Some have the usual ledges of rock against the walls for the support of sarcophagi; in others are double

¹ Some of the smaller tombs are without this open chamber, and have the entrance-passage immediately below the façade. This intermediate chamber is a feature almost peculiar to the tombs of Castel d'Asso, and Norchia. It is seen also in the Grotta Colonna.

² As in the woodcut in Chap. XVII. page 309.

*



VALLEY OF TOMBS, CASTEL D'ASSO.

rows of coffins, sunk in the rock, side by side, with a narrow passage down the middle, like beds in an hospital or work-house, or, as Orioli suggests, like the bones in a fish's spine. In one tomb these sunken sarcophagi radiate from the centre. The bodies being laid in these hollows were probably covered with tiles.

I was greatly surprised at the studied economy of space displayed in these sepulchres—a fact which entirely sets aside the notion that none but the most illustrious of the nation were here interred. The truth is, that the tombs with the largest and grandest façades have generally the meanest interiors. The last tomb in the great glen, in the direction of Viterbo, is externally the largest of all, and a truly magnificent monument, its façade rising nearly thirty feet above the upper chamber;¹ and it is natural to conclude that it was appropriated to some great chieftain, hero, or high-priest; yet, like all its neighbours, it was not a mausoleum for a single individual but a family-vault, for it contains eight or ten sarcophagi of *nenfro*. Unlike the figure-lidded sarcophagi and urns, so common in Etruscan cemeteries, these correspond with the tombs themselves in their simple, massive, and archaic character. They have no bas-reliefs or other ornaments, and, in their general form, are not unlike the stone coffins of early England.² I did not observe a single instance of a niche within the tomb itself, but in the wall of the passage, just outside the door, there is often one, which was probably for the *cippus*, inscribed with the name of the family to whom the sepulchre belonged.

From their exposed position, there is every reason to conclude that these tombs, like those of Sutri, Civita Castellana, and Falleri, were rifled at a very early period. As soon as the sacredness attaching to them as the resting-place of the dead had worn off, they must have fallen a prey to plunderers. Then their site being always indicated by their superincumbent monuments, whatever of their contents the earlier spoilers might have spared must inevitably have

¹ It is seen on the right hand in the illustration on opposite page, which shows the range of cliff-hewn tombs in the glen opposite the Castle.

² They are about 7 ft. in length. The penthouse form of lid of these sarcophagi is said to be that usual in those of Lydia and Phrygia. Stuart, p. 5.

280 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

been carried off or destroyed by those of subsequent ages. It is absurd to expect that anything of value should be found in our own day in these open tombs. But in others excavated of late years in the plain above, have been found various articles of metal, *specchj* with figures and inscriptions, tripods, vases, large studs representing lions' heads, besides articles of gold and jewellery, scarabei, &c., with painted vases, some of great beauty and archaic Greek design.¹

Only one tomb did I perceive which, in any striking particular, varied from those already described. It is in the narrow glen. On each side of the false door of the façade is a squared buttress projecting at right angles, and cut out of the rock which formed the roof of the upper and open chamber. These buttresses are surmounted by cornices, and have a small door-moulding on their inner sides, like that on the façade. The sepulchre itself, in this instance, is of an unusual form—elliptical. Orioli has described a singular sepulchre at Castel d'Asso, which differs wholly from those already mentioned, being a cavity for a body, sunk in the surface of the plain and surrounded by an ornamental pattern, cut in the tufo.² I looked in vain for this; but nearly opposite the castle, I remarked a deep well or shaft sunk in the plain, which, I have little doubt, was the entrance to a tomb, such as exist at Férénto. There can be no doubt, from the analogy of other sites, and from the excavations already made, that sepulchres abound beneath the surface of the plain.

In a country like our own, where intelligence is so widely diffused, and news travels with telegraphic rapidity, it were scarcely possible that monuments of former ages, of the most striking character, should exist in the open air, be seen daily by the peasantry, and yet remain unknown to the rest of the world for many ages. So it is, however, in Italy.

¹ Orioli, Ann. Inst. 1833, p. 33, and ap. Inghir. Mon. Etrus. IV. p. 188. Urlichs, Bull. Inst. 1839, p. 75. The best vases here found were two amphoræ with black figures—one representing Hercules and the boar of Erymanthus, the other Minerva in a quadriga. The former was in the possession of Thorwaldsen. Abeken (Mittelitalien, p. 256) is mistaken in supposing these articles were found in the façaded tombs.

² Orioli, ap. Inghir. Mon. Etr. IV. p. 189, tav. XXXIX. 3. The same writer (p. 209) speaks of a tomb on this site, which had two *phalli* scratched on its walls. I did not perceive such symbols in any of these tombs.

Here is a site abounding in most imposing remains of the olden time, bearing at every step indisputable traces of by-gone civilization, scarcely six miles from the great thoroughfare of Italy, and from Viterbo, the largest city in all this district; and yet it remained unknown to the world at large till the year 1808, when Professor Orioli, of Bologna, and the Padre Pio Semeria, of the Minerva, Viterbo, had their attention directed to the wonders of this glen, almost at the very threshold of the latter.¹ I am persuaded that Italy is not yet half explored—that very much remains to be brought to light; a persuasion founded on such discoveries as this, which are still, from time to time, being made, of which I may cite the Etruscan necropolis of Sovana, recently discovered by my fellow-traveller, Mr. Ainsley—even more remarkable than this of Castel d'Asso—and sundry monuments of the same antiquity, which it has been my lot to make known to the world. In fact, ruins and remains of ancient art are of so common occurrence in Italy as to excite no particular attention. To whatever age they may belong—medieval, Imperial, Republican, or ante-historical—the peasant knows them only as "*muraccia*," and he shelters his flock amid their walls, ploughs the land around them, daily slumbers beneath their shade, or even dwells within their precincts from year to year; and the world at large knows no more of their existence than if they were situated in the heart of the Great Desert.

The general style of these monuments—their simplicity and massive grandeur, and strong Egyptian features—testify to their high antiquity; and this is confirmed by the remarkable plainness of the sarcophagi, and by the archaic character of the rest of their furniture, as far as it is possible to judge of it.²

¹ The gentleman who has the honour of having indicated the site to Orioli, is Signor Luigi Anselmi, of Viterbo, who is well stored with local antiquarian knowledge. He has also made excavations in the necropolis of Castel d'Asso. The place had been long known as the site of a ruined castle, and was even mentioned under its present name by Annio of Viterbo, in the fifteenth century; indeed, the name is painted on the ceiling of the principal hall of the Palazzo Comunale, at Viterbo, which must be more than 200 years old (Orioli, *Ann. Inst.* 1833, p. 24), but it was not known to be the site of an Etruscan necropolis till the year 1808.

² Orioli (*ap. Inghir. Mon. Etrus. IV. p. 207*) considers these tombs, as well as the similar ones at Norchia, to be not anterior to the fourth

282 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

This ancient cemetery clearly implies the existence of an Etruscan town in its near neighbourhood; and the eye of the antiquary needs not the extant remains to point out the site on the opposite cliff, just at that part where a tongue of land is formed in the plateau, by the intersection of a deep glen opening obliquely into the great valley. Here, accordingly, beside numerous remains of the middle ages, to which the castle wholly belongs, may be traced the outline of a town, almost utterly destroyed, indeed, but, on one side, towards the east, retaining a fragment of its walls in several courses of rectangular tufo blocks, uncemented, which have every appearance of an Etruscan origin. The site is worthy of a visit for the fine view it commands of the tomb-hewn cliffs opposite. The extent of the town, which is clearly marked by the nature of the ground, was very small, about half a mile in circuit. What may have been its ancient name is not easy to determine. By some it has been conjectured to be the *Fanum Voltumnæ*, the shrine of the great goddess of the Etruscans, where the princes of Etruria were wont to meet in a grand national council; but it has already been shown that Viterbo has stronger claims to that honour, and still stronger will hereafter be urged for another site. It has been conceived, and I think with high probability, that it may be the site of the *Castellum Axia*, mentioned by Cicero.¹ Its very small size shows it could

or fifth century of Rome. They must be rather earlier than later, and must be referred, I think, to a period before the independence of Etruria was threatened by the encroachments of her neighbours.

¹ Cluver (II. p. 521) could not determine the site of *Castellum Axia*; but Mariani (de Etrur. Metrop. p. 45) as early as 1728, declared it to be Castel d'Asso. Orioli (ap. Inghir. Mon. Etrus. IV. p. 176) at first held this opinion, but afterwards (Ann. Instit. 1833, p. 24) renounced it; I cannot think on adequate grounds. The reason he assigns for changing his opinion is, that Castel d'Asso is too distant from Tarquinii to be included within its territory, as the *Castellum Axia* seems to have been. (Cic. pro Cæcinâ; compare cap. IV. and VII.) But this is no valid objection, for Tarquinii, as the metropolis of the land, most probably had a more extended *ager* than usual; besides the lake of Bolsena, which is equally remote from that city, is called by Pliny (Nat. His. II. 95),—*lacus Tarquiniensis*—and by Vitruvius (II. 7) is said to be—in *finibus Tarquiniensium*. If the strong resemblance of the name, the agreement in the distance from Rome, said by Cicero (loc. cit. cap. X.) to be less than 53 miles (*i. e.* by the *Via Cassia*), as well as in the position on a height (cap. VII.), be taken into account, there seems a high probability that this is really the site of the *Castellum Axia*. Stephanus of Byzantium mentions *Axia* as a city of Italy.

never have been more than a mere fortress. This could have been only its Roman name; as to its Etruscan appellation, we are still at a loss. It is not improbable, however, that it bore a somewhat similar name in Etruscan times. Acsi we know, from a tomb at Perugia, to have been a family name among that people; and it was not uncommon for them, as well as the Romans and other nations, to derive proper names from those of countries, cities, towns, or rivers.

At the mouth of the wide glen of Castel d'Asso, is a mass of rock hewn into a sort of cone, and hollowed into a tomb, with a flight of steps cut out of the rock at the side, leading to the flat summit of the cone, which, it is conjectured, was surmounted by a statue.¹ About a mile from Castel d'Asso is a very fine tomb, with decorated front, called Grotta Colonna,² which is near enough to have formed part of this same necropolis; and two or three miles further west from Viterbo, at a site called Castel Cardinale, or Macchia del Conte, is a remarkable tomb, of similar character to those of Castel d'Asso, but with square holes like windows in its façade.

¹ Lenoir, *Annali dell' Inst.* 1832, p. 276. See also *Mon. Ined.* *Inst.* I. tav. XLI. 15.

² The Grotta Colonna is very spacious—nearly 70 feet long by 16 wide. It contains a double row of coffins sunk in the rock, with a passage down the middle. Orioli, *ap. Ingh.* *Mon. Etr.* IV. pp. 197, 218. See also *tav. XXXVIII.* 3.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XV

NOTE I.—MOULDINGS.

FIG. 1 shows the moulding of the façade of the great tomb, mentioned at page 279. This

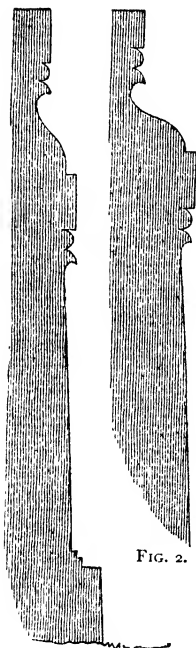


FIG. 2.

FIG. 1.



FIG. 3.

arrangement is that generally followed at Castel d'Asso, but with varieties in the proportions of the parts, and in the boldness of the general character—as seen in fig. 2. A few of the monuments are moulded as in fig. 3; but this arrangement, in which a half-torus is substituted for the ogee and upper lip-moulding, is more common at Norchia, where, however, the former system also obtains. These three mouldings are not on an uniform scale. All the façades on this site fall slightly back, as in the annexed cuts.

The specimens of mouldings from this necropolis, published by Sir W. Gell, and copied by Mrs. Hamilton Gray, are extremely incorrect: though Sir William flattered himself that they were “the only specimens of real Etruscan mouldings that have ever been seen in our country.” He copied them from Inghirami, *Mon. Etrus.*

IV. tav. 34, who is also incorrect in tav. 35, 36, but much better in tav. 38, 40, 42.

NOTE II.—INSCRIPTIONS.

The inscriptions at Castel d'Asso are the following, which I give in Roman letters:—On a tomb on the left of the small glen, “ARNTHAL CEISES.”

On one at the mouth of this glen on the same side is “ECASUTH . . .” which is but the commencement of the inscription.

On a tomb on the opposite side of the glen, “. . . . RINATE . . . LVIES” . Orioli (Ann. Inst. 1833, pp. 31-2) reads it “URINATES . . . LVIES”. . The initial of the first word was very probably U, as the name Urinate occurs in other inscriptions—the sarcophagus from Bomarzo, for instance, now in the British Museum. See page 266.

Near this is a tomb, part of whose cornice has fallen. On the fragment yet standing, you read “ECASU;” and on the prostrate mass is the rest of the inscription, “INESL. TITNIE,” so that the inscription, when entire, read thus :

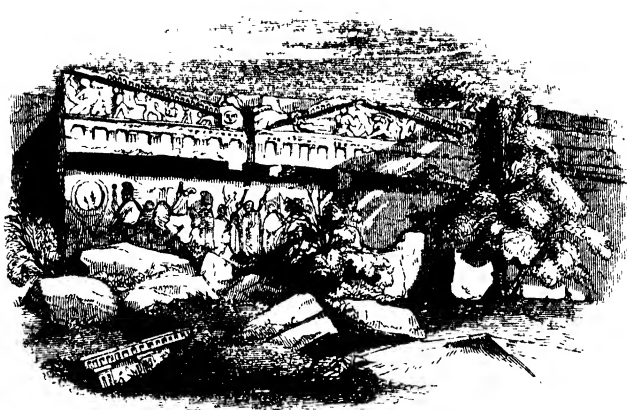
31WYIY·M3W1 OVMQ31

On a tomb in the great valley is “INESL,” which is but a fragment.

On a fallen mass Orioli read “. . . UTHIN . SL . . .”

Orioli (ap. Ingh. IV. p. 218. Ann. Inst. 1833, pp. 34, 52) says he read on two tombs these numerals, IIAXX and IIIIIAXX, which he at first took to intimate the number of dead interred in the respective sepulchres, yet found it not to correspond with the number of the sarcophagi, or rock-hewn couches; he afterwards thought it might signify the measure of the sacred space in front of the tomb.

The recurrence of ECASUTHINESL shows it to be a formula. It is found also on other sites, and has given rise to much conjecture. Lanzi (II. pp. 481, 494) derived SUTHI from *σωτηρία*, in which he is followed by Vermiglioli (Iscriz. Perug. I. p. 133) and Campanari (Urna d'Arunte), who deduced the formula from *ἦκα* and *σωτήρ*. One antiquary (Bibliot. Ital. Magg. 1817) sought it in the Latin—*hic subtus inest*. Another spoken of as the “*Maestro di color che sanno*,” in Etruscan interpretation, whom I at once recognize to be Professor Migliarini of Florence, also seeks a Latin analogy—*ecce situs*, or *hic situs est* (Bull. Inst. 1847, p. 86). The “Ulster king-at-arms.” (Etruria Celtica, I. p. 38) finds it to be choice Erse, and to signify “eternal houses of death!” Whatever it mean, it can hardly be a proper name as has been conjectured (Bull. Inst. 1847, p. 83). Beyond this, we must own with Orioli (Ann. Inst. 1833, p. 52), that “we know nothing about it, and our wisest plan is to confess our ignorance.”



THE TEMPLE-TOMBS, NORCHIA.

CHAPTER XVI

NORCHIA.—*ORCLE?*

Quid sibi saxa cavata—

Quid pulchra volunt monumenta?—PRUDENTIUS.

There is a temple in ruin stands,

Fashioned by long-forgotten hands.—BYRON.

AT the same time, and by the same parties that Castel d'Asso was made known, there was brought to light another Etruscan necropolis, of even greater extent and higher interest. It lies more to the west, about fourteen miles from Viterbo, among the wooded glens which here intersect the great Etruscan plain, and in the neighbourhood of a ruined and desolate town, known by its medieval name of Norchia. Besides numerous rock-sepulchres, similar to those of Castel d'Asso, this necropolis contains two of a more remarkable character—imitations of temples, with porticoed façades and sculptured pediments, long thought to be unique in Etruria; that is, till the recent discoveries of Mr. Ainsley, at Sovana. It is a spot which should not fail to be visited by every one who feels interest in the antiquities of early Italy.

Norchia is reached with most ease from Vetralla, from which it is six or seven miles distant. The road from

Viterbo to Vetralla skirts the base of the Ciminian, but has little of the picturesque beauty of that from Viterbo to Bomarzo. The village of San Martino is passed on the left, high on the slope of the mountain. At S. Ippolito, half-way between Viterbo and Vetralla, a line of low aqueduct and other remains of Roman buildings are passed, which mark the site of ancient baths,¹ and probably also of a station on the Via Cassia, which, after crossing the shoulder of the Ciminian, in its way from Sutrium, and passing through Forum Cassii, hard by Vetralla, turned northward across the great plain to Volsinii. The road, for the rest of the way to Vetralla, follows the line of the ancient Cassian, fragments of which were visible a few years since.

Vetralla stands at the western base of the Ciminian, on a narrow ridge between two ravines, the usual site of an Etruscan town; and numerous grottoes in the cliffs around would seem to indicate such an origin, were it not known that it was peopled, during the middle ages, by the inhabitants of the neighbouring Forum Cassii, to which the tombs may have belonged. The antiquity of the place, on the other hand, seems implied in its name, which has been supposed a corruption of *Vetus Aula*,²—the derivation of the former part of the word at least will hardly be gainsaid. Forum Cassii, as already stated, was a station on the Cassian Way, eleven miles from Sutri, and twelve from Aquæ Passeris, lying about a mile to the E.N.E. of Vetralla, and is now marked by the church of Santa Maria in Forcassi, corrupted by the peasantry into "Filicassi." There is nothing to be seen on this spot beyond two Roman vaults, and a mass of *opus incertum*.³

Vetralla is a place of some importance, having 6000

¹ These baths have been supposed the Aquæ Passeris of antiquity (Westphal. Ann. Inst. 1830, p. 19), but it has been shown that Bacucco, between Viterbo and Montefiascone, puts in superior claims to that honour.

² Cluver. Ital. Ant. II. p. 561.

³ Dempster (Etrur. Reg. II. p. 161) conjectures that the Arsian Wood, where a great battle was fought between the first Consuls of Rome and the banished Tarquins at the head of an Etruscan force, was in the neighbourhood of Vetralla; but this is an error, for Livy expressly states it was in the Roman territory (II. 6, 7), and it was not till long after the Tarquins that the Romans achieved the passage of the Ciminian.

288 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

inhabitants. Viterbo is celebrated for its beautiful women, but verily beauty is more rife at Vetralla—

“ Uno ha la voce,
L'altro mangia la noce.”

This town is forty-three miles from Rome, eleven or twelve from Sutri, nine from Viterbo, ten from Monte Romano, eighteen from Corneto, twenty-nine from Civita Vecchia, and eighteen from Toscanella. All these roads, save the last, are carriageable.

The sole interest of Vetralla, to the antiquary, consists in its being the best point whence to lionize the two Etruscan sites of Norchia and Bieda, which are each about six miles distant. Not that the inn, or *osteria*, for it is nothing more, of Vetralla, has very inviting quarters; it lacks many things—comfort more than all; but it is the best accommodation the neighbourhood for miles round can afford, and of two evils take the least, as the Spanish prince said when he lifted the lap-dog from the carriage and left his queen to help herself. But I may not do the place justice, for on two several years I have spent some days there in the month of November, when the weather was either extremely wet or lowering; and after a long day's work, often in rain, always in mud, cold, and gloom, the want of comfort at night may have been more severely felt. I have visited it also in the height of summer, but being caught in a thunder-storm, my reminiscences of the Vetralla hostelry were not brightened. As guide to Norchia or Bieda, I can recommend a civil, obliging fellow called Giacomo Zeppa, who lives hard by the *osteria* of Vetralla.

Norchia lies due N.W. from Vetralla. For the first half of the way, where it traverses olive woods, the road is practicable for the rude vehicles of the country, but after that it dwindles to a mere path, or vanishes altogether as you cross the wide desert heath, or dive into the deep glens with which it is in every direction intersected. Nothing can be more dreary than this scenery, on a dull November day. The bare, treeless, trackless moor has scarcely a habitation on its vast melancholy expanse, which seems unbroken till one of its numerous ravines suddenly opens at your feet. The mountains around, which, in brighter weather, give beauty and grandeur to the scene, are lost in cloud and

mist; even Monte Fiascone has shrouded his unaspiring crest. In the ravines is always more or less of the picturesque; yet their silence and lonesomeness, their woods almost stript of foliage, and dripping with moisture, have a chilling effect on the traveller's spirits, little to be cheered by the sight of a flock of sheep pent in a muddy fold, or of the smoke of the shepherd's fire issuing from a neighbouring cave, suggestive of savage comfort.

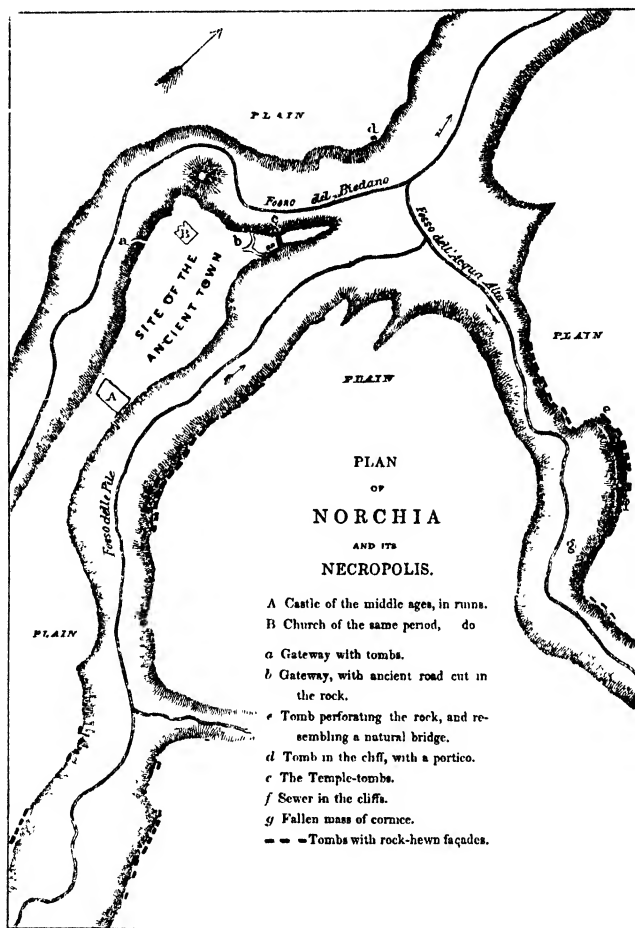
Little heeded we, however, the dulness of the weather. Hastily we threaded these glens, eager to reach the famed necropolis. The few tombs we did see here and there in the cliffs, served but to whet our appetite. At length we turned a corner in the glen, and lo! a grand range of monuments burst upon us. There they were—a line of sepulchres, high in the face of the cliff which forms the right-hand barrier of the glen, two or three hundred feet above the stream—an amphitheatre of tombs! for the glen here swells into that form. Were the chasms of the Colosseum closed, the slopes of its seats banked over with earth, carpeted with sward, and fringed with trees instead of bushes, and its encircling wall of masonry adorned with cornices inside as well as out, it would present a lively resemblance to this singular glen, which is the most imposing spot in the whole compass of Etruscan cemeteries.¹

The eye, as it ranges along the line of corniced sepulchres, singles out one of the most remote—one, whose prominent and decorated pediment gives it, even at a distance, an unique character. We knew this must be the much-talked-of tomb, and hastened towards it. In our way we passed huge masses of rock-cornice, split from the cliffs above, and lying low in the valley. We found that what looked like one tomb at a distance, was in fact a double tomb, or rather a tomb and a half, seeing that the half of one of the pediments has fallen. The peculiarity consists in this—that while all the sepulchres around are of the severely simple style of Castel d'Asso, approximating to the Egyptian, these two are highly ornate, and of Greek character. Instead of the bold

¹ It is said by Lenoir (*Annali dell' Instit.* 1832, p. 291), that the slope from the base of the tombs down to the banks of the stream was cut into steps, about two feet and a half high. I did not perceive any traces of them; but if they existed they must have greatly increased the resemblance of the glen to an amphitheatre.

290 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

horizontal cornices which surmount the other tombs, here are pediments and Doric friezes, supported on columns ;



and, what is to be seen on the exterior of very few other Etruscan monuments, the *tympaña* are occupied with figures in high relief. The inner wall of the portico is also adorned

with bas-reliefs, at least under the remaining half of the mutilated façade.

Our first impression was the modern date of this double tomb, compared with those of archaic character around ; and then we were naturally led to speculate on its origin. Who had made this his last resting-place ? Was it some merchant-prince of Etruria, who had grown wealthy by commerce—or, it might be, by piracy—and who, not content with the simple sepulchres of his forefathers, obtruded among them one on the model of some temple he had seen and admired in his wanderings through Greece or Asia Minor ? Was it a hero, renowned in Etruscan annals—some conqueror of Umbrians and Pelasgians—some successful opposer of that restless, quarrelsome city, that upstart bully of the Seven Hills ? There, in each pediment, were figures engaged in combat—some overthrown and prostrate—others sinking to their knees, and covering their heads with their shields—one rushing forward to the assault, sword in hand—another raising a wounded warrior. All this, however, may have been the ornament of the temple from which this double-tomb was copied ; or it may have had a symbolical meaning. Yet that he had been a warrior seemed certain, for in the relief within the portico were shield, mace, and sword suspended against the wall, as if to intimate that he had fought his last fight ;¹ and beneath was a long funeral procession. Could he have been a Greek, who, flying from his native land, like Demaratus of Corinth, became great and powerful in this the home of his adoption, yet with fond yearnings after his native soil, raised himself a sepulchre after the fashion of his kindred, that, though separated from them

¹ It was—the custom of the Greeks and Romans, on retiring from active life, to dedicate to the gods the instruments of their craft or profession. Thus Horace (Od. III. 26) proposed to suspend his arms and lyre on the wall of the temple of Venus. The temple-form of this tomb is suggestive of such an explanation ; though, on the other hand, it was not uncommon to indicate on the sepulchre itself the profession of the deceased by the representation of his implements or tools, or by scenes descriptive of his mode of life. A well-known but curious instance of this is seen in the baker's tomb at the Porta Maggiore of Rome, and another in the cutler's monument in the Galleria Lapidaria of the Vatican. Another, more analogous to this Norchian sepulchre, is seen on a vase, described by Millingen (*Peintures de Vases Grecs*, pl. XIX.), where within an *edicula* or shrine stands the figure of the deceased, with his shield and greaves suspended above his head.

292 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

in life, he might in some sort be united with them in death? No—he must have been an Etruscan in blood and creed; for this same procession shows certain peculiarities of the Etruscan mythology—the winged genius of Death, with three other figures in long robes, bearing twisted rods—those mysterious symbols of the Etruscan Hades—conducting the souls of two warriors with funeral pomp, just as in the Typhon-tomb at Corneto.

I have spoken of columns. None are now standing,¹ but it is evident that the heavy projecting entablatures have been so supported—that of the entire tomb by four, traces of whose capitals and bases are very distinct—that of the broken one, whether by four or six it is difficult to say; more probably the latter. In neither case do they seem to have been more than plain square pillars—*antæ*, in fact; the inner ones similar to those at the angles of the *pronaos*. They were all left in the rock out of which the façades are hewn, and the softness and friability of the tufo accounts for their destruction.

The entablatures at a distance seem Doric, but a nearer approach discloses peculiar features. The pediments terminate on each side in a volute,² within which is a grim, grinning face with prominent teeth, a Gorgon's head, a common sepulchral decoration among the Etruscans, who viewed it as the symbol of Hades, and of its king Mantus. Over two of the three remaining volutes is something, which from below seems a shapeless mass of rock, but on closer examination proves to be a lioness—specimens of the *acroteria*, with which the ancients were wont to decorate their temples.³ Other peculiarities may be observed in the *guttæ*,

¹ The pillar at the right-hand angle of the entire tomb was standing when Orioli first visited these monuments. Ann. Inst. 1833, p. 36.

² The pediments to these tombs prove them to be imitations of temples, or of very distinguished houses—if we may judge from the analogy of the Romans, among whom pediments were such marks of dignity, that Cicero says (de Orat. III. 46) if you could build in heaven, where you have no showers to fear, yet you would never seem to have attained dignity without a pediment. Julius Cæsar, as a great mark of distinction, was allowed a pediment to his house. Flor. IV. 2. cf. Cic. Phil. II. 43.

³ Lions were symbolic guardians of sepulchres; and as such are often found at the entrances of tombs, or painted within them over the doorway—and are sometimes found in a similar position as *acroteria* to porticoes, as in a temple-like sarcophagus of Chiusi, which bears a relief

the triglyphs, the dentilled cornice above them, and the ornamented *fascia* of the pediment—all, so many Etruscan corruptions of the pure Greek style.¹

The tomb whose façade is entire, is more ancient than its fellow, as is proved by the bas-relief in the portico of the latter encroaching considerably on the wall of the former. Yet with some trifling exceptions they exactly correspond.² Indeed the sculptures in the two pediments are by some considered as relating to the same subject; what that may be, however, from the dilapidated state of the figures, it is not easy to decide. One has conjectured it to represent the contest for the body of Patroclus;³ another the destruction of Niobe's children;⁴ one has seen in it an interment,⁵ or games of chance, and the gladiatorial combats which the Etruscans held at their funerals,⁶ while a fourth, without pronouncing a definite opinion upon it, is induced by the analogy of the style to regard it as the representation of some Greek myth.⁷ The broken half of the pediment is not wanting to clear up the mystery—for it was discovered, half buried in the earth below, with the figures in excellent preservation, and was removed to Viterbo, where it is still to be seen in the possession of Signor Giosafat Bazzichelli, who is willing to dispose of it.⁸ Whatever be the subject of these sculptures, they have not the archaic Etruscan character displayed in the bas-relief beneath the portico.

of a death-bed scene. Micali. Mon. Ined. tav. XXII. See Chap. II. of this work, page 121.

¹ The *guttae* are inverted, having the points downwards, and they are only three in number. The triglyphs are without the half-channels on their outer edges, as prescribed by Vitruvius (IV. 3, 5), and are therefore more properly diglyphs.

² The pediment is rather higher in the older tomb. This has no *guttae* like the other. The portico is loftier in the imperfect monument.

³ Gerhard, Bull. dell' Inst. 1831, p. 84.

⁴ Abeken, Bull. dell' Inst. 1839, p. 42.

⁵ Orioli ap. Inghir. Mon. Etr. IV. p. 205. He afterwards adopted Professor Gerhard's suggestion, that it may represent a simple combat without reference to any particular myth or individuals. Ann. Inst. 1833, p. 53.

⁶ Orioli, Annal. dell' Instit. 1833, pp. 54, 55. Abeken, loc. cit.

⁷ Urlichs, Bull. Inst. 1839, p. 45. The attitudes of the figures alone—and in some cases not even this—are distinguishable. All the details which would give character and meaning are effaced.

⁸ A plate of it, with the rest of the relief, is given in the Mon. Ined, Inst. I. tav. XLVIII.

294 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

The surface of this rocky wall is so much injured, that doubt must ever hang over certain parts of this relief. Thus much is clear and unequivocal—that there is first a large, circular, convex shield,¹ like the *aspis* of the Greeks, and then a mace, both suspended against the wall. Next is a figure, now almost effaced, which from its large open wings must be that of a genius.² Over this is a plumed helmet, either suspended, or worn by a figure behind the genius, and not now distinguishable.³ Another figure seems to have followed, and above it hangs by a cord a short curved sword; a second helmet succeeds, which seems to be worn by a figure; then a straight sword suspended; and three draped figures, about the size of life,⁴

¹ Orioli (Ann. Inst. 1833, p. 38) thinks there was originally a boss of metal in the centre of the shield, but there are no longer any traces of such an ornament. In the rock-hewn temple-tombs of Phrygia, bossed shields are found on the architraves or in the pediments. See Steuart's *Lydia and Phrygia*. Those represented on Etruscan monuments have very seldom a boss, and are a perfect circle, like the Argolic shields and the *ἀσπίδες εὐκύκλοι* of the Homeric heroes; and that such was the form of the Etruscan shield we learn from Diodorus (Eclog. lib. XXIII. 3), who says the Romans at first used a square shield, but exchanged it for the *aspis* of the Etruscans. Similar shields are found also sculptured on tombs in Pamphylia, as well as on city-walls. See Fellows' *Asia Minor*, pp. 175, 192, where Ezek. xxvii. 11, is cited in illustration. They were also suspended by the Greeks in their sepulchres; as in the pyramid between Argos and Epidaurus, described by Pausanias (II. 25). From the frequency of them painted or sculptured in the tombs of Cervetri, they seem to have had a votive meaning among the Etruscans, as well as among the Greeks and Romans. The latter people used to emblazon them with the portraits of their ancestors or with their heroic deeds. If we may believe Pliny (XXXV. 3), Appius Claudius, consul in the year of Rome 259 (B.C. 495), was the first to dedicate shields so emblazoned.

² The existence of such a figure has been denied (Urlichs, *Bull. dell' Inst.* 1839, p. 45); but one wing is most distinct. There is a corresponding arched ridge where the other wing ought to be. Orioli (Ann. dell' Inst. 1833, p. 53) thinks it represents Venus Libitina, the goddess who presided over funerals. It is certainly a female, for the prominence of the bosom is still evident. I could perceive no traces of an ugly-faced demon, such as Dr. Urlichs fancied he discovered, and which "bears a most manifest resemblance to the Charun of the Etruscans."

³ Orioli (loc. cit. p. 38) says the two helmets are suspended.

⁴ It is probable that these draped figures are intended for souls. Similar curved swords are represented on several Etruscan monuments—e.g. the Grotta Querciola at Corneto. A curved steel sword, with the sharp edge on the inner side, as in a scythe, found in an Etruscan tomb, is in the possession of Cav. Campana of Rome.

each bearing one of the mysterious twisted rods, close the procession.¹ What may have been represented in the former half of the relief, now utterly destroyed, it is vain to conjecture. It is clear that the ground of the whole has been originally painted red, and traces of the same colour, and of yellow, may be observed here and there about the figures; and from the same on the fallen half of the pediment, it is certain that the reliefs of both *tympana* and the portico—and probable that the architectural portion of the tombs also—were thus decorated. This is one among numerous proofs in tombs, sarcophagi, and urns, that the Etruscans, like the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, had a polychrome system of decorating their architecture and sculpture.

Various are the opinions of archæologists as to the date of these monuments. All are agreed on one point, that both the architecture and sculpture are decided imitations of the Greek. They have been considered as early as Demaratus, the father of Tarquinius Priscus,² to whose time belongs the first historical mention of the influence of Greek over Etruscan art; but the spirit and freedom of the sculptures in the pediments, certainly do not indicate a very early age; while the archaic stiffness and quaintness of the three figures which close the procession in the portico—evidently of subsequent execution—serve to show that art had not entirely thrown aside the conventional trammels of an earlier period. I think then we shall not be far from the

¹ Such rods as these have been found represented on only one other Etruscan monument, the Typhon-tomb of Tarquinii, and are there borne in a procession very similar to this. Their precise meaning is unknown. Orioli (Ann. Inst. 1834, p. 161) suggests that they may be either *funalia*, links used at funerals, made of papyrus or rope twisted and covered with wax or pitch (Virg. *Æn.* I. 731. Serv. in loco), and which the Greeks called *scolaces* (Isidor. Orig. XX. 10); or that they may have an affinity to the sacred and golden bough—*fatalis virga*—torn from the grove of Proserpine, and borne by Æneas into hell as a gift to that goddess. Virg. *Æn.* VI. 136 *et seq.*, 406 *et seq.*, 636, *et seq.* Ovid. Met. XIV. 114 *et seq.* Perhaps what Servius (ad *Æn.* VI. 136) says of the mystic Pythagorean meaning in the letter Y, which figures the course of human life, and of its relation to a forked bough, may bear on the twisted rods of this monument. Urlichs (Bull. Inst. 1839, p. 45) suggests that they may be magisterial rods. It is possible they are emblems of supplication; as Orestes sat at the altar with a topmost branch of olive wound round with much wool. *Æschyl.* Eumen. 43.

² Lenoir, Ann. Inst. 1832, p. 294.

296 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

truth in pronouncing them to belong to the fourth or fifth century of Rome.¹

There are no moulded doors in the façades of these tombs, as in those adjoining and at Castel d'Asso ; but the resemblance to temples is sufficiently obvious. The analogy is strengthened by a depression in the stylobate of the unbroken tomb, which seems to indicate the steps leading up to the portico. In the porticoes being Aræostyle, or having very wide intercolumniations, and in some minor particulars, these monuments may illustrate the temple of the Tuscan order, described by Vitruvius ;² but in most points the façades have more of a Greek character.³ Of the proportions and adornments of the columns nothing can now be said.

The external magnificence of these temple-tombs raises anticipations of a corresponding degree of adornment within. But these are soon destroyed. The tombs, which are entered as usual by narrow, steeply-descending passages, are like the plainest at Castel d'Asso—large chambers rudely hollowed in the rock, utterly devoid of ornament, and containing a double row of sarcophagi sunk in the tufo, with an economiz-

¹ This is the opinion held by Orioli, the first describer of these monuments (ap. Inghir. *Mon. Etrus.* IV. p. 207). Gerhard sees no rigidity in the reliefs of the pediments such as might be expected in monuments in the midst of others of so very ancient a character ; and thinks the design shows rather the decadence than infancy of art ; yet seems to consider them as prior to the Roman conquest of Etruria (*Bull. dell' Inst.* 1831, pp. 84, 89). Dr. Urlichs views them as of a subsequent period (*Bull. dell' Inst.* 1839, p. 45). Their similarity to the reliefs of the sarcophagi and urns is noticed by several writers.

² Vitruv. IV. cap. 7. cf. III. 3. Lenoir (*Ann. Inst.* 1832, p. 290) points out the correspondence of these façades with the Aræostyle temples of the Etruscans—barycæ, barycephalæ, humiles, latæ. When I speak, in the text, of the resemblance to temples, I refer to the apparent character of these tombs, for it is possible that they are imitations of mere houses ; seeing that the Etruscans are known to have had porticoes to their abodes, which they so constructed to free themselves from the confusion and annoyance of crowds of attendants. *Diod. Sic.* V. p. 316.

³ The Cavaliere del Rosso is said to have proved that the dimensions of these tombs are on the scale of the Greek cubit. *Ann. Inst.* 1833, p. 56. Their general dimensions may be learned from the woodcut at p. 286, by the figures under the portico, which are nearly the size of life ; but to be more explicit,—the length of the broken façade is 15 ft. 6 in., of the entire one, 25 ft. 6 in. The portico is about 9 ft. high, and projects 4 ft. The height of the entablature is 8 ft. 6 in., and of the entire façade, 17 ft. 6 in., exclusive of the stylobate, which averages about 5 ft. in height.

ation of space which quite dispels the notion of their being the burial-places, each of an illustrious hero or Lucumo. They are, in fact, like most of those around them, family sepulchres.

Let not the traveller suppose that in these tombs he has seen all the wonders of Norchia. The glen in which are the temple-tombs opens to the west on a wide area where four glens meet. Immediately opposite, as you emerge on this space, are a few fine detached tombs, almost at the foot of the cliffs. To the left, on a tongue of land which projects into the hollow between two other ravines, stands the ruined and picturesque church of Norchia, marking the site of the Etruscan town. The glen to the west of this contains very few tombs, but that

on the opposite side abounds in them, especially in the cliffs facing the town, where they rise in terraces or stand in picturesque groups, half hidden by wild luxuriant foliage. A few may also be seen on the opposite side of the stream in the cliffs which are terminated by the ancient town. Altogether the monuments in this glen are very numerous — twice as many as are to be found at Castel d'Asso, and more interesting from their variety; for though in general character they resemble the tombs of that necropolis, in their details they are often dissimilar, and differ also more widely from each



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.



FIG. 3.

MOULDINGS OF TOMBS AT NORCHIA.¹

¹ The mouldings of fig. 1 are most common at this site. Those of figs. 2 and 3 are varieties. Those also most common at Castel d'Asso (see figs. 1 and 2 in the woodcut at page 284) are to be found at Norchia, but less frequently.

298 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

other. It may suffice to state that the variations are observable rather in the mouldings and façades than in the open chambers or the tombs beneath. No other example is there of a temple-tomb at Norchia; yet high above the detached monuments in the open area just mentioned, is a portico recessed in the cliff. It is scarcely intelligible from below, and is rather difficult of access. It is composed of three recesses, separated by prominent pilasters rounded in front like half-columns, and having curious fluted capitals. Each recess is stuccoed, and seems to have been coloured. It is obvious that this elevated portico was not a mere tombstone, like the monuments around, but a sepulchre itself, each recess serving as a niche for the deposit of a sarcophagus.¹ It bears a strong analogy to some Greek tombs in the island of Thera, recessed in the cliffs in a similar manner.²

The tombs at Norchia are more numerous than at Castel d'Asso. There must be at least fifty or sixty with distinct sculptured façades, besides many others in ruin. I sought in vain for one described by Orioli³ as having a trapezium cut in the rock above its façade, in all probability to represent the roof to that sort of *cavædium* which Vitruvius terms *displuviatum*.⁴ Nor could I find another, said by the same antiquary to have a sphinx in prominent relief on each of the side-walls of the façade.⁵ It is singular that not a single instance of an Etruscan inscription has been found in this necropolis. Excavations were once commenced on this site, by Signor Desiderio of Rome, but nothing of value being brought to light, they were soon discontinued.

The Etruscan town of which these tombs formed the necropolis, occupied the site of the ruined church of Norchia. Its position on a sharp point of land at the junction of two glens, and in relation to the tombs around,

¹ This view is confirmed by the size of the recesses, 7 ft. wide, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ deep. They are 7 ft. also in height. The shafts of the pilasters are about 2 ft. thick, and their capitals are 1 ft. 5 in. in height.

² Mon. Ined. Inst. III. tav. 25, 3. Ann. Inst. 1841, p. 17.—Ross.

³ Ap. Inghir. Mon. Etrus. IV. p. 199, tav. XLII. 2. Ann. Inst. 1833, p. 30.

⁴ Vitruv. VI. 3.

⁵ Annali dell' Instit. 1833, p. 29. So also Lenoir (Ann. Inst. 1832, p. 295), who speaks of but one, a colossal sphinx, cut in the rock among the tombs.

would alone tend to indicate this. But there are also remains of the ancient gateways cut through the cliffs; though no vestiges of Etruscan walls are visible—all the ruins on the height belonging to the middle ages. The size of the ancient town was very small, scarcely larger than that at Castel d'Asso, though the number and magnificence of its sepulchres would seem to indicate a place of some importance. Its name is involved in obscurity. We know that in the ninth century it was called *Orcle*; ¹ but that such was its original appellation it is impossible to determine, as no mention is made of it by ancient writers. ² In its present state of utter desolation, it has charms as much for the artist as for the antiquary. Who that has visited this spot can forget the ruined church of Lombard architecture, wasting its simple beauty on the stupid

¹ In an epistle of Leo. IV., "to the good man the Bishop of Toscanella," given by Orioli (*Annali dell' Instit.* 1833, p. 20), which, singularly enough, mentions the "*petra ficta*" without the city—most probably referring to the temple-tombs. In the same letter are also mentioned "*cava scamerata*" and "*cava caprilis*"—i. e. a cave with chambers, and one where goats were kept.

² Orioli (*loc. cit.* p. 22) is of opinion that it is identical with Nyrtria, mentioned by the ancient scholiast on Juvenal (X. 74) as a town, the birthplace of Sejanus, giving its name to or deriving it from the goddess Nurtia or Fortuna, spoken of by the Satirist in the text. Abeken (*Mittelital.* pp. 35, 255) follows this opinion. But seeing that it was called *Orcle* as early as the ninth century, it is quite as probable that it derived its name from Hercules, who was worshipped by the Etruscans as *Erle*—just as Minerva gave her name to Athens, and Neptune his to Posidonia or Pæstum. Orioli also suggests it may be from *Orcus*, as Mantua was so called from Mantus. Possibly it may be derived from no deity, but have some relation to the name *Orchius*, which we find in the time of the Roman Republic—a tribune of that name, in the year 573, having proposed a sumptuary law—from him called "*Lex Orclia*"—to regulate the number of guests at banquets. *Macrob. Saturn.* II. 13. *Festus, v. Obsonitavere and Percunctatum.*

Orcle was partly deserted in early times on account of the unhealthiness of the site, and the emigrants removed to Vitorchiano (*Vicus Orclanus*), whither in 1435, under the pontificate of Eugene IV., the rest of the inhabitants removed, and the town was destroyed. Orioli, *Ann. Instit.* 1833, p. 21.

Orioli lays claim to the discovery of this site—and he may have been the first who made known its monuments—but it was indicated as Etruscan a century before his time by Mariani (*De Etrur. Metrop.* p. 46, compare his map), who speaks of "*Horchia*. Sic appellabatur dea Etruscorum ibi culta. Norchiam nunc dicunt, ut Nannium pro Anno, Nannam pro Anna."

300 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

gaze of the shepherd, the only frequenter of these wilds? Who that has an eye for the picturesque, can forget the tall cliffs on which it stands—here, perforated so as to form a bridge,¹ there, dislocated, and cleft to their very base,—the rich red and grey tufo half-mantled with the evergreen foliage of cork, ilex, and ivy? Who can forget the deep glens around, ever wrapt in gloom, where the stillness is broken only by the murmurs of the stream, or by the shriek of the falcon—solitudes teeming with solemn memorials of a past, mysterious race—with pompous monuments mocking their very purpose; for, raised to perpetuate the memory of the dead, they still stand, while their inmates have for ages been forgotten? He who has visited it must admit, that though nameless and unchronicled, there are few sites in Etruria so interesting as this—none which more imperatively demand the attention of the antiquarian. Every visit has confirmed my conviction, that he who has seen Castel d'Asso only, can form little conception of the more varied and extensive monuments of Norchia.

¹ The bridge is formed by the inner wall of a tomb having been broken through, where the ridge of cliff is very narrow. Orioli (Ann. Inst. 1833, p. 20) says there is an ancient Roman bridge of regular masonry, over the Biedano, below the town; but I did not perceive it. He also mentions a road cut in the rock, and called the "Cava Buja," on whose wall is carved this inscription:—

C. CLODIVS
THALPIVS
S. P. XXXX.

which he confesses he did not himself see. The only instance of a rock-hewn road is near the natural bridge, and it is now choked with fallen masses of rock.

CHAPTER XVII

BIEDA.—BLERA

Some things in it you may meet with, which are out of the common road ; a Duke there is, and the scene lies in Italy.—BEAUMONT AND FLETCHER.

ANOTHER Etruscan site of great interest, but very little known, is Bieda, a village five or six miles south-west of Vetralla. It is the representative of the ancient town of Blera, of which its name is an Italian corruption.¹ Blera could not have been a place of importance, under either Etruscans or Romans. Not once is it mentioned by ancient historians, and its name only occurs in the catalogues of geographers.² We know that it was a small town at the commencement of the Empire ;³ that it was on the Via Clodia, between the Forum Clodii and Tuscania ;⁴ and there ends our knowledge of it from ancient sources. That it had an existence in Etruscan times, we learn, not from the pages of history, but from the infallible records of its extant monuments.

Bieda is best visited from Vetralla. The road for the first two miles is the highway to Corneto and Civita Vecchia. We then turned off to the left, crossed some downs by a mere bridle-path, forded a stream in a wild, deep hollow, and reached the brow of a hill, whence the village of Bieda came into view, crowning an opposite height. The scenery here was very romantic. The height of Bieda was lofty and precipitous, and as usual was a tongue of rock at the junction of two glens, which separated

¹ When *l* in Latin words follows a consonant, the Italians are wont to change it into *i* ; as from *clarus*, *planus*, *flamma*, they make *chiaro*, *piano*, *fiamma* ; and *r* is sometimes changed into *d*, as *rarus* into *rado*, *porphyrites* into *porfido*. Blera must have been called Phlera, or Phlere by the Etruscans, since they had no *b* in their language. Ann. Instit. 1833, p. 19 ; 1834, p. 180.

² Strabo, V. p. 226, ed. Casaub. Ptolem. Geog. p. 72, ed. Bertii. Plin. Nat. His. III. 8.

³ Strabo classes it among the *πολίχναι συχναί* of Etruria.

⁴ Tab. Peutling. See page 311.

302 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

it from corresponding heights of equal abruptness. These glens, or ravines, were well clothed with wood, now rich with the tints of autumn. Wood also climbed the steep cliffs—struggled for a footing among the wild masses of tufo split from their brow, and crowned in triumph the surface of the platforms above.

On descending the rocky slope, we found ourselves in the Etruscan necropolis. The slope was broken into many ledges, and the cliffs thus formed were full of caverns—sepulchre after sepulchre above, beneath, around us—some simply hollowed in the rock and entered by Egyptian doorways, some mere niches, and others adorned with architectural façades; from the banks of the stream to the brow of the height the whole face of the hill was thus burrowed.

I had been struck at Castel d'Asso with the street-like arrangement of the tombs, and at Norchia with their house-like character; but I had been unwilling to consider those features as other than accidental, and had ascribed them to the natural peculiarities of the ground. But here, I felt convinced that they were intentional, and that this assemblage of sepulchres was literally a *necropolis*—a city of the dead.

Here were rows of tombs, side by side, hollowed in the cliff, each with its gaping doorway; here they were in terraces, one above the other, united by flights of steps carved out of the rock; here were masses split from the precipice above, and hewn into tombs, standing out like isolated abodes—shaped, too, into the very forms of houses, with sloping roofs culminating to an apex, overhanging eaves at the gable, and a massive central beam to support the rafters. The angle of the roof, I observed, was that still usual in Italian buildings—that angle, which being just sufficient to carry off the rain, is naturally suggested in a climate where snow rarely lies a day. I have spoken only of the exterior of the tombs. On entering any one of them, the resemblance was no less striking. The broad beam carved in relief along the ceiling—the rafters, also in relief, resting on it and sinking gently on either side—the inner chamber in many, lighted by a window on each side of the door in the partition-wall, all three of the same Egyptian form—the triclinial arrangement of the rock-hewn benches, as though the dead, as represented on their sarcophagi,

were wont to recline at a banquet—these things were enough to convince me that in their sepulchres the Etruscans, in many respects, imitated their habitations, and sought to make their cemeteries as far as possible the counterparts of the cities on the opposite heights.

The cliff-bound height of Bieda at its termination is sharp as a wedge. On it stood the ancient town as well as the modern village, but they did not occupy precisely the same site; the former from the fragments of ancient wall at the verge of the precipice on both sides the height, seems to have extended to the very tip of the tongue of land; while the latter is removed almost a mile further back.

At the point of junction of the two ravines, where the streams from each also meet, is an ancient bridge, of one wide arch, based on the rocky banks of the stream, and approached by a gradually ascending causeway of masonry, which, as well as the bridge, is of tufo cut from the cliffs around.¹ The parapets have been overturned, probably by the large shrubs which flank it, insinuating their roots among the uncemented masonry, and threatening ultimately to destroy the whole structure. It is singular that the only means of approach to Bieda from this side is by this ancient bridge, which was probably on the *Via Clodia*.

From this point there seem to have been anciently two roads to the town—one leading directly up to the summit of the wedge-shaped table-land, the other still in use, running beneath the cliff to the right, and sunk deep in the tufo rock. The walls between which it passes are hollowed out for the reception of the dead, not, as at *Veii*, in square or upright niches, which could hold only an urn or vase, but in low-arched recesses, as at *Falleri*, of sufficient length to contain a body, with a deep hollow for it to lie in, and a groove around it for a lid of stone or terra-cotta, apparently serving also to carry off the water which might trickle from the ground above; just as in the rock-hewn niches of *Syracuse*. Moreover, there are not wanting sepulchral chambers hollowed in these cliffs, nor the water-channel formed in the

¹ In order to accommodate the masonry to the ascent of the road, a course of wedge-like form is introduced, which gives a slight rising towards the arch. Similar wedge courses I have observed in the walls of several Etruscan and Umbrian cities—*Populonia*, *Fiesole*, *Perugia*, *Todi*—and this feature is also to be seen in the substructions of the *Appian Way*, near *Aricia*.

304 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

rock on one side to keep the road dry and clean, and free from deposits from the cliff above.

The road to Bieda creeps beneath the cliffs of the ancient town, which are honeycombed with sepulchral caverns, broken and blackened with smoke. Here and there among them tall upright openings in the cliff show the mouths of ancient sewers, and at intervals are fragments of the ancient wall along the verge of the cliff; in one spot filling a natural gap, as at Civita Castellana. The masonry is of rectangular blocks of tufo, of the size and arrangement which I have described under the name of *emplecton*. The ancient town certainly occupied part, perhaps the whole, of the modern village. It must have been very long and narrow, since the height on which it stood forms but a ridge—a mere spine-bone—between the parallel glens.

Bieda, like every town and village off the main roads throughout the Roman State, is a wretched place, “in linked *squalor* long drawn out,” with no *osteria* where the traveller, who values comfort, could venture to pass the night. There is but one respectable house, and here we were stopped by the Count of S. Giorgio, who stood at the door waiting to receive us. He apologized for delaying us; but said that the presence of strangers was of so rare occurrence in this secluded village, that he could not allow us to pass without inquiring if he could be of service to us. We learned that he was from Turin, but having bought some estates in this part of Italy, he had acquired therewith the title of Duke of Bieda, the honour of magistracy, and almost feudal dominion over the inhabitants of this village and its territory. The purchase could only be effected on these terms, and on the condition of his residing six months in the year on this spot, which he regarded as a veritable exile from civilized society. He pointed out a ruin opposite, as once the palace of the Counts of Anguillara, the old feudal lords of Bieda, who, among other barbarous privileges, claimed that of forestalling every bridegroom in their domain—by insisting on which the last of these fine old Roman gentlemen, three centuries since, fell a victim to popular fury, and his mansion was destroyed. Yet much of the power of its feudal chiefs has descended to the present lord of Bieda, who told us he was almost absolute; that his will was law; that he had power over the lives and properties of his tenants, being supreme

judge of both civil and criminal causes—in a country, be it remembered, where trial by jury is unknown. His rule, however, seemed based on love, rather than on fear—more akin to that of the chief of a clan than to feudal seignory, on the one hand, or to the authority of an English squire over his tenantry, on the other.

The Count courteously proposed to act as our *cicerone* to the antiquities of the neighbourhood, and mounted his steed to accompany us.

Our first object was an ancient bridge of three arches, which lay in the ravine to the west of the town. The Count led the way down the descent, through a narrow cleft, sunk some twenty feet in the tufo, with a channel or furrow in the middle, so deep and narrow that the horses could scarcely put one foot before the other, yet we were obliged to adhere to the Horatian maxim, *in medio tutissimus*, lest our legs should be crushed against the walls of rock.

On emerging from this cleft, the triple-arched bridge stood before us. The central arch was a true semicircle, thirty feet in span; the side arches were only ten feet wide, and stilted. All were formed of rusticated blocks, with edges so sharp and fresh that it was difficult to believe it the work of two hundred years since, much less of two thousand; but the first step I set on the bridge convinced me of its high antiquity. The central arch has been split throughout its entire length, probably by an earthquake; the blocks, being uncemented, have been much dislocated, but few have fallen. It is clear that this split occurred at an early period; for in crossing the bridge, passengers have been obliged to step clear of the gaps, which in some parts yawn from one to two feet wide, and, by treading in each other's footsteps, have worn holes far deeper than pious knees have done in the steps at A'Becket's shrine, or in the Santa Scala at Rome. They have worn a hollow pathway almost through the thick masses of rock; in some spots entirely through—a perpendicular depth of more than three feet.¹

¹ The bridge is of tufo, usually soft, flaky or friable, but here of a peculiarly close, hard character, as is shown by the remarkable sharpness of the rustications. And it must be observed that for ages the bridge must have been impassable to beasts, for the same earthquake that split the arch caused the outer part of it on one side to fall; this, however, having been repaired during the middle ages, as the masonry attests, all further necessity of following the foot-worn track was

306 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

From the superior neatness of its masonry, I have no hesitation in assigning to this bridge a later date than to that on the other side of Bieda. That being of similar masonry to the town-walls, may well be of Etruscan construction. This is probably as late as the Roman domination in Etruria, yet is in the Etruscan style, and may be by Etruscan architects, like other public works in Rome and her territories, raised in the earlier ages of the City, in consequence of the system she adopted of supplying her own deficiencies in the useful and ornamental arts by the superior skill of her neighbours. It must be remembered that this part of Etruria was not conquered before the fifth century of Rome; yet the Etruscans must previously have had bridges over these streams; and that they could raise perfect arches in much earlier times the Cloaca Maxima remains to attest. These bridges have an air of greater antiquity than the two at Veii, which have been accounted Etruscan. It is probable that both were on the line of the Via Clodia, which passed through Blera on its way to Tuscania.

The Count declared that the bridge was an enigma, as none could perceive by what road it had anciently communicated with the town—the cleft by which we had descended not being deemed of sufficient antiquity. But to me it was plain as the cliffs that rose around me, that this very cleft had formed the ancient approach to Bieda from this side; for I had observed, almost throughout its length, traces of the water-channels recessed at the foot of its rocky walls, just above the original level of the road; and it was no less clear that the deep and narrow furrow along which we had steered with so much difficulty, had been worn by the feet of beasts through many ages, as from the narrowness of the road they had been constrained always to keep in the middle.

The scenery in the hollow is very fine. Just beyond the bridge the glen again forks and the cliffs rise to a vast height. I do not recollect a site in the volcanic district of Etruria, save Sorano in Tuscany, where the chasms are more profound, and the scenery more grand, than around Bieda.

obviated, yet the bridge was still scarcely practicable for beasts. It is evident that the hollow pathway has been worn wholly by human feet, and prior to the repairs of the bridge in the middle ages.

Close to the bridge is a large cave, the cliff above which was pitted with bullet marks, which were explained by the Count :—"Every tenant of mine on returning home from the wild-boar chase, if successful, discharges his piece against this rock, and I, or my minister, answer the summons by appearing on the top of the cliff and claiming the boar's thigh as my right."

Between these ancient bridges, and just below the town is a modern bridge, overhung by a ruined tower of the middle ages, and in the opposite steep is another artificial cleft in the rock—another Etruscan roadway. From this height the whole face of the slope below Bieda is seen honeycombed with caves, originally sepulchres, extending in terraces and scattered groups down to the banks of the stream. It is a very warren of tombs, used by the Biedani as hog-sties, cattle-stalls, or wine-cellar. The application to the former purposes is a very profanation, but of the latter change who shall complain? Surely it is—

"Better to hold the sparkling grape
Than nurse the earthworm's slimy brood."

At the top of the ascent we were in an undulating plain, apparently an unbroken level, with the village of Bieda in the midst. The Count pointed out the extent of his domain, which was far too large for the limited number of his tenantry. At the close of every year he assembles his vassals, as they may be called, and having determined what part of his estate is to be cultivated, and having partitioned it into lots, he makes them draw for the several portions. He takes a share of the produce in lieu of rent.

On our return to the village we visited the church, in front of which stood a Roman sarcophagus with a good bas-relief, found in the neighbourhood. We were not a little surprised to see in this secluded place a genuine altar-piece of Annibale Caracci—the Scourging of Christ. At the Count's mansion we found a handsome repast spread for us, and refusing his pressing invitation to stay the night, we groped our way in the dark to Vetralla—thus closing one of the most agreeable days of our Etruscan travel.

This was not our only visit to Bieda. We spent several days in exploring its glens, avoiding the Count's hospitality, which, however gratifying as a proof of native kindness not

308 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

often met with in Italy, would have greatly interfered with the objects we had in view in visiting the place.

Bieda is a site which deserves much more attention than it has yet received from antiquaries. In no Etruscan necropolis are the tombs hollowed in the face of cliffs more numerous. The glens on every side of the town abound in them, and they face every point of the compass, though here, as elsewhere, few have a northern or eastern aspect. On this account, the cliffs on the western side of the town, even under the very walls, are honeycombed with tombs, while scarcely one is to be seen on the opposite side of the glen, or in the cliffs beneath the town on the

east. For variety of character the tombs of Bieda are particularly interesting. At Castel d'Asso there is much monotony; even at Norchia, with a few striking exceptions, one prevailing fashion is maintained throughout. But Bieda, without any marked peculiarities of its own, seems to unite those of many other *necropoleis*. Here we find tombs with architectural façades, like those of Castel d'Asso and Norchia, but in general differently moulded, and in a simpler and severer style. Here are many, as at Civita Castellana and Sutri, having a mere doorway,

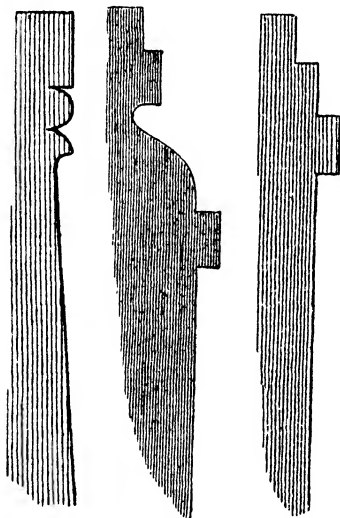


FIG. 1.

FIG. 2.

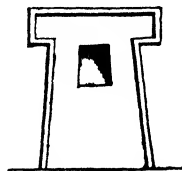
FIG. 3.

MOULDINGS AT BIEDA.

without any inscription or external decoration. Here are the body-niches of the same two cemeteries—the columbarium-tombs of Toscanella and Bolsena, and even something like the curious cliff-columbarium of Veii—the house-like tombs of Sovana; and certain rock-hewn isolated monuments, square or conical, of a character rarely seen elsewhere. In one instance is a bench cut out of the rock

in front of a tomb—a practical “*Siste Viator!*” which I have observed also on other sites.

In cornices there is a great variety at Bieda. One struck me as very peculiar; it had no rounded mouldings, but three distinct *fasciæ*, retreating one above the other, and though not ornamental, its simplicity and massiveness made it very imposing. It is shown above, in fig. 3. The moulded door, which frequently occurs on the façades, is in no instance like those of Castel d’Asso and Norchia, but invariably as in the annexed woodcut. In most instances this is a mere moulding, or pseudo-door; in others, a real one; in others again it forms a framework to a small niche, which must have contained an urn or vase, probably with the ashes of the deceased.



MOULDED DOOR AT
BIEDA.

These door-mouldings are very common in Etruria. On some sites, Cervetri, Toscanella, Vulci, and Chiusi, for instance, they are found, not on the face of cliffs as here, but on the entrances to sepulchres, many feet below the surface; and sometimes within the tombs themselves. They are also often found on cinerary urns, of house or temple shape. The form is very like Doric, particularly as it is seen at Bieda; it is found also in Greek monuments of Italy and Sicily,¹ but whether of Greek or Etruscan origin, is not easy to determine. Whether it be the representation of the ordinary door, or a mere sepulchral ornament, with or without a symbolical meaning, has been questioned. I have no doubt of the former, not only because it is found on urns and tombs which are evident representations of houses, but on account of the high probability that these

¹ At Cefallù, the ancient Cephakadium, in Sicily (*vide* Mon. Ined. dell' Instit. tom. I. tav. 29, and Ann. Inst. 1831, pp. 270-287, Dr. Nott), where it is found in connection with Cyclopean masonry,—and at Canosa, the ancient Canusium, in Apulia, in a tomb of four chambers in every respect extremely like the Etruscan, discovered in 1828. The architrave, however, is by no means so heavy in this as in the Etruscan tombs, but more like the Doric. This tomb is remarkable for having two false windows painted on one wall—on each side a doorway. Ann. Inst. 1832, pp. 285-9, and Mon. Ined. Inst. I. tav. XLIII. Real windows so situated are not uncommon in Etruscan tombs, and occur most frequently at Cervetri, Bieda, and Chiusi.

310 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

rows and streets of sepulchres were designed to image forth the buildings in the city opposite.

Among the sepulchral varieties of Bieda, two claim particular notice. One of these, which lies in the glen to the east of the town, is a cone of rock, hewn into steps, or a



CONICAL TOMB, HEWN IN THE ROCK.

series of circular bases, tapering upwards. Of these, four only now remain, and the cone is truncated, but whether this were its original form, it is not easy to say.¹ Like the conical tombs of Vulci and Tarquinii, it was probably surmounted by a sphinx, lion, pine-cone, or some other funereal emblem, or by a *cippus*. The rock around it is cut into a trench and rampart. Within the cone is the sepulchre, which is double-chambered, entered by a level passage—not lying beneath the surface as in the conical tombs of Tarquinii. There is a monument at Vulci very similar to this rock-hewn tumulus of Bieda.

The other tomb to which I have referred, retains some traces of colour on its walls—the only instance of this among the multitudinous sepulchres of Bieda. It is also remarkable for being supported in its centre by a column, with base, capital, and abacus, of simple character. Whatever figures may have been painted on its walls, are now obliterated; but ribands of various hues, and the Greek wave-ornament,

¹ It has been suggested that sepulchres of this form may have been imitations of the funeral pyre. (Ann. Inst. 1832, p. 275.)

can be distinguished through the soot from the shepherd's fires, which thickly coats the walls.

The tombs of Bieda present no great variety in their interiors. They are usually surrounded by benches of rock, about two feet and a half from the ground; sometimes merely for the support of sarcophagi, but more frequently hollowed out for the reception of bodies. The fronts of these benches are adorned with pilasters, often in imitation of the legs of a banqueting-couch, which the bench itself is designed to resemble. The niches hollowed in the cliffs are usually for entire bodies, whence it may be inferred that the custom of burning the dead was not prevalent on this site. Double-chambered tombs are by no means rare, though no instances of many chambers did I perceive.

In one of our excursions to Bieda, we varied the route by passing through San Giovanni di Bieda, a wretched village two or three miles from the former place. It is utterly devoid of interest, with no antiquities in its neighbourhood.¹

Bieda, it has been said, was on the Via Clodia, or Claudia. This Way parted from the Cassian a few miles from Rome, ran by Ad Careias, or Galera, to Sabate on the Lacus Sabatinus, and through Forum Clodii, Blera, and Tuscania to Cosa, where it fell into the Aurclian.² Sabate is not mentioned as an Etruscan town, but it was probably of

¹ Gell has stated that there are tombs at this spot with genuine Etruscan mouldings, but it is evident that he had never visited it, since he places it "on the road between Vetralla and Viterbo" (Topography of Rome, I. p. 209), whereas it is three miles on the other side of Vetralla. The fact is that it is not a site which would have been chosen by the Etruscans for a town, as it stands on the verge of a wide plateau, far too extensive to have been included within walls.

² The Peutingerian Table gives the stations on this road as follows:—

Roma		Blera	XVI
Ad Sextum	VI	Tuscania	VIII
Carcas	VIII	Materno	XII
Ad Nonas	VIII	Saturnia	XVIII
Sabate	XII	Succosa	VIII
Foro Clodio	—	Cosa	—

The nine miles attached to Ad Nonas are superfluous, for without them the distances of Sabate and Blera from Rome are nearly correct. From Bieda to Toscanella, there are many more than nine miles. The VIII may be a miscopy of XIII, which is nearer the truth.

312 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

this antiquity.¹ It is thought to have occupied a site near Bracciano, though no vestige of it is now extant.² The Forum Clodii is supposed to have been at Oriuolo, but no remains could I perceive there, beyond fragments of the ancient road. Between this and Bieda stands the ruined town or castle of Ischia, perhaps one of the Novem Pagi of antiquity, which are thought to have lain in this neighbourhood.³

The lake of Bracciano (*Lacus Sabatinus*), like every other in this district of Italy, is the crater of an extinct volcano. It is more than twenty miles in circuit, and though without islands, or other very striking features, is not deficient in beauty. I retain pleasurable reminiscences of a midsummer ramble on its shores. My path ran first over flats of corn, then falling beneath the sickle—next it led through avenues of mulberries, whitening the ground with their showered fruit, while the whole strip of shore was covered with the richest tessellation of wheat, hemp, maize, flax, melons, artichokes, overshadowed by vines, olives, figs, and other fruit trees, intermingling with that “gracious prodigality of Nature,” which almost dispenses with labour in these sunny climes—and then it passed the wrecks of Roman luxury at Vicarello,⁴ and climbed the heights above, where cultivation ceases, and those forest aristocrats, the oak, the beech, and the chestnut, hold undisputed sway. From this height the eye revels over the broad blue lake, the mirror of Italian heavens,—

“It was the azure time of June,
When the skies are deep in the stainless noon—”

¹ The earliest mention of Sabate is after the fall of Veii and Falerii, when the conquered territory was given to the Etruscans who had favoured Rome in the contest, and four new tribes, one called Sabatina, were formed. Liv. VI. 4, 5. Fest. 7. Sabatina.

² The ruins which Holstenius (ad Cluver. p. 44) and Westphal (*Römische Kampagne*, p. 156) point out as those of Sabate, at a spot more than a mile beyond Bracciano, near S. Marciano or S. Liberato, Nibby (I. p. 325) shows to be the remains of a Roman villa of the early empire; and he agrees with Cluver (II. p. 524) in thinking that Sabate was the town mentioned by Sotion as engulfed by the lake.

³ Plin. III. 8. Westphal (loc. cit. p. 157) thinks the Novem Pagi are represented by the neighbouring sites of Viano, Ischia, Agliola, Barberano, &c.

⁴ Here are remains of ancient villas and baths,—whence the name, Bagni di Vicarello.

reflecting also, on one shore, the cliff-perched towns of Anguillara and Bracciano—the latter conspicuous by the square, turretted mass of its feudal castle—and on the other, the crumbling tower of Trevignano,¹ backed by the green mountain-pyramid of Rocca Romana. But the glassy depths of the lake do not merely mirror remains of the olden time, for on its banks, it is said,

“——as the fisherman strays,
When the clear cold eve's declining,
He sees the round towers of other days,
In the wave beneath him shining.”²

¹ Nibby (III. p. 287) thinks this the site of an Etruscan town, from a fragment of ancient masonry, outside the gate on the road to Bracciano. It escaped my observation ; but the site is un-Etruscan.

² Sotion (de Mir. Font.) says a town was swallowed up by this lake, as by the Ciminian, and that many foundations, and temples, and an abundance of statues might be seen in its clear depths. The fish and wild-fowl for which this, with other lakes of Etruria, was anciently renowned (Strabo, V. p. 226 ; Columella, de Re Rust. VIII. 16), have not deserted it, nor do reeds and rushes cease to fringe its banks ; but the papyrus is no longer among them. The Sabatia stagna of Silius Italicus (VIII. 492) probably included also the neighbouring lakelets of Martignano and Stracciaccapa.



CITHARISTA AND SALTATRIX FROM THE GROTTA MARZI.

CHAPTER XVIII

CORNETO

TARQUINII.—THE CEMETERY

Dead men

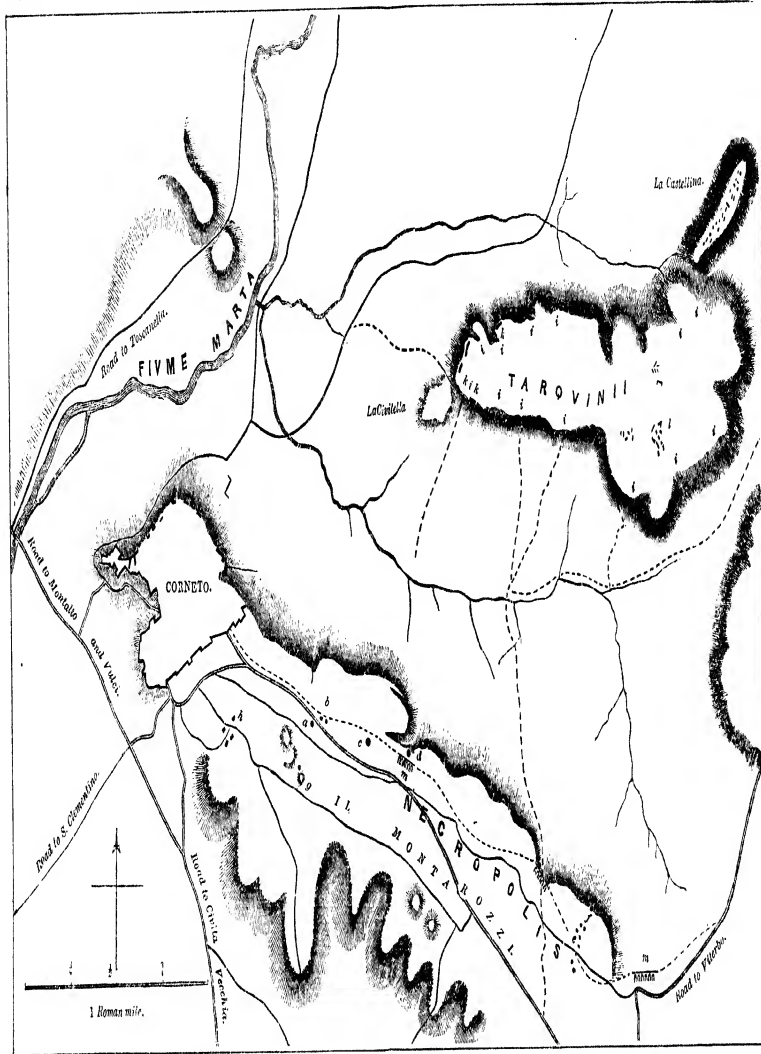
Hang their mute thoughts on the mute walls around.—SHELLEY.

Qual di pannel fu maestro o di stile,
Che ritraesse l' ombre e gli atti ch' ivi
Mirar farieno uno 'ngegno sottile?—DANTE.

Εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλη τῶν αὐτόθι πόλεων, ἐπιφανὴς καὶ μεγάλη· δῆλοι γὰρ εἰσιν αὐτῆς οἱ τε θεμέλιοι τῶν τειχῶν, καὶ τάφοι τινὲς ἀρχαιοπρεπεῖς καὶ πολυανδρίων ἐν ὑψηλοῖς χώμασι μηκυνομένων περίβολοι—DIONYS. HALIC.

FROM Vetralla a good road leads to Corneto, eighteen miles distant. It is an instance of the imperfect system of communication in this land, that this is the high-road from Viterbo to Civita Vecchia; but in order to reach that port you must make a large angle, first westward to Corneto, and thence south to Civita Vecchia.

About three miles from Vetralla, in a glen to the right of the road, may be observed many traces of sepulture, indicating the existence of some Etruscan town, whose name and memory



- a* Grotta Querciola.
b Grotta del Triclinio, and G. del Morto.
c Grotta de' Pompei.
d Grotta del Cardinale.

- e* Grotta delle Bighe, G. del Mare, G. del Barone, G. Francesca, and G. della Scrofa Nera.
f Grotta delle Iscrizioni.
g La Mercareccia.

- A* Caves.
i Sites of the ancient gates.
k Fragments of the ancient walls.
l Ara della Regina, or the Acropolis.
m Aqueduct.

- Carriage-roads.
 — Country-roads or bridle-paths.
 Lines of ancient roads. Where it connects the portions of *m* it marks the subterranean course of the aqueduct.

have utterly perished.¹ Six or seven miles further on the road is the village of Monte Romano, on the hill of that name, presenting, as far as I could perceive, no signs of antiquity.

On approaching Corneto, cultivation gives place to bare, undulating downs. The "Queen of the Maremma" comes into view at the distance of several miles, crowded with a tiara of many towers, and enthroned on the extremity of a long barren ridge, whose strangely broken surface at once arrests the eye. To the right, separated from it by a deep vale, stretches a parallel ridge, browed with white cliffs. This once bore the walls, the temples, the palaces of ancient Tarquinii—that contained its sepulchres. The one was the city of the living; the other the city of the dead. Once, how different! now, but too similar—rivals in desolation! The whole is a wild and dreary scene. Not a tree on either height, or in the vale between—wide sweeps of bare country on every hand—the dark, serrated range of the Tolfa to the south. An aqueduct of many arches occupies the foreground; and the sunny blue of the Mediterranean, the only cheerful feature in the landscape, gleams on the horizon.

The road here branches to Civita Vecchia on the one hand, and to Corneto on the other. The latter track traverses the hill of the Necropolis, the whole surface of which is rugged with tumuli, or what have once been such, but are now shapeless mounds of earth, overgrown with lentiscus, myrtle, wild olive, broom, and rank grass, and giving to the hill, even when seen from afar, a strange, pimply appearance. Hence its appellation of "Montarozzi."

Fanno i sepolcri tutto 'l loco varo.

Towards the sea the eye passes over lower grounds, in which are olive-groves, a farm-house or two, and several tumuli of large size. Lower still lies the flat, barren strip of coast—the region of salt-works and deadly fevers. Here, on the beach, stands a hamlet, dignified with the title of Porto Clementino: a few small craft are at anchor off shore, waiting for cargoes of corn and salt.

¹ Westphal (Ann. Inst. 1830, p. 18), suggests that this may be the site of Cortuosa, mentioned by Livy (VI. 4); but this is a mere conjecture.

316 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

It is a drive of nearly three miles over the Montarozzi to the gate of Corneto. Here a glance brings the thoughts from the most remote antiquity, down to the days of chivalry. Long lines of yellow battlemented wall stretch along the crest and down the slope of the hill; and the style of masonry, the absence of bastions and ravelins, and of embrasures for artillery, show these fortifications to date from the middle ages.

Though the chief city of the Papal Maremma, having a population of four or five thousand souls, and lying on the high-road from Civita Vecchia to Leghorn, Corneto has, or till very recently had, no inn—none at least where the traveller, *fessus viarum*, might repose and recruit in comfort. There is a massive Gothic building in the lower Piazza, from its original application and actual condition styled Il Palazzaccio—"the great ugly Palace"—which has long served as an hostelry; but every one in quest of comfort and cleanliness has ever devoutly eschewed it, in spite of its graceful mullions and winning tracery. On my first visit to Corneto, five or six years since, the only decent *hospitium* was a private house—Casa Moirano—the resort of the few artists and antiquaries who visited the spot; its attractions lying less, it may be, in the civility and attention of the worthy hostess, than in the charms of her daughter, the pretty Gioconda. I have since learned that the Palazzaccio, having fallen into fresh hands, affords more tolerable accommodation than formerly; but I speak not from experience, for, having no great reason to quarrel with my old quarters, on subsequent visits I have returned to them. Beds may also be had at a *caff  * in the high-street.

Corneto possesses little interest, save to those who love to dwell with the past. The scenery around it, though wild, and occasionally grand, is not—for Italy at least—picturesque. Bare, hog-backed heights—the broad desert strip of shore—no wood but olive plantations, dull, grey, solemn, formal, and monotonous, less cheerful even than treeless tracts, and which are to scenery what a drab coat is to humanity—these are not promising materials for the portfolio. The city itself is the finest feature in the scene, and viewed from the north, on which side the ground sinks precipitously to the banks of the Marta, it is particularly bold and imposing. With this exception, the scenic delights of Corneto may almost be

Tarquinii—the Cemetery 317

summed up in what none but the determined admirer of nature will appreciate—

“Watching the ocean and the sky together,
Under the roof of blue Italian weather.”

With so little of the beautiful or picturesque around it, with dulness and dirt within its walls, the atmosphere for half the year leaden and febrile, Corneto can have charms for few. Such, however, there are—antiquaries of credit and renown—who can leave Rome and its social attractions, to pass weeks in this secluded city.

The antiquity of Corneto is very questionable. The fond pride of its citizens has assigned to it an origin in the remotest ages, identifying it, on the strength of the first syllable—on the Macedon and Monmouth principle—with the Corytus of Virgil;¹ a pretension too absurd to need refutation. If it had an existence in Etruscan times, it were less unreasonable to suppose, with Sir W. Gell, that it occupies the site of Cortuosa, or Contenebra,² towns in the territory of Tarquinii, which were captured and destroyed by the Romans, A. U. C. 366.³ But it is not likely that either of these towns was so close to the great city of Tarquinii; and as there are no traces whatever of ancient habitation, it is more probable that this site was not occupied in Etruscan times, or at most by an outpost or fort.

There are few relics of antiquity within Corneto. In the Palazzo Bruschi are some Latin inscriptions, found on the site of the ancient city.⁴ The Palazzo Falsacappa also

¹ So sings a poet of the fifteenth century (Bull. Inst. 1839, p. 68)—

Is Coritus Mons, veteris primordia Trojæ
Cornetum quo nunc urbs opulenta sedet.

Cardinal Gaŕampi (ap. Tiraboschi, Litter. Ital. I. p. 50, ed. Milano, 1822,) dates the origin of Corneto from the eighth or ninth century of our era, and says it was first called Corgnitum, perhaps from the abundance of cornels in the neighbourhood. In the middle ages Corneto was much better populated than at present, for its walls are now half empty.

² Gell, Rome, &c. I. p. 373.

³ Liv. VI. 4. We have no clue whatever to the site of these towns. The position which Mariani, Sarzana, and others have assigned to them, on the Marta where it issues from the Lake of Bolsena, is mere conjecture. Dempster and Cluver wisely determine nothing.

⁴ They will be found in Bull. Inst. 1830, p. 198; Ann. Inst. 1832, p. 151, *et seq.*; 1839, p. 29.

318 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

contains a few remains. In the Cathedral, beside some curious inscriptions of the middle ages, is a marble slab, forming a step in the aisle, and bearing an Etruscan epigraph, probably sepulchral.¹

The visitor to Corneto will do well to obtain an introduction to Signor Carlo Avvolta, once the *gonfaloniere*, or chief magistrate of the city, now a *consultore*, or counsellor, of Civita Vecchia. He is a lively, intelligent, old gentleman, experienced in excavations, deeply interested in the antiquities of this site, his birthplace, ever ready to impart information, and displaying as much courtesy to strangers as cordiality to his friends. Such as feel little interest in antiquities may consult him with profit on the more rousing matters of Maremma sports. Though now nearly eighty years of age, he is still a keen sportsman, and enters on the fatigues and perils of the chase with the ardour of a man of thirty. He resides in a spacious, gloomy house, where everything breathes of antiquity; but, wherever his activity may lead him during the day, in the evening he is sure to be found at the *caff *, or at the *spezieria*, where he will descant, with all the enthusiasm of his nature, on the last boar or roe-buck he made to bite the dust, or on the paintings and furniture of Etruscan tombs.

The Bruschi gardens, outside the city on the road to Civita Vecchia, are worthy of a visit, even from the antiquary. The parterres are adorned with altars, sarcophagi, fragments of columns, and other relics of Etruscan and Roman antiquity; and in the lower garden are some stone lions, of amusing quaintness.

But the grand lions of Corneto are the painted tombs on the Montarozzi. These, after having remained open to the wantonness of travellers and the ignorance of shepherds—in one case for nearly a century—were a few years since fitted with doors by order of the government; and the keys were intrusted to a citizen of Corneto. This man, Ag pito Aldanesi, who is to be found exercising his vocation of cordwainer in the Piazza Angelica, doffs cap and apron, and comes forth a new man at the traveller's call, provided with keys and tapers to do the subterranean honours of the spot.

¹ In Roman letters it would be—LARTH. VELCHAS. THUICESU. It is correctly given by Kellermann, Bull. Inst. 1833, p. 61.

Tarquiniî—the Cemetery 319

I shall describe these tombs in the order in which they are generally visited. More than a cursory notice may be thought superfluous after the full and lively descriptions of Mrs. Hamilton Gray; but as that lady, at the time of visiting Etruria, had no intention of writing a work on the subject, and has been obliged to depend as much upon memory as upon notes,¹ it is no matter of surprise that errors have crept into her statements. The weeks I have spent at Corneto, day after day, from sunrise to sunset,

“Hid from the world in the low-delved tombs,”

the paintings in most of which I have copied with the camera-lucida, and coloured on the spot, so as to familiarize myself with all their details, and the visits I have subsequently paid to the place, warrant me in laying claim to greater accuracy than can be attained by the observation of a passing tourist.

About a mile from Corneto, in the heart of the Montarozzi, a deep pit by the wayside marks the entrance to the

GROTTA QUERCIOLA,

a name derived from the owner of the ground in which the tomb lies. Agápito, “the happy man who shows the tombs” of Tarquiniî, is much dissatisfied with the nomenclature hitherto given to them, and is wont to designate this as the Grotta della Caccia del Cignale—“Tomb of the Boar-hunt.”

A descent of about twenty steps, hewn in ancient times from the solid rock, leads to the entrance of the tomb, which is closed by a modern door. This opens into a spacious chamber. The first impression is one of disappointment. The chamber is in the form of an Etruscan tomb—but where are the paintings?—why close a sepulchre with naked walls? Presently, however, as the eye becomes accustomed to the gloom, figure after figure seems to step forth from the walls, and you perceive two rows of them, separated by a striped coloured ribbon—the upper row being nearly four feet, the lower only half that in height. In the pediment, left at each end of the chamber by the

¹ Sepulchres of Etruria, p. 171, 3rd edit.

320 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

ceiling sloping down from the central beam, is a third row, not more than twelve inches high.

The next impression is one of surprise. Can this be the resting-place of the dead?—Can these scenes of feasting and merriment, this dancing, this piping, this sporting, appertain to a tomb? There on the inner wall, and occupying the principal row, is a banqueting-scene—figures in richly-broidered garments recline on couches, feasting to the sound of the lyre and pipes; attendants stand around, some replenishing the goblets from the wine-jars on a sideboard hard by; a train of dancers, male and female, beat time with lively steps to the notes of the instruments, on which some of them are also performing; while in the lower row are depicted field-sports, a boar-hunt being the most conspicuous.

But observe that fond and youthful pair on the central couch. The female, of exquisite beauty, turns her back on the feast, and throws her arms passionately round the neck of her lover, who reclines behind her. The other guests quaff their wine without heeding them. The elegant forms of the couches and stools, the rich drapery, the embroidered cushions, show this to be a scene of high life, and give some idea of Etruscan luxury.¹ Even the dancers are very richly attired, especially the females, in figured robes of bright colours, with embroidered borders of a different hue.² A simple mantle, either the *chlamys* or scarf, or the *pallium* or blanket, suffices for the men; but the attendants at the sideboard have unornamented tunics. The dancing-girls, like those of modern times, are decorated with jewellery—earrings, necklaces, and bracelets—and have also a frontlet on their brows;³ while

¹ Diodorus Siculus (V. p. 316, ed. Rhod.) and Posidonius (ap. Athen. IV. c. 13, p. 153) tell us that the Etruscans were wont twice a day to have a sumptuous banquet prepared, and to recline under flowered coverlets, drinking out of silver vessels of various forms, and attended by a multitude of handsome slaves, magnificently apparelled. Each *lectus* or couch in this scene has beneath it the usual long stool—*hypopodium* or *suppedaneum*—and, though both are intended to have four legs, two only are represented. The dogs beneath the couches answer to the *κύες τραπεζῆς* of Homer. Il. XXIII. 173; Odys. XVII. 309.

² They wear the Ionic *chiton*, or long tunic, with short, loose sleeves; and over it a shawl, in some instances the *peplos*, in others the lighter *chlamys*.

³ It is the *ampyx*—the same frontlet as is generally given by ancient artists and poets to Juno, Diana, and the Muses.

the men wear chaplets of myrtle. A *tibicen*, or *subulo*, as the Etruscans called him, blowing the double-pipes,¹ and a *citharista* with his lyre, stand at one end of the banqueting-scene, and a *subulo* at the other; another performer of each description mingles in the dance.² All this feasting and merry-making is carried on in the open air, as is shown by the trees behind the festive couch, and alternating with the dancers; yet the *candelabrum* indicates it to be by night.

The figure over the doorway, which seems to have been a man in a *biga*, or two-horse chariot, does not belong to the foregoing scene, but seems introduced merely to fill an awkward space; though it is probable it has reference to the funeral games.

To hunt the wild-boar of Etruria—*Tuscan aper*³—was a

¹ Varro, de Ling. Lat. VII. 35; Festus, v. Subulo. Both these writers cite Ennius as saying—

Subulo quondam marinas propter adstabat plagas—

a position in which a fife-player has never, I believe, been found on an ancient monument, though in a parable which Herodotus (I. 141) puts into the mouth of Cyrus, one is represented as playing—not preaching, like St. Anthony—to the fishes. Varro adds that the root of *subulo* must be sought in Etruria, not in Latium. Vossius went to the East for it, and fancied he had found it in the Arabic—*sunbul*—spica, calamus. Macrobius (Saturn. II. 1) represents this class of men as being proverbial for their indecent language—*subulonibus impudica et prætextata verba*. The pipes used by the Etruscans at sacrifices are said to have been of ivory (Virg. Georg. II. 193), or of box-wood; those at public festivals, of lotus-wood, of asses' bones, or of silver. Plin. XVI. 66. Pliny says these double-pipes were of Phrygian origin. VII. 57. A representation of an Etruscan *subulo* is given in the woodcut at page 326.

² The union of the pipes and lyre in ancient music, as exemplified in this and other Etruscan tombs, is frequently mentioned by classic writers. Horace (Epod. IX. 5) gives us to understand that a Doric song accompanied the lyre, and a "barbarian," i. e. most probably a Lydian, the pipes—as he elsewhere (Od. IV. 15, 30) says—*Lydis remixto carmine tibiis*. Lydian was frequently used by the ancients as synonymous with Etruscan, on account of the generally received tradition, that Etruria had been colonized from Lydia, but the pipe was really of oriental origin. See Müller, Etrusk. IV. 1, 3, p. 203.

None of the *subulones* in this, or indeed in any other of the tombs of Tarquinii, wear the *φορβειά*, or *capistrum*—the bands fastened behind the head, to assist the action of blowing, by compression of the cheeks; though it is not unfrequently represented on Etruscan sarcophagi and vases.

³ Juven. Sat. I. 22; Stat. Silv. IV. 6, 10; Mart. VII. epig. 27; XII. ep. 14, 9. The boars of Umbria (Horat. Sat. II. 4, 40), and of Lucania (Hor. Sat. II. 3, 234; 8, 6) were also celebrated as a dish, but

322 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

favourite sport of the old Romans, as it is still of their modern representatives. From this and other ancient monuments we learn that it was also the delight of the Etruscans themselves. The bristly monster is here depicted brought to bay by the dogs. Men on foot and horseback are rushing eagerly to the attack ; the former, while brandishing a spear in one hand, have an axe in the other to cut their way through the thickets, or to sever the boar's head from his carcass. Behind these figures are the nets into which it was the custom to drive the game, in order to bring it to bay. Such a scene is described by Virgil,¹ in his usual circumstantial and picturesque manner, and with more conciseness, but not less accuracy, by Horace ;² and that such was the ordinary mode of hunting the boar and deer among the Greeks and Romans we have abundant evidence in ancient writers.³ In this lower band there seem also to have been chariot-races, but many figures have been obliterated from the wall.

In each pediment are two warriors, with short curved swords, leading their horses by the bridle ;⁴ and the angles are filled by panthers—an animal frequently portrayed in Etruscan tombs, and generally over the doorway ; whence it has been inferred that they were intended as figurative guardians of the dead. But their presence in tombs may be otherwise explained by their being sacred to Bacchus, who, as an infernal deity, was closely allied to, perhaps identical with, Mantus, the great god of the Etruscan Hades.

This tomb was discovered in April 1831. It is larger and loftier than any other sepulchre in this necropolis, whose walls are completely covered with paintings,⁵ and in its original state must have been truly magnificent ; but the colours have now almost faded from the walls, and it is to be feared that ere long they will vanish entirely. Agápito asserts that they have faded very much during the last few

that of Etruria had more reputation, at least than the former, for Statius says—*Tuscorum aper generosior Umbro*.

¹ Virg. *Æn.* X. 707-715.

² Horat. *Epod.* II. 31.

³ See the article "Retis," in Dr. Smith's excellent *Dictionary of Antiquities*.

⁴ Gerhard (*Ann. Inst.* 1831, p. 321) considers these warriors to represent the souls of the deceased, figured in an heroic, and, as it were, a deified aspect.

⁵ It is 18 feet by 17, and about 10 feet high at the sides, and 12 to the central beam of the ceiling.

years.¹ This is the more to be regretted, on account of the peculiar beauty of the design here exhibited, which places this at the head of the painted tombs of Tarquinii. Professor Gerhard pronounces the design to be genuinely Hellenic, of a free and perfect character, yet accompanied by features purely Etruscan; in fact, he regards it as the most instructive monument extant for the history of pictorial art in Etruria.² Yet though Greek art be decidedly evident in this tomb, the subject, as in almost every other sepulchral painting, is genuinely Etruscan. The most striking peculiarity is the presence of the two sexes on the same festive couch. It is not improbable that the fair one in this scene, from her amorous attitude, and from the absence of any other of her sex at the banquet, is as frail as fair—in short, that she is a *hetæra*.³ But in others of these tombs females of most modest appearance are represented reclining with the males. And this is never found in Greek works of art—bas-reliefs, or even painted vases. For, with all their refinement, the Hellenes never attained to such an elevation of sentiment towards the fair sex, as to raise it to an equality with the male. In the feeling with which they regarded, and the suspicion with which they treated their females, they were half-orientals; indeed, the polished Athenians

¹ This must be owing to the action of the atmosphere. So thought Maffei (Osserv. Litter. V. p. 312) and Winckelmann (Lib. III. cap. 2, § 23, 24) of other painted tombs of Tarquinii, that the colours lost their freshness by exposure to the atmosphere; but Ruspi, who has paid much attention to these paintings, pronounces this to be quite a mistake, and that the true colours are only brought out by exposure to the sun and air. Ann. Instit. 1831, p. 326.

² Ann. Instit. 1831, pp. 313, 319, 357. The Greek character is seen not only in the general style of the design, but in the details of the drapery, the furniture, the crockery; but the high-necked *crater* on the sideboard is very un-Hellenic in form, nor have I ever seen its counterpart in reality. The two *amphoræ* at its side are not much superior in form. The folded cushion under the elbow of each banqueter is the *ὑπαγκώνιον* of the Greeks, answering to the *cubital* or *pulvinar* of the Romans. The flowered coverlet (*ἀνθιμή στρωμνή*), however, over the figure in the corner of the inner wall, is one of the articles cited by Posidonius (ap. Athen. IV. c. 13, p. 153) as a proof of the extravagant luxury of the Etruscans.

³ Gerhard (Ann. Inst. 1831, p. 347) makes her an honest woman and the wife of her feast-fellow. Mrs. Gray (Sep. of Etruria, p. 193), with a praiseworthy tenderness for her sex, is blind to the evident amorous *abandon* of this fair Etruscan, and can see in her only “an afflicted mother consoled by her remaining son.”

324 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

were in this respect behind their ruder Dorian rivals. Their wives and daughters were never suffered to share the festive couch with their lords. *Hetære* alone were admitted to that equivocal honour. The superiority of the Romans in this point,¹ there is little doubt was owing to the example of the Etruscans, who, as is abundantly proved from their monuments, as well as from history,² admitted their females to an equal place at the board. Such, however, was not the custom of the early Romans, for they reclined at table, while their women sat on chairs;³ and so also they used to represent their deities in the *lectisternia*, or sacred feasts, for the statue of Jupiter was laid on a couch, while those of Juno and Minerva, his sister-wife and daughter, be it remembered, were placed in a sitting posture.⁴

One peculiarity of this tomb is, that the sexes are not distinguished by their colour, as is always the case in the early

¹ Quem Romanorum pudet uxorem ducere in convivium? . . . multo fit aliter in Græciâ—triumphantly exclaims Corn. Nepos (præfat).

² Aristot. ap. Athen. I. c. 19, p. 23. That the same custom prevailed among the Volsci seems proved by certain reliefs discovered at Velletri. Theopompus (ap. eund. XII. c. 3, p. 517), while he admits that the Etruscan females took their meals with the other sex, maligns them by saying, that it was with any one rather than with their own husbands. But the simple fact of the two sexes reclining together at meals, must have appeared so outrageous a breach of decorum to the Greeks, who always associated such a position with *hetære* alone, as to lead them naturally to regard the women as immodest; just as a Persian on hearing of distant lands, where all the women went unveiled, would set them down as dead to all shame and virtue. Before the discovery of these painted tombs, the union of the two sexes at the banquet had been remarked by Micali (Italia avanti il dominio de' Romani, II. p. 86, tav. 37) on certain Etruscan monuments; but Inghirami (Mon. Etrus. I. p. 665) would not admit it—each considering his own view most flattering to his Etruscan forefathers. "How so licentious a custom," exclaims Inghirami, commenting on his opponent, "can be termed refinement, delicacy, and the elegant custom of a civilized people, as he declares the Etruscans to be, I leave to the judgment of any one who has the most superficial idea of decency." Yet in the same work (I. p. 408) he had previously admitted that both sexes are represented on Etruscan urns reclining together at banquets; but he interprets such scenes symbolically—fancying the men to signify heroes, the women, souls!

³ Varro, ap. Isid. Orig. XX. 11.—Viri discumbere ceperunt, mulieres sedere, quia turpis visus est in muliere accubitus. Valer. Max. II. 1, 2.

⁴ Valer. Max. loc. cit. Yet Livy (V. 13) and Dionysius (Excerpt. Mai. XII.) describe Latona and Diana reclining with male divinities at the first *lectisternium* exhibited at Rome A. U. C. 355, just before the capture of Veii.

and purely Etruscan tombs, where the males are coloured a deep red, but the females left white. Another peculiarity is, that there are no chaplets represented, either suspended from the walls, or in the hands of the dancers. The colours used in these paintings are red, yellow, blue, grey, black, and white. It is said that when the tomb was opened, an Etruscan inscription was legible near the principal figures of the banquet; but it has completely disappeared, the surface of the wall in this part being sadly dilapidated.¹

Nearly opposite the Grotta Querciola, on the other side of the road, is the

GROTTA DEL TRICLINIO,

called also from the owner of the ground, GROTTA MARZI, but the former designation, or that which Agápito gives it—Grotta del Convito Funebre—"Tomb of the Funeral Feast"—is more appropriate. It was discovered in 1830, by Manzi and Fossati.²

This tomb is entered in the same way as the last. The first peep within it is startling, especially if the sun's rays happen at the moment to enter the chamber, which they do in the course of the afternoon. Such a blaze of rich colour on the walls and roof, and such life in the figures that dance around! In truth, the excellent state of preservation—the wonderful brilliancy of the colours, almost as fresh after two or three and twenty centuries, as when first laid on—the richness of the costumes—the strangeness of the attitudes—

¹ For notices and opinions of this tomb, consult Bull. Inst. 1831, pp. 81-3. Ann. Inst. 1831, p. 313, *et seq.* (Gerhard). Ann. Inst. 1831, p. 325 (Ruspi); 1831, pp. 346-359 (Gerhard). Ann. Inst. 1834, p. 56 (Bunsen). For illustrations, see Mon. Ined. Inst. I. tav. 33, a copy of which will also be found in Mrs. Gray's Sepulchres of Etruria, p. 192, but inaccurately coloured. No copies of these paintings are in the British Museum, though they will be found in the Museo Gregoriano at Rome, and are engraved in the work of that name, tom. I. tav. CIV.

² This tomb faces S. by E. Its dimensions are about 15 ft. by 11; nearly 8 ft. in height in the centre, and 6 ft. 3 in. at the sides. The height of the figures is about 3 ft. 6 in. The floor of the inner half of the tomb is raised in a *dais*, about 2 or 3 inches high, in one corner of which are four holes, marking the place of the sarcophagus, which was found in it. Few of the painted tombs on this site seem to have been family-sepulchres, which predominate over those for individuals in most of the Etruscan cemeteries.

326 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

the spirit, the vivacity, the joyousness of the whole scene—the decidedly Etruscan character of the design, distinct at once from the Greek and from the Egyptian, yet in certain points approximating to both—render this one of the most interesting tombs yet opened in Etruria.



SALTATRIX.



SUBULO.

The subjects of the paintings are in character and arrangement very similar to those in the Grotta Querciola. Here are the same scenes of joy and festivity; the banquet at the upper end; the dances on the side-walls; but on each side of the door is a man on horseback. The broad beam of the ceiling is painted with ivy and lotus leaves; the slopes are chequered with black, brown, red, blue, yellow, and white. Where the painting has suffered, it is not so much from the colours fading, as in the other tomb, but from the surface of the wall peeling off, which it has done to a considerable extent at the upper end, so as to obliterate a portion of the banquet; but there still remain, little impaired, four figures, two of each sex, reclining in pairs on separate *lecti* or couches, attended by a female servant with an *alabastron*, or pot of ointment, and a boy with a wine-jug, while a *subulo* stands in one corner playing the double-pipes. On the third couch can now be traced but a single figure, and that a male, whose hand is still seen stretched out in the act of

offering an egg to the gentleman next him.¹ The sex of the figures is distinguishable by the colour; that of the males is a deep red; that of the females, being left unpainted, is of the ground-colour of the wall—a rich creamy white.² This distinction holds in all the tombs save the Querciola; and is also made on the vases of the Second or Tyrrhene style, where the figures being black, the males are left of that hue, but the female flesh is painted white. In front of each couch is an elegant *trapeza*, or four-legged table, bearing sundry dishes full of refreshments; and beneath are a cock, a partridge, and a cat. Depending from the ceiling above the banquet are several chaplets of different colours.³

¹ The copies of these paintings, both in the British Museum and in the Vatican, represent a pair of figures on the third couch. Gerhard (Ann. Inst. 1831, p. 338) also so describes it. If that were the case, the couch must have been foreshortened.

² A similar distinction in the colour of the sexes was observed by the Egyptians in their paintings. Vermilion seems to have been the conventional hue of male rank and dignity also among more Eastern nations. "She saw men pourtrayed upon the wall, the images of the Chaldeans pourtrayed with vermilion . . . all of them princes to look to, after the manner of the Babylonians of Chaldea, the land of their nativity." Ezek. xxiii. 14, 15. Just so are the Assyrian sculptures coloured, which have recently been discovered at Khorsabad, near Mosoul. See Quarterly Review, March 1847, p. 443. That it was also an ancient custom in Italy to represent gods and heroes of this red hue is evident from Pliny (XXXIII. 36), who states that the statue of Jupiter was wont to be fresh painted with *minium* or vermilion on high festivals, and that Camillus, the conqueror of Veii, so bedaubed himself on his triumph. He adds that in his day the custom prevailed in Æthiopia, where all the great men painted themselves of this hue; and the images of the gods were similarly be-dyed. The Romans doubtless derived the custom from the Etruscans, with whom, as these painted tombs and the recumbent figures on their sarcophagi abundantly testify, it was a conventional mode of expressing a state of glorification and beatitude. Tibullus (II. 1. 55) says the husbandman of old was wont to dance before the gods—*minio suffusus rubenti*.

³ An erudite explanation of the paintings of this tomb is given by Professor Gerhard, Ann. Instit. 1831, pp. 337-346. In illustration of the analogy between the banquets of the Greeks and Etruscans, he quotes Amphis (ap. Athen. XIV. c. 12, p. 642) who describes a banquet as composed of "milk-cakes, sweet wine, eggs, sesame-cakes, ointment, a chaplet, and a female flute-player"—

"Ἀμῆτες, οἶνος ἥδὺς, ὠὰ, σῆσαμαί,
Μύρον, στέφανος, αὐλητρίς.

The *tibicen* is not here of the fair sex, nor is this so general on Etruscan as on Greek monuments, though instances occur in the Grotta delle Bighe, and Grotta Francesca, in this same necropolis, of females

328 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

How much more animated is the action of the dancers in this tomb than in the last ! Their steps are regulated by the lyre and pipes played by two of the men, and by the castanets rattled by one of the females.¹ All enter heartily into the spirit of the dance ;



ETRUSCAN DANCING-GIRL.

but here, as now - a - days, woman asserts her right to excel, and the nymphs step out more merrily than their partners ; especially one, who with head thrown back and hands raised, betrays true Terpsichorean *abandon*, and might pass for some *Gaditana puella* — some “lovely girl of Cadiz” of the olden time. The attitudes, as in many archaic Greek and Etruscan designs, are sometimes unnatural and

blowing the *tibia pares*. Gerhard (loc. cit. p. 340) declares that all the figures in this tomb wear garlands of myrtle, and so they are represented in the copies in the Vatican and British Museum (cf. Ann. Inst. 1831, p. 327—Manzi and Fossati), but no signs of such chaplets have I been able to perceive. Perhaps, being blue, they have faded from the wall, like the leaves of the trees in this tomb. In the above woodcuts the figures are represented without chaplets, as they now appear on the walls.

¹ Castanets—*crotala*—were used at the dances of the Greeks and Romans, by whom they have been transmitted to the southern people of modern Europe. Thus the “Copa Syrisca,” attributed to Virgil, was—

“Crispum sub crotalo docta movere latus.”

So the senatorial youths of Rome in early times were wont to dance—*crotala gestantes*—Macrob. Saturn. II. 10. Castanets with cymbals were the weapons of the *saltatrix*. Petron. Priap. 26. The castanets of the ancients were of various materials—wood, shell, brass, or sometimes of split reed. Suidas, v. *κρόταλον*. Eustath. Iliad. XI. 160. Those of the Etruscans seem never to have varied from the straight form shown in this tomb ; though on the vases, which, however, represent Greek rather than Etruscan life, they have sometimes the extremities crooked. On the bronzes they are of the same form as in this tomb (Ann. Inst. 1836, p. 64 ; Mon. Ined. Inst. II. tav. XXIX.) ; and in the tomb of the Tarquins, at Cervetri, they are also like these, and are painted on the wall as if suspended over the head of a corpse. *Crotalon* was used by the Greeks as a term of reproach, equivalent to our “chatterbox.” Eurip. Cycl. 104 ; Aristoph. Nub. 260, 448.

unattainable, which arises from the inability of the artist to foreshorten—the limbs and features being represented in profile, even when the body is in full.¹ The form of the hands, too, is remarkable—fingers of such undainty length are not often seen in the painted tombs of Etruria, though general on black-figured vases of the Tyrrhene style, and also in the small bronze figures of Etruscan deities. Most of the dresses of both sexes are transparent, representing gauze or other fine linen, which shows the forms beneath; but in a display of this sort these ancient Taglionis and Ceritos cannot rival those of modern days. The richness of the borders of the garments, and the strange stiffness and regularity of the folds, is quite Etruscan.² So also is the physiognomy of the figures. Yet there is something Jewish in the female profiles. Mark this, ye seekers of the Ten Tribes! The cheeks show that a high colour was as much admired in Italy in former days as at present; and probably the Etruscan fair ones, like the Greek and Roman, heightened their charms with rouge.

It is worthy of remark that all the females in this tomb, even the slave who is waiting on the banqueters, are decently robed. So it is in the other tombs; and this tends to belie the charge brought against the Etruscans by the Greeks, that the men were waited on by naked handmaids.³ No such representation has been found on any Etruscan monument yet discovered, painting or relief; on the contrary, the women are draped with far more than Greek modesty.⁴ One

¹ An awkward instance of this may be observed in the female attendant behind the couch, whose body is in full, but head and feet in profile, and turned in opposite directions. The left foot of the dancing girl in the above woodcut is the only exception in this tomb.

² The stiffness in the drapery is also found in archaic works of the Greeks. But the style and costume of these *danseuses* may be regarded as genuinely Etruscan. They differ considerably from those in the Grotta Querciola, where all has more of a Greek character, and strongly resemble some dancing-women on two Etruscan *specchj* or mirrors found at Bomarzo, which figures have also castanets, and in one case dance to the music of a *subulo*. Trees even, as here, alternate with the figures, and beneath them is the same wave-pattern as surrounds this tomb. Gerhard's *Etruskische Spiegel*, taf. XCVIII. XCIX.

³ Timæus ap. Athen. XII. c. 3, p. 517; IV. c. 13, p. 153.

⁴ To the nudity of the Spartan women I need not refer; but the Thessalian women danced at banquets naked, or with a very scanty covering. Athen. XIII. p. 607.

330 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

only in a tomb in this necropolis is depicted with bosom bare ; and another figure, of uncertain sex, is naked ; but that is in a Bacchic dance, where all are in the same state. The Etruscans may not have been better than their neighbours in such matters, but any reproach of this sort comes from the Greeks with a very bad grace.

Each couch, it will be observed, is covered with a cloth, on which the cushions are laid ; and each figure lies under a separate coverlet differing in this respect from the recorded custom of the Etruscans.¹

It is evident that this tomb is of earlier date than the last. That shows the dominance, this the partial influence of Greek art. Gerhard considers that "with all the delicacy of the ornaments, and all the archaic Greek character of the design, there is still an awkwardness about the former, and a rudeness in the latter, which mark these paintings as imitations of the Greek, spoilt in the execution."² The woodcuts, which are faithful transcripts, speak for themselves on this point.

Every one, on entering these tombs, must be struck with the inappropriateness of such scenes to a sepulchre ; but happily for us we regard them from the high vantage-ground of Christianity, and our view is not bounded by a paradise of mere sensual gratification. If we cast ourselves back into antiquity and attempt to realize the sentiments and creed of a Greek, Etruscan, or Roman, we shall perceive how well such scenes as this represent, or at least typify, the state of bliss on which a departed spirit was supposed to have entered. They believed in the materiality of the soul ; and their Elysium was but a glorification of the present state of existence ; the same pursuits, amusements, and pleasures they had relished in this life they expected in the next, but divested of their sting, and enhanced by increased capacities of enjoyment. To celebrate the great event, to us so solemn, by feasting and joviality, was not with them unbecoming. They knew not how to conceive or represent a glorified

¹ Aristotle (ap. Athen. I. c. 19, p. 23) records that the Etruscans reclined at their banquets under the same *himatia* with their wives. The *ἱμάτιον* in this sense is the same as the *στρωμνή*, and is equivalent to the *pallium*, *stragula*, or *stragulum* of the Romans. The under-covering of the couch was probably designated *περίστρωμα*.

² Ann. Inst. 1831, p. 319.

existence otherwise than by scenes of the highest sensual enjoyment.¹

The funeral feast is still kept up by the most civilized pagans of our own day, the Chinese, and even by certain people of Christendom,—by such as on account of their isolated position, or of national prejudices, have adhered most closely to the customs and usages of antiquity. The wakes of the Celtic races of our own land have in all probability an identity of origin—in feeling at least—with the funeral feasts of the Greeks, Etruscans, and Romans.

Dances, among the ancients, had often a direct religious meaning and application, and were introduced at sacrifices together with songs in honour of the Gods.² Music, to our ideas, is hardly consistent with a scene of mourning, yet it might be solemn and dolorous. That such was intended to be its character in this case the accompanying figures forbid

¹ The funeral feast in honour of the dead was called by the Greeks *νεκρῶδειπνον*, or *περίδειπνον*, the latter term being applied, it may be, from the feast being held “round about” the sepulchre, though some would derive it from the position of the guests, or make it equivalent to a *circumpotatio*. The Romans held a similar feast, and called it *silicernium* (Festus, *sub voce*) the etymology of which word is uncertain; though Servius (*Adn.* V. 92) suggests a very probable one—*silicernium* quasi *silicenum*, super *silicem* positæ (cœnæ)—because the meal was spread upon the rocks. If the upper and open chamber in the tombs of Castel d’Asso and Norchia were for the funeral feasts, it well illustrates this etymology. That the ancients did hold these feasts in the open air, and among the tombs, is pretty evident. At Pompeii a *triclinium* for such purposes stands in the midst of the sepulchres. Lucian (*de Luctu*. p. 813, ed. 1615) tells us that the feast was held to comfort the relatives of the deceased, and induce them to take food.

² Plato, *de Leg.* VII. 799. Tibul. II. 1, 56, Quintil. I. 11. Of this character were, the Corybantian, or armed dances of Phrygia in honour of Cybele; the Hyporchema and Geranos in honour of Apollo (see Müller, *Dor.* II. 8, 14); and the Salian dances of the Etruscans and Romans in honour of Mars. The Dionysiac, though also religious, were peculiar in their mimetic character—in representing the deeds of the god. Servius (*ad Virg. Eclog.* V. 73) gives us the philosophy of sacred dancing among the ancients:—*hæc ratio est, quod nullam majores nostri partem corporis esse voluerunt, quæ non sentiret religionem: nam cantus ad animum, saltatio ad mobilitatem pertinet corporis*. The bodily expression of some sentiment was the essence of all the dancing of the Greeks, says Becker (*Charicles*, sc. Vi.); and it might be added, of the Romans. Gerhard (*Ann. Inst.* 1831, p. 321) thinks the dances in these tombs symbolize the welcome given to the deceased in the abodes of the blessed, and were therefore placed in the most prominent position.

332 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

us to suppose; it must have been lively and animated, in harmony with the action of the dancers. But on other Etruscan monuments it seems to have been of a different character. Not a few bas-reliefs represent the *præficiæ*, or hired mourners, wailing over a corpse, beating their breasts and tearing their hair, while a *subulo* chimes in with his double-pipes.

It may be doubted whether such scenes are emblematical of the bliss of the departed, or representations of the actual feasts held in their honour;¹ in either case there can be no doubt that they are truthful delineations of Etruscan costumes and manners. I am inclined to a descriptive interpretation, admitting at the same time the symbolical character of certain objects, some of which were probably introduced on that account at the actual feasts. It seems to me, indeed, quite superfluous to regard all the pictorial furniture of these tombs as symbolical, as some have done. In this case, for instance, the trees which alternate with the dancers, are most probably introduced merely to indicate that the festivities are held in the open air;² and the animals seem for the most part mere ornamental accessories, or whims of the artist. The known relation of the panther to Bacchus is suggestive of a funeral signification of the two over the doorway, and the same may be said of the ivy which surrounds the room in a broad band above the heads of the figures; but why seek a symbolic interpretation in the cat and domestic fowls gleaning the crumbs of the feast, or in the squirrels and birds among the trees, or in the hare and fox at their feet? The men on horseback seem introduced by a sort of pictorial *synecdoche*—a portion being put for the whole—to indicate the games which formed part of the funeral entertainments.³

¹ Micali (Mon. Ined. p. 364) views them as symbolical. Gerhard (Ann. Inst. 1831, pp. 346, 350) is of opinion that they represent the bliss of souls in the other world. He also offers a conjecture (p. 339) that the pair on the central couch in this tomb, where the female is veiled, may represent a priest and priestess of Bacchus and Ceres, and all the surrounding figures, dancers included, the initiated.

² The trees are either olives, known by their small black berries, or myrtles, or the lotus, or ivy, now represented only by large black berries, the shrubs to which they were attached having almost entirely faded from the walls.

³ Gerhard, however (Ann. Inst. 1831, pp. 321, 323, 345) seems to regard these mounted figures as emblems of the souls of the defunct,

Did not the archaic character of the paintings in this and similar tombs of Tarquinii, forbid us to assign to them so recent a date, the recurrence of Bacchic emblems might lead to the supposition that these festive scenes represent the Dionysia, which were imported from Greece into Etruria about two hundred years before Christ, and thence introduced into Rome.¹

The colours in this tomb are black, deep red, or maroon, light red, blue, and yellow. Neither in this, nor in any other painted tomb in this necropolis do we meet with green.² All the colours, except the blue which in the leaves of the trees has much faded, retain their original brilliancy; and it must be remembered that two or three and twenty centuries have elapsed since they were laid on, and that they are on the bare rock, the natural creamy hue of which forms the ground to the whole. Damp does not seem here to have affected them as in some other tombs.³ They have suffered more from streams of a semi-transparent, stalactitic substance,—a tartaric deposit often found in caves in the Etruscan plain.

I have said that the colours were laid on the bare rock.

represented under the most noble aspect they assumed during life. The birds are thought by M. Lajard (Ann. Inst. 1833, pp. 90–98) to be emblematical of gods, such being the usual mode of expressing divinity on the ancient monuments of the East. He finds a sacred or funeral symbol in each of the animals in this tomb, and says that ribbons tied to trees, as in this scene, have a religious meaning in Persia. M. Lajard perceives still further oriental analogies in this tomb, especially in the dancing women, whom he declares to be similar, in their attitudes, and in the style, materials, and arrangement of their costume, to the *bayadères* of modern Persia. The oriental women, he observes, rest their girdles on their hips, and endeavour to make their bosoms sink to their waists; here, also, the women are represented with flat forms, while in figures of purer Greek style they are drawn with bosoms of symmetrical fulness.

¹ Liv. XXXIX. 8, 9.

² Ruspi (Ann. Inst. 1831, p. 325) asserts that green exists in the Grotta Querciola, but I could not perceive it. And the Grotta Cardinale is said to have had green (Letter of Garampi to Tiraboschi, Litterat. Ital. I. p. 52), but this is not now to be verified. Bright blues, seen by candle-light, may easily be mistaken for greens.

³ Ruspi (loc. cit. p. 326) maintains that the damp has been a preservative of the colours. He remarks, that when the sun enters this tomb, and dries the surface of the wall, the figures in that part appear more natural and beautiful than the rest, because they then lose their extreme depth of colour, and acquire just the tint the ancient artist intended.

334 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

The surface of this, however, has undergone some preparation. The rock is not here volcanic, but a sort of calcareous stone, of tertiary formation, full of minute marine substances. It is soft, even plastic when damp, but acquires a considerable degree of hardness on exposure to the atmosphere. Where the surface of the wall has crumbled away, it is evident that it is composed of a stucco, scarcely differing in texture and colour from the rock itself. It seems to be made of the finer particles of the rock, plastered over the coarser surface, and subsequently dried and indurated perhaps by artificial heat. The colours were laid on *al fresco*.¹ These remarks apply to all the painted tombs of this necropolis, except those of the Typhon and Cardinal, which are stuccoed with a different material.²

CAMERA DEL MORTO.

Hard by the Grotta del Triclinio is another painted tomb called "The Dead Man's Chamber," discovered in 1832.

The tombs hitherto described contain none but festive scenes; but here is a painting of another character. On one of the side-walls, the body of a hoary-bearded man is seen stretched on an elegant couch, and a young female leans over him, performing the last offices to the dead—

¹ So thinks Ruspi; and Mr. Ainsley, who has paid great attention to these paintings, is of the same opinion. "From the circumstance," he says, "of the colour brushing off on the slightest contact, it might be concluded that the paintings are in distemper, but the proof is by no means complete, for a stain is left inward, and the whole substance of the stucco is so decayed as to rub off with great facility; the outline also is frequently traceable, scratched in the stucco, which would have been unnecessary in distemper."

² For details and opinions respecting this tomb see Bull. Inst. 1830, p. 231; Ann. Inst. 1831, p. 324 (Ruspi); Bull. Inst. 1831, p. 5; Ann. Inst. 1831, p. 327 (Manzi and Fossati); 1831, pp. 337-346, 359-361 (Gerhard). For illustrations see Mon. Ined. Inst. I. tav. XXXII. Mus. Gregor. I. tav. CII. The best copies of these paintings are in the British Museum, on the left hand wall of the "Etruscan Room," but the colouring is much too hard and crude, and sometimes incorrect, particularly in the absence of the distinction between the sexes. Mrs. Gray also has given a plate of these paintings (Sepulchres of Etruria, p. 188), but of indifferent accuracy in outline, and in colour incorrect throughout.

apparently in the act of drawing his hood over his eyes.¹ A man stands at the bottom of the couch, and seems with one hand to be pulling the clothes over the old man's feet, while he raises the other to his head, according to the conventional yet natural mode of expressing grief among the Etruscans. Behind him stands another man, who with more frantic gestures seems to be manifesting his sorrow in a similar manner,²—if he be not dancing—a supposition which his attitude and the analogy of other figures in this tomb seem to favour. A third man, who stands at the head of the couch, has also his hand to his head. The precise attitudes and meaning of these figures it is impossible now to determine, owing to the dilapidated state of these paintings, but two of them at least appear to be giving manifestations of deep sorrow.

Turn to the other walls of the tomb, and how the scene is changed!—from grave to gay in an instant! Here all is tipsy dance and jollity! These naked men, crowned with chaplets, and dancing with Bacchanalian frenzy, seem unconscious of, or indifferent to, the mournful scene adjoining. On the inner wall, one fellow is playing the fife,³ though not moderating his saltatory action a whit on that account; the other is brandishing a *kylix* or flat bowl, which he appears to have just emptied, but a large *amphora* of wine stands at his feet, whence he may replenish it at pleasure.

¹ This is the figure which Mrs. Gray (Sepul. of Etruria, p. 69) likens to a Capuchin monk, from the cowled tunic in which he is dressed. But *cucullus non facit monachum*. It is as much like the *bornous* of Barbary.

² He has been described as placing a chaplet on his head (Bull. Inst. 1832, p. 213); and so he is represented in the restored copies in the Gregorian and British Museums. The other two male figures in this scene may be striking their brows to betoken grief.

³ The *tibia* is here introduced in one of the three occasions on which it was frequently used, according to Ovid (Fast. VI. 657) by the early inhabitants of Italy:—

Temporibus veterum tibia cinis usus avorum
Magnus, et in magno semper honore fuit.
Cantabat fanis, cantabat tibia ludis;
Cantabat mœstis tibia funeribus.

We have already seen it represented at games and scenes of festivity. Here it is an accompaniment to the mourning of survivors over the corpse. Instances of its employment at such scenes are not unfrequent on Etruscan bas-reliefs.

336 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

Of the two figures on the adjoining wall, one is in the act of quaffing from a similar bowl; the other is whirling a chaplet in his hand; and all four, though torn into fragments and almost destroyed by time, display in their *disjecta membra* such feats of capriole agility, that the seeker for Celtic analogies might declare them to be dancing an Irish jig or a Highland reel. Similar chaplets are represented hanging from the wall around the chamber, even over the death-bed, and some are seen suspended from the olive-trees which alternate with the dancers, and from the handles of the *amphora*.¹

You are struck with the archaic, or what is nearly equivalent, the Egyptian character of the paintings in this tomb, for the earlier the Etruscan work of art, the nearer it approaches in general to the Egyptian—in this respect resembling the Greek. This character is most strongly marked in the physiognomy, in the eyes, which are always full though the face be in profile, in the shape of the heads, in the cut of the beards, and in the contour of the bodies of the dancers. You may observe this archaic character also in the figure of the woman, in her stiff, ungainly form, and may remark that her dress differs from that of the females in the two last tombs, principally in her hair hanging down in long braids, and in her long and sharp-toed boots.² Her name, written in Etruscan characters over her head, is "THANAUEIL,"³ and its similarity to that above the old man "THANARSEIA," together with the duties she is performing, seems to mark her as a relative, probably his

¹ For an explanation of the chaplets in tombs, see the Appendix to this chapter, Note I.

² Orioli (Ann. Inst. 1834, p. 181) remarks that the figures in this tomb are identical in character with those on the vases of the school prior to that of Puglia and Basilicata—mere magnifications, he would say, of the vase-paintings—on which account it is difficult to assign to them a date later than the fourth century of Rome. *Two* schools prior would have been more correct, as the Perfect, or Greek style, preceded that of Basilicata, and these figures are more like the black ones of the Archaic Greek, or Tyrrhene style.

³ The Etruscan letters are very small, and have almost faded from the wall. A very slight alteration—the insertion of one stroke and the omission of another—would make her name "Thanachvil," which by metastasis might be "Thanchavil," the known Etruscan form of Tanachuil—a name which is not of unfrequent occurrence on monuments of this antiquity.

daughter. The two men at the foot of the couch are now anonymous, but the third has the inscription "ENEL" above him, which is, however, but a portion of his name.

The fourth wall of this tomb has no paintings beyond the usual pair of panthers in the pediment. In the corresponding position on the opposite wall are two particoloured lions and two blue pigeons, probably introduced as mere ornaments; or, if symbolical, perhaps representing the ministers of death about to seize the soul.

This is the smallest of the painted tombs of Tarquinius; indeed, it is rare to meet with tombs of such confined dimensions.¹ The colours, in as far as they are preserved, retain all their original depth, but the surface of the wall is greatly dilapidated. The flesh of the males is a very deep red, save that of the corpse, which is paler, perhaps intentionally so represented. That of the woman, as usual, is left uncoloured. The average height of the figures is about two feet and a half.²

GROTTA DE' POMPEJ.

In a pit of more than ordinary depth, is the entrance to the "Tomb of the Pompeys," or, as it is otherwise called, "the Cave of the Typhon"—GROTTA DEL TIFONE—which was discovered in 1832. Before the door are vestiges of a small antechamber, four feet square, and of a shaft with niches to descend from the ground above, as in the tombs of Civita Castellana and Falleri.

The door is opened—and, oh! the gloom of this dark-walled cavern!—the blackness, the solemn silence, the sepulchral damp, chill and awe the senses and oppress the spirits. It is a very Tartarus after the comfortable, gay, Elysian air of the tombs you have just quitted.

Cernis, custodia qualis
Vestibulo sedeat? facies quæ limina servet?

¹ It is only 8 ft. square, 5 ft. high at the sides, and somewhat more than 6 ft. in the centre. The beam of the ceiling is painted red, and is represented as resting on a large double modillion or bracket of the same colour, in the pediment.

² A plate of the scenes in this tomb will be found in Mon. Ined. Inst. II. tav. 2; also in Mus. Gregor. I. tav. XCIX. Copies, of the size of the originals, exist in the Gregorian Museum at Rome, and in the British Museum, in the "Etruscan Room," over the door.

338 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

No Fury, no Cerberus, nor even panther or lion, mounts guard at the door of this Orcus, but the stone figure of a venerable Etruscan reclines just within the entrance—the first object that meets your eye when the door is opened. Look again!—those two skulls grinning at you from the high ledge of rock opposite, seem to chuckle you a mock welcome to the dismal abode of the dead.

But descend these half-dozen steps to the floor, light your tapers, and look around. This tomb differs in many respects from those you have already seen. It is of great size;¹ its flat roof is supported in the centre by a massive square pillar; and a triple tier of benches, all hewn from the living rock, surrounds the chamber. In fact it more nearly resembles the sepulchres of Cære than those of Tarquinii. Its size, and the many sarcophagi which lie scattered and broken about the tomb, prove that this was a family-vault, the last resting-place, it may be, not merely of a single family, but of a *gens*, or I might say, a clan of ancient Tarquinii.

The walls of this tomb are not covered with paintings, but simply adorned with a double band—the upper, of dolphins sporting above the waves; the lower, of *patera*-like flowers—except on one wall where a small space is occupied by a funeral procession of singular interest.² The square pillar in the centre is also painted. On three of its sides is a divinity of Etruscan mythology; that in the centre a female, terminating in foliage, the other two, males, conventionally called Typhon—in Italian, Tifone—whence the tomb receives its vulgar appellation.³ They have winged human

¹ The area, or the arena, so to speak, of this tomb, is 26 feet by 15½; but if to this be added the depth of the benches, the dimensions will be 41½ feet long, by 31 wide. The height is 11 feet, and the floor cannot be less than 30 feet below the surface of the ground. The pillar is nearly 5 feet square. The roof is flat, stuccoed, and painted with broad red beams intersecting each other at right angles.

² The outlines of the figures in these bands are scratched, as well as painted, which is not the case with the figures on the pillar or in the procession.

³ The Etruscan name of this mythical being is not yet known to us. But he bears an analogy to the Typhon of the Egyptians and Greeks, and is significant of the principle of Destruction; just as the Typhon of Egypt was the evil and destructive power, in opposition to Osiris, the good and productive. With the Egyptians he was, in particular, the personification of whirlwinds and storms,—and so Hesiod (Theog. 307)

bodies terminating in serpents instead of legs. The female figure is comparatively tame, but the other two are most spirited and grand. Such as these it is with which Tasso peoples hell—

Oh come strane, oh come orribil forme !
Quant' è negli occhi lor terrore e morte ! . . .
È 'n fronte umana han chiome d' angui attorte ;
E lor s' aggira dietro immensa coda !—

Oh what unearthly, oh what fearful shapes !
Terror and Death are flashing from their eyes !
Their human heads are haired with writhing snakes,
And their vast tails coil back in loathsome guise !

One of these two figures is particularly fine. The attitude of the body—the outspread wings—the dark massy coils of the serpent-limbs—the wild twisting of the serpent-locks—the countenance uplifted with an expression of unutterable woe, as he supports the cornice with his hands¹—make

also describes him—*δεινόν θ' ὑβριστήν τ' ἀνεμον* ; cf. Pliny, II. 49, 50. In the Greek mythology Typhon was one of the giants who made war on the gods, and who were smitten by Jove's thunder, and cast beneath Ætna and other volcanoes, where their belchings caused eruptions, and their writhings occasioned earthquakes. Pindar Pyth. I. 29, *et seq.* Æschyl. Prom. 351–372. Ovid. Met. V. 346, *et seq.* ; cf. Virg. Æn. III. 578. Under this same snake-tailed form were the giants described by the ancients. Apollod. I. 6, 2. Ovid. Trist. IV. 7, 17. Pausan. VIII. 29. Serv. ad Æn. III. 578. Macrobius (Saturn. I. 20) gives us the symbolic meaning of these limbs, and says that Æsculapius and Salus were also so imaged. The giants are also represented of this form, on ancient monuments. In a well-known intaglio, Jupiter is driving his *quadriga* over two of them ; on another monument Minerva, and on a third Mars, is slaying a similar being. Inghir. Mon. Etrus. VI. L. 4, Z. 4. 3, 4. It is obvious that these Giants are symbols of volcanic powers. Their contests with the Gods took place in the Phlegrean Fields, or in other volcanic regions. Pindar, Nem. I. 100 ; Strab. V. p. 245, VI. p. 281 ; Pausan. loc. cit. The very name of Typhon indicates this meaning—being derived from *τῦφος*, “smoke,” metaphorically, “conceit, arrogance.” The origin of the myth is manifest in the volcanoes, the smoking sons of Earth, who dared to brave Heaven, and hurl rocks and fire against the gods. That the Etruscans should have had such a being in their demonology is not surprising, when the volcanic character of their country is remembered. In this tomb, he is represented under a solemn, imposing aspect, not with that exaggeration of the horrible that amounts to the grotesque and to caricature, as in the Grotta Dipinta at Bomarzo, and as the Egyptian Typhon is said to be depicted in the Temple of Ombos. Description de l'Égypte. I. pl. XLV. cited by Inghirami, Mon. Etrus. I. p. 173.

¹ The Greeks introduced Typhons or Giants into their architecture as Atlantes, as is proved by statues found of late years beneath the Theseum

340 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

this figure imposing, mysterious, sublime. In conception,

the artist was the Michael Angelo of Etruria.¹

On the front of the pillar is an Etruscan inscription of nine lines, scratched on the stucco, now much injured, but the proper name of "Pumpus" is distinctly visible in the first line.²

It is obvious at a glance that the paintings in this tomb are of much later date and higher style of art than those in the tombs already described. There is nothing archaic



TYPHON, PAINTED ON THE PILLAR.

about them. Here are grouping, perspective, foreshortening, at Athens. Mure's *Greece*, II. p. 317. Similar monsters were used by the Romans in architectural decoration as *Telamones*. At Pompeii, in the "Casa della Camera Nera," are many of them painted, supporting the cornice with both hands, as in this Etruscan tomb.

¹ The above woodcut serves to show the nature of the Typhon, but fails to give the vigorous design, the Satanic sublimity of the original painting.

² This inscription is given by Kellermann (*Bull. Inst.* 1833, No. IV.) and is indifferently copied by Orioli (*Ann. Inst.* 1834, p. 178), who gives his interpretation of it. On the cornice of the pillar is a band of wild beasts' heads painted, and below the Typhons is a Doric frieze with *patera*-like flowers in the *metopes*.

Orioli gives a minute description of this tomb, which may interest those who delight in mystic and symbolic interpretation. I will state his notions in order to give the reader some idea of the modern Italian school of antiquaries, of which the Professor is one of the most distinguished members; though there are some who do not give so loose a

full faces—never attained or even attempted in the earlier paintings; here are correctness and ease of design, modelling of form instead of mere outline, a natural and harmonious tone of colour in place of conventionalities and startling contrasts, drapery no longer in stiff, formal plaits, but hanging in broad, easy folds. In a word, these frescoes are so like those of Pompeii, that they might be pronounced Roman, were it not for their national peculiarities. There is little doubt that they belong to the period of Roman domination in Etruria. Read the inscription on one of the rock-hewn benches, and you have proof that the tomb was used by the conquerors:—

AVRELIA· L· F· OPTVMA· FEMINA
VIXSIT· AN· XLV

On one of the sarcophagi you find another Latin epigraph with the name of L. PERCENNA OR TERCENNA¹—an Etruscan

rein to their fancy. In the sepulchres of the Etruscans generally, as well as in their cities, circuses, amphitheatres, theatres, and temples, he sees “a secret allusion to the economy of the universe and its grand divisions.” This particular tomb “manifestly figures the kingdom of shades and the infernal world. The pillar in the centre is the chief of the five mountains which were supposed to support our globe. The surrounding frieze expresses this still better in the language of art; for its upper portion, with waves and dolphins, indicates most clearly the sea which covers the infernal world and surrounds our globe; and the lower, with rose-flowers, indicates the infernal world itself, which has its own peculiar vegetation. The pillar itself, still better to set forth the hidden idea of the artist, bears the rose-flowers, but no waves or dolphins, because the central mountain which it represents has vegetation, but is not covered by the sea. Nor are the mutules and triglyphs without meaning; for as in architecture they represent beams and rafters, so here they are hieroglyphical of the skeleton and framework of the infernal world and of its great mountain—a bold artistic metaphor, which of rocks makes beams, but not less bold than that other, which of the waves of the sea makes a meander-pattern.” In the figures on the pillar the same writer sees Ceres or the Earth, and her two sons, the giants Othus and Ephialtes, who are supporting and steadying the earth, their kingdom; and in the painted mouldings of the cornice above, he interprets the panthers’ heads as symbols of monsters guarding the gates of hell; and the foliage as representing that of the upper world, our globe. *Ann. Inst.* 1834, pp. 156–159.

¹ This inscription is also given by Kellermann (*loc. cit.*) and by Orioli (*Ann. Inst.* 1834, p. 155), but not more than half the letters are now legible. Orioli thinks these Latin inscriptions as late as the commencement of the Empire. A local antiquary even took this one for a Christian epitaph, but through an evident blunder. *Bull. Inst.* 1832, p. 215.

342 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

name in Roman letters. But with these exceptions everything is Etruscan—the form and character of the sepulchre, the sarcophagi, the dolphin-band, the procession, the Typhon figures, and the inscriptions on wall, pillar, and sarcophagi—are all purely Etruscan. From the recurrence of the name of “Pumpus” twice on the wall, attached to the principal figure in the procession, and again in the inscription on the pillar, it is highly probable that this was the sepulchre of a family of that name, from which the Roman *gens* of Pompeius was descended; ¹ if so, there may have been no mixture of Etruscan and Roman bodies in this tomb, as appears to be the case, for those with Latin epitaphs may have been Etruscans by birth, education, customs, religion—in everything but language; their native tongue, though not perhaps extinct, being in their time no longer a polite language, but confined to the lower orders, like the Erse and Gaelic with us.

In front of the pillar and attached to it, is a large squared mass of rock, which has been supposed to be an altar, on which offerings were made to the Manes; but it seems almost too lofty. Its front and sides have been painted with a procession of figures, but these have now almost utterly perished.² A few years more, and no trace will be left of the paintings in this tomb, which will be known only from prints and descriptions as things that have passed away.

Milton is said to have drawn the scenery of the “Paradise Lost” from that of Tuscany. With more perhaps of truth may it be said that Ariosto often introduced the peculiarities of Cisapennine scenery into his great epic. This has often been brought to my mind in my wanderings through Etruria. What is the grotto where Orlando

¹ The name of “Pumpu,” “Pumpus,” or “Pumpuni” (Pompeius or Pomponius) is frequently found also among the sepulchral inscriptions of Chiusi, Cortona, and Perugia. Lanzi, *Sagg.* II. pp. 419, 444. Vermiglioli, *Iscriz. Perug.* I. pp. 199, *et seq.*, 222, 263.

At the last-named site a sepulchre of the “Pumpu” family was discovered in 1792, containing many urns inscribed with this name.

² This procession, as it existed when the tomb was opened, is represented in Mon. Ined. Inst. II. tav. V. The face of one figure, and the lower part of another in tunic and sandals, are alone now distinguishable; but these fragments suffice to show this scene to have been inferior in style and more archaic in character than the other paintings in this tomb. The altar, or whatever it be, is 5 feet high, 7 feet wide, and 3 feet deep.

found the fair Isabella,¹ or the cave of the sage Merlin,² but one of these ancient sepulchres, which the poet has drawn from nature? There is the mouth of the tomb in the face of the hill, choked with bushes and brambles—the passage of many steps hewn out of the rock, and leading straight down to the door of the sepulchre—the spacious gloomy chamber within, retaining the marks of the chisel on its walls and ceiling, and resembling a temple or church supported by columns with architectural adornments, having

¹ Orlando Furioso, XII. 88, 90 :—

Guinse, ove ne la selva diffonde
Da l' angusto spiraglio di quel monte,
Ch' una capace grotta in se nasconde ;
E trovò inanzi ne la prima fronte
Spine e virgulti, come mura e sponde,
Per celar quei, che ne la grotta stanno
Da chi far lor cercasse oltraggio e danno.

Scende la tomba molti gradi al basso,
Dove la viva gente sta sepolta.
Era non poco spazioso il sasso
Tagliato à punte di scarpelli in volta ;
Nè di luce diurna in tutto casso,
Benche l' entrata non ne dava molta.

It is not improbable that the legend about the “Cave of Orlando” at Sutri (Chapter IV. p. 166) may have originated in the above stanzas ; in consequence of the general habit among the Italians of giving every event “a local habitation,” and every spot “a name.”

² Orlando Furioso, II. 70, 71 ; III. 6, 7, 15 :—

Ecco nel sasso trova una caverna,
Che sì profonda più di trenta braccia,
Tagliato à picchi, ed à scarpelli il sasso
Scende giù al dritto, ed ha una porta al basso.

Nel fondo havea una porta ampia e capace,
Ch' in maggiore stanza largo adito dava . . .
Dentro la porta andò, ch' adito dava
Ne la seconda, assai più larga, cava.

La stanza quadra, e spaziosa pare
Una devota e venerabile chiesa ;
Che sù colonne alabastrine e rare
Con bella architettura era sospesa.
Surgea nel mezzo un ben locato altare
Ch' avea dinanzi una lampade accesa ;
E quella di splendente e chiaro foco
Rendea gran lume a l' uno e l' altro loco.

Discopria lo splendor più cose belle
E di scoltura, e di color, ch' intorno
Il venerabil loco haveano adorno.

344 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

even a sort of altar in the midst, as in this Grotta Pompej, and with sculptures or paintings on the walls around, only revealed by the light of the torch. The poet may have indulged slightly in his professional licence, but who can doubt, on seeing the tombs of Etruria, especially those of Tarquinii and Cære, whence the portraiture was drawn? One could almost wish the poetical description borne out in every point—that there was still some *genius loci*, some wise Merlin—

Che le passate e le future cose
A chi gli dimandò, sempre rispose—

to unravel the mysteries of antiquity here interred.

The procession painted on the wall of this tomb has given rise to as much speculation as any other local relic of Etruscan antiquity. Its resemblance to that of the temple-tombs of Norchia is visible at a glance.¹ In both are *genii* or demons leading souls into the unseen world; but that of Norchia is so much injured as scarcely to be intelligible without the aid of this painting, which, like the Greek on the Rosetta stone, is a key to the interpretation of the relief. Here are no shields, helmets, or weapons suspended—it may be because this is of the inglorious days of Etruria, when she had sunk to the tame condition of a Roman province; but here are figures bearing those singular twisted rods, the symbols of the Etruscan Hades, which are sufficient to identify the character of this painting with that of the Norchian relief. Here are no winged *genii*, but the attributes of certain of these figures mark them to be demons. There are three of these in prominent positions—at the head, in the rear, and in the centre of the procession. They are of different colours; that in front is of fair complexion, and seems to represent a female; that in the rear may be of the same sex, but is of darker tint; while he in the centre is of negro hue and features, and is recognized as the Etruscan “Charun.” All are distinguished by the hammer borne aloft, a frequent emblem of supernatural power,² and also by

¹ See Chapter XV., Appendix, p. 284; Chapter XVI. p. 295. This procession is 9 feet in length, and the tallest figure is nearly 6 feet in height. Mrs. Gray (Sep. of Etruria, p. 213, 3rd edit.) by some unaccountable mistake has described these figures as “not above twelve inches” in height; whereas they are as large as life, covering the entire wall from the upper bench to the ceiling. In this respect also they correspond with those in the Norchian procession.

² The hammer savours much of the East, thinks Inghirami (Mon.

serpents bound round their heads, like the Furies of Greek mythology.¹—

Serpentelli e ceraste avean per crine
Onde le fiere tempie eran avvinte.—DANTE.

Among the Egyptians also the snake-bound brow was emblematical of sovereignty, whether of gods or men. The import of the snake in the mythological system of the Etruscans seems to have been very similar; it was an emblem of divine or supernatural power, of mystery, perhaps of eternity, certainly of sacredness, and it had evidently a funereal meaning.² On the Bomarzo sarcophagus, now in the British Museum, it is seen wound round the arm of Charun,³ as in the case of the leading demon in this painted procession, who might well pass for Tisiphone, one of the Furies.⁴ The same figure bears in her other hand a flaming torch, another attribute of the Furies, who are often represented brandishing a snake in one hand, and a torch in the other.⁵

Etrus. I. p. 254), who cites Pococke, the oriental traveller, as saying that the Turks believe in two black demons, who dwell in the sepulchre with the dead, judge him, and punish him with hammers if found guilty. Dr. Braun (Ann. Inst. 1837, 2, p. 274) calls it the solemn symbol of the Cabiri, in whose mysterious worship the Etruscan Charun had his seat and origin.

¹ Æschylus, Choeph. 1049. Pausanias (I. 28) says Æschylus was the first so to describe the Furies, for in their temple at Athens they were not so represented, nor indeed with any features of the horrible. In the Orphic Hymns (LXVIII. 16. LXIX. 10) they are described with serpent-locks—*ὄφιοπλόκαμοι*. So also Ovid, Met. X. 349—*atro crinitas angue Sorores*—and Catullus, LXIV. 193. Virgil also (Æn. VI. 280) so describes—

Discordia demens
Vipereum crinem vittis innexa cruentis.

Euripides (Iphig. Taur. 285) seems to mean the same thing—*ἐχιδναὶ ἐστομωμένῃ*. Horace (Od. II. 13. 35) and Virgil (Georg. IV. 482) describe the snakes as being woven in with the hair of the Furies; and the latter speaks of them as being blue—the colour of those in this Etruscan tomb.

² See Chap. XIV. page 265.

³ See Chap. XIV. page 271.

⁴ Virgil, Æn. VI. 571—

Tisiphone . . . torvosque sinistra
Intentans angues.

⁵ So they are represented on monuments, Etruscan or Roman, when persecuting Orestes—as in the celebrated sarcophagus of the Lozzano tomb, outside the walls of Rome, and now in the Lateran Museum; and in the Etruscan sarcophagus of the death of Clytemnestra, in the

346 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

She may therefore be regarded as one of the "daughters of gloomy Night," though she has been designated "the wife of Charun;" while the reddish-faced demon in the rear is supposed the son of the aforesaid dignitaries,¹ but what authority there is for supposing "the pilot of the livid lake" to have been a family-man, I know not. It is clear that the black, hideous, bearded, brute-eared demon in the middle of the procession, who towers above all the rest, is no other than the conveyer of souls—*terribili squalore Charon*²—

Che intorno agli occhi avea di fiamme ruote.

The second figure in the procession is a *cornicen*, or blower on the horn,³ and probably represents an attendant on the

Museum of Volterra, illustrated by Micali (Stor. Ant. Pop. Ital. tav. CIX.), though here the snake is not actually round the arm of the Fury.

There are two events in Roman history which throw light on this singular painting. The first occurred in the year 328, when the citizens of Fidenæ, finding themselves unequal to the Romans in the field, rushed out from their gates, like Furies, armed with torches, and bearing particoloured chaplets like serpents, in order to strike terror into their foes. But the Roman dictator, seeing his men give way under the novel attack, taunted them with being overcome, like bees, by mere smoke, rallied them to the charge, beat back the Fidenates with great slaughter, and captured their city. Liv. IV. 33, Flor. I. 12, Frontin. Strat. II. 4, 17. The second time was in the year 398, when the priests of Tarquinii and Falerii resorted to the same mode of attack, advancing like Furies in the van of their army, armed with flaming torches and brandishing serpents in their hands, and struck a temporary panic into the Romans by the unwonted sight. Liv. VII. 17, Frontin. loc. cit. What can be a more correct description of the leading figure in this procession?—and it is interesting to find such a confirmation of history in this very necropolis of Tarquinii. The seekers of analogies between the Celts and Etruscans might find somewhat in Tacitus (Ann. XIV. 30), who relates that the women of Mona ran about like Furies armed with torches among the ranks of the Britons who were drawn up on the shore to oppose the landing of the Romans.

¹ Orioli (Ann. Inst. 1834, pp. 160, 165, 166) suggests this relationship. Urlichs (Bull. Inst. 1839, p. 47) takes this young demon for a female, who does for souls of her sex what Charun does for the males.

² Virg. *Æn.* VI. 299, *et seq.* cf. Seneca, *Herc. Fur.* III. 764, *et seq.*

³ So it is described by Orioli (Ann. Inst. 1834, p. 160), but it might as well represent a *tibicen* playing on the curved *tibia* of Etruria (Virg. *Æn.* XI. 737), though that is said to have been used at festive scenes. Compare Tibullus (II. 1, 86), who calls the crooked pipe Phrygian. The *tuba* or *cornu* however, being used at funerals (Virg. *Æn.* XI. 192, Ovid. *Amor.* II. Eleg. 6, 6. Petron. *Satyr.* LXXXVIII. A. Gell. XX. 2), may well have a place in such a procession as this.

348 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

why represent the souls of the departed in the clutches of demons?—it may be asked ; such a sight could have been little grateful to the feelings of survivors, on their annual visits to the grave. Mrs. Gray's lively imagination conceives a romantic tale of woe, and sees in this pair an Etruscan Paolo and Francesca.

O lasso !
Quanti dolci pensier, quanto desio,
Menò costoro al doloroso passo !

But it is not necessary to suppose this a scene of retributive justice.¹ The Charun of the Etruscans is represented of this fearful character, rather as the messenger of the grim King of Terrors than as a persecutor and tormentor of guilty spirits. Charun is in general but the guide, the infernal Mercury of the Etruscans ; whose office it is to conduct disembodied souls into the unseen world ; and such seems to be the duty he and his fellow-demons are performing in this fresco.²

signifies *natus* or *filius*—a conclusion to which I had arrived (Bull. Inst. 1847, p. 60), before I was aware that Lanzi (Sagg. I. pp. 172, 340) and Orioli (Ann. Inst. 1834, pp. 169, 171) had suggested the same meaning. The latter regards it as one of the very few Etruscan words which have survived the lapse of ages. "I know not if it have any relation to the *clan* of Scotland and Sir W. Scott—I should think not ; but I find it still existing among the Tuscans in the word *Chiana*, corrupted from the Latin *Clanis*, *Glanis*, or *Clanius*, which is evidently the Etruscan *clan* with a Latin termination." He proceeds to show that *Chiana*, in the language of modern Tuscany, means a canal, or water-course, whence the emissary of the lake of Perugia has received this name, as also the celebrated Val di Chiana ; wherefore he infers that the primitive word *clan* implied *derivation*, whether applied to children, to water, or to anything else.

¹ Urlichs (loc. cit.), on the contrary, conceives this procession to represent the triumphal ingress of the dead into the infernal regions, and draws a parallel between it and the triumphal processions of the Romans, as represented on their monuments.

² The hammer with which Charun is armed, as Dr. Braun remarks (Ann. Inst. 1837, 2, p. 260), is in general rather an attribute than an instrument. Demons with hammers, however, who seem to have much analogy with Charun, are sometimes represented in the act of tormenting souls, as in the Grotta Cardinale, and the now lost Grotta Tartaglia, in this necropolis of Tarquinii.

For further details and opinions of this tomb, see Ann. Inst. 1834, p. 82 (Bunsen) ; pp. 153-181 (Orioli) ; 1837, 2, p. 268 (Braun) ; Bull. Inst. 1832, p. 214 (Avvolta) ; 1839, pp. 46-48 (Urlichs). A plan of the tomb, with prints of its paintings, will be found in Mon. Ined. Inst. II. tav. 3, 4, 5.

GROTTA DEL CARDINALE.

A little beyond the Grotta de' Pompej, in a hollow spanned by the arches of a medieval aqueduct, which supplies Corneto with water, runs a road, leading from the ancient city across the Montarozzi, and probably of Etruscan formation. Here in a bank opens the Grotta del Cardinale, the earliest discovered of the painted tombs of Tarquinii, found as long since as 1699, re-opened in 1738, again in 1760, and finally in 1780, by a certain Cardinal Garampi, bishop of Corneto, from whom it derives its vulgar appellation. A more appropriate name would be Grotta del passaggio delle Anime—"Tomb of the passage of Souls"; or Grotta Vesi, from an Etruscan inscription on the wall.¹ It is the largest tomb in this, or perhaps in any other Etruscan necropolis, being no less than fifty-four feet square, with a flat ceiling, so low that a tall man can scarcely stand upright, coffered in concentric squares and oblongs, and supported on four pillars, six or seven feet square, hewn out of the rock in which the chamber is hollowed. It is very imposing on first entrance, when the feeble light of the tapers just reveals the forms of these massive pillars, one behind the other in dim perspective. You might fancy yourself in one of the rock-hewn temples of Egypt or India. In truth, in its general aspect it bears no small resemblance to a temple; yet the paintings on the walls determine its sepulchral character. These paintings are on one side only of the tomb,² on the walls and pillars, in a frieze of small figures scarcely a foot high, and are now almost obliterated by the smoke of the fires, which the shepherds of several generations

¹ This inscription is of two lines painted in black letters on the wall to the left of the doorway, and is now much injured; but the name of VELVS VESI is still distinct. Vesi seems to be the family or gentilitial name of the owners of the tomb—a name which is found not unfrequently among Etruscan inscriptions, generally in its derivatives—Vesial, and Vesialisa. Micali (Ant. Pop. Ital. III. p. 98) here reads it "Phelce." I have given it in Etruscan characters, as it now exists, in Bull. Inst. 1845, p. 138. Byres gives a fragment of another inscription on one of the pillars, but this is now destroyed.

² One third of the tomb is in an unfinished state. In the central portion, the ceiling is coffered as in the tombs of Chiusi, and the Pantheon at Rome; in the remaining part it is cut into rafters highly decorated with patterns in colour. There is another tomb, very like this in form and arrangement, but without paintings, in a field above the Mercareccia.

350 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

past were wont to make in the tomb, before it was taken under the protection of the government. In fact, so sadly have these paintings suffered through neglect and wantonness, that a stranger unaware of their existence might go round the tomb without perceiving them. Where they can be made out, they are seen to be drawn with much spirit and masterly ease, especially those on the pillars, and mark a later epoch than belongs to any other sepulchre in this necropolis, save that of the Pompeii. From the style of art and the character of the decorations in this tomb, it is highly probable that it dates from the times of Roman domination, as late, it may be, as the fifth or sixth century of the City.¹ The subjects of the paintings, nevertheless, are for the most part unquestionably Etruscan, representing the passage of souls into the unseen world, and their condition therein; and opening to us a clearer and more comprehensive view of Etruscan religious belief, than is to be gathered from any other single monument extant.

Representations of these paintings, as they existed many years since, are given by Micali and Inghirami, but the fullest delineations of them have recently been published from the drawings of Mr. Byres, an English artist resident at Rome in the middle of the last century, who, on the reopening of this tomb, proceeded to Corneto to make drawings of the contents.² Signor Carlo Avvolta asserts that Byres was sent by the British government, and was accompanied by several other artists, among whom was the celebrated Giambattista Piranesi. Avvolta declares that he has a distinct remembrance of the party, because, there being no inn at Corneto, they were entertained by his father,

¹ Yet the best judges do not think that the paintings betray the decadence of the art (Gerhard, *Ann. Inst.* 1831, p. 319)—the attenuation of the figures on the wall rather tends to prove an early period. The date that Agincourt (*Hist. de l'Art*, III. p. 9) assigns to them—the time of Demaratus—is quite inadmissible. Inghirami (*Mon. Etrus.* IV. p. 137), who knew them from sketches only, ran to the other extreme, and thought them as late as the Antonines.

² The drawings made by Byres were engraved, but never reached publication during his lifetime, and after lying *perdus* in Italy for sixty or seventy years, they have recently been brought to light and published in London—"Hypogæi, or the sepulchral caverns of Tarquinia, by the late James Byres, Esq., of Tonley, Aberdeenshire. Edited by Frank Howard, author of the 'Spirit of Shakspeare,' &c., &c. London, Colnaghi, Cadell, Pickering, 1842."

one of the principal inhabitants. The visit of these strangers, their foreign tongue, and the rich presents they made his mother on their departure, made a deep impression on his infantile memory; and the old gentleman loves to produce from the recesses of some quaint cabinet, a number of portraits of the party, which they made of each other, and left as a memorial of their visit.

The illustrations of Byres are valuable records of the original state of this and other tombs at Corneto, which are now almost destroyed, or reclosed with earth, and forgotten. Many of the figures in this tomb which are given by Byres, are now entirely obliterated, and of others nothing but a faint glimmering is now discernible through the thick smoky coating of the walls; while a few still remain sufficiently preserved to approve the general accuracy of his drawings.¹ Much as these paintings have suffered from smoke, they have been further defaced by the wantonness of visitors. Micali says, "they have been pilfered piece-meal by trans-Alpine travellers, who boast of their intelligence."² Such an assertion is in accordance with the rampant nationality of that writer, but of such pilferings I could perceive few signs, and of the names scratched on the wall, which have done the most injury, I saw none but Italian. Though Englishmen have an extended reputation for this

¹ There is, however, a mannerism about his drawings, which, after having carefully compared them with the originals, I am compelled to refer to the artist alone. Indeed, from the superior spirit and energy of the original figures, and from the inaccuracy of some of Byres' details, I am of opinion that the engravings were made from slight sketches, in the course of reworking which, some of the peculiarity and spirit of the originals was overlaid by a tame mannerism. Agincourt's evidence is to the same effect—"J'en ai vérifié l'exactitude sur les lieux mêmes; elle est entière quant aux sujets, mais le style du dessin m'a paru amélioré, et n'avoir pas le caractère de celui qui était propre aux Etrusques." *Hist. de l'Art*, III. p. 9. It must be confessed, however, that Byres' task cannot have been much easier than it would be at present; for in his time these figures may not have been in better condition than they are now. Winckelmann speaks of them as very indistinct. Cardinal Garampi, in 1786, said certain of the colours only were preserved, and the figures were in general dark shadows, with the attitudes and outlines distinguishable. And even in 1760, Pacciaudi said they had almost vanished, and were to be made out only by putting the light very close; the red alone being very apparent. Some are now only to be traced by the scratched outline, but others which were merely coloured have faded from the wall.

² Micali, *Ant. Pop. Ital.* III. p. 99.

352 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

sort of barbarism, they by no means monopolize the privilege. "I am afraid this great lubber, the world, will prove a cockney" in other portions than Britain. Throughout Spain, Portugal, Italy, and elsewhere on the Continent, I have always found the same propensity to record individual insignificance prevalent—to fulfil, what some one calls, "*tout les petits devoirs d'un voyageur*;" and on any remarkable site or building, especially in the neighbourhood of large cities, have always remarked the great majority of names inscribed to be those of natives.

The figures painted in this tomb may be divided into two classes or worlds—of the living and the dead; which in some instances, however, are scarcely distinguishable. In the latter must be included another class, not less numerous, for the tomb teems

"With all the grisly legions that troop
Under the sooty flag of Acheron."

To the living belong the combats, on the frieze of the pillars, where the figures are represented almost or entirely naked, and armed with sword and shield. In attitude and action they are in general spirited and expressive; a few are graceful. One of these scenes is remarkably fine and spirited, approximating more closely to the Greek than any other in the tomb.¹ With truth may these paintings be regarded as the germs of that native genius of Etruria, which more fully developed itself in Luca Signorelli and Michael Angelo.²

The mythological scenes are yet more curious and interesting. They represent numerous souls, in the form of men, robed in white, conducted into the other world by genii of opposite characters, the good being depicted red or flesh-colour, the evil black, like the Furies of Grecian fable;³ both alike in human form, but with wings, red or

¹ It has been copied by Micali (*Ant. Pop. Ital.* tav. LXVI.), and from him by Mrs. Gray (*Sépulchres of Etruria*, p. 203). According to Sir W. Gell (*Rome, &c.*, I. p. 376), "many of these figures are positively the same as those represented in the Phigaleian marbles, and particularly the group in which one warrior prevents another from killing his wounded foe." I confess myself unable to perceive any close resemblance between the groups, though it exists between particular figures.

² Lanzi, *Sagg.* II. p. 252.

³ Æschylus (*Eumen.* 52) describes the Furies as "black and utterly horrible"—(cf. *Orph. Hym.* 69, 6.—*κυανόχρωτοι*. Eurip. *Orest.* 321.

white, at their shoulders.¹ Sometimes a good and evil spirit seem contending for the possession of a soul,—as where this is pursued by the malignant demon, and hurried away by the better genius; sometimes they are acting in unison—as where they are harnessed to a car, and are driven by an old man, who may possibly represent the Minos or Rhadamanthus of the Etruscans. In another instance a similar pair of antagonist spirits are dragging a car, on which sits a soul shrouded in a veil.² We may conclude they are attending the soul to judgment, for such was their office, according to the belief of the ancients, in order that when their charge was arraigned before the infernal judge, they might confirm or contradict his pleadings, according to their truth or falsehood.³ When the good demons have anything in their hands, it is simply a

—μελαγχρότες), and so they were always represented on the Greek stage. Æschylus also describes them as clad in sable robes (Eumen. 375.—μελανέιμονες, cf. 352. Choeph. 1049—φαιοχίτωνες). Inghirami (Mon. Etr. I. p. 277, *et seq.*) opposed the idea that the demons in this tomb were genii, good and bad; and pronounced them all to be Furies. But though many have the attributes of the Eumenides, even as they are represented on Etruscan monuments, the distinctive, nay antagonistic, character is clearly set forth.

¹ Byres has drawn these figures with wings at their ankles, sometimes fastened to the leg, and sometimes like those at their shoulders, growing from the flesh—in both which ways the *talaria* of Mercury and Perseus are represented on ancient monuments. Nothing of this sort could I perceive; it was manifest to me that these were not *talaria*, but simple buskins with peaked flaps, such as are commonly depicted on vases of the archaic Greek style, and on the legs of Roman *Lares* in the paintings of Pompeii. This fact is most clearly marked, for where the flesh is black, as in the case of the evil spirits, the flaps and all the leg below them are red; and where the flesh is red, the buskins are black. *Talaria*, however, would not be unapt attributes of the evil demons, for the Furies are described by Æschylus (Eumen. 74, 111, 131, 147, 231, 246) as chasing guilty souls as hunters chase their prey, and are represented by other ancient writers as being winged (Eurip. Orest. 317. Iphig. Taur. 287. Orph. Hymn. 68. 5. Virg. Æn. XII. 848); and so they are often represented on Greek and Etruscan vases, running rapidly with wings both at their shoulders and ankles. Æschylus (Eumen. 51, 250) however describes them as wingless.

² See Ann. Inst. 1837, 2, p. 261. This is the scene misrepresented by Mrs. Gray (Sep. Etr. p. 198) as a contest between a good and evil spirit for the possession of a soul, whereas it is clear that they are, literally as well as metaphorically, pulling together. Inghirami (Mon. Etrus. IV. tav. 25) represents a large amphora on the car with a draped figure standing behind it.

³ Plato ap. Apuleium de Deo Socratis, p. 48, ed. Lutet. 1625.

354 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

rod or wand, but the malignant ones have generally a heavy hammer or mallet, as an emblem of their destructive character; and in some instances, probably after condemnation has been pronounced, they are represented with these instruments uplifted, threatening wretched souls who are imploring mercy on their knees. In a somewhat similar scene, a soul is in the power of two of these demons, when a good genius interposes and arrests one of the evil ones by the wing. In another scene the soul is represented as seizing the wing of the good genius, who is moving away from him.¹ The same dark demons are in more than one instance mounting guard at a gateway, doubtless the gate of Orcus—*atri janua Ditis*—which stands open day and night. One of these figures is very striking, sitting at the gateway, resting on his mallet, his hair standing on an end, and his finger raised as if to indicate the entrance to some approaching souls. Were this figure a female, it would answer in every respect, even to the colour of its raiment, to the Fury Tisiphone, whom Virgil places as guardian to the gate of Hell.²

Some of these scenes are now but faintly traceable, while others are still distinct. But there is one of very remarkable character delineated by Byres, which is not now to be verified, as it has too much perished. It represents two children, Cupid and Psyche, the latter with butterfly-wings, embracing each other; with a good genius on one side and

¹ Byres has represented almost all these demons, both good and bad, as females. But two or three of the former only can now be distinguished as of that sex; a few are clearly males; but the majority preserve no sexual distinction. Yet it is not improbable that Byres is correct in this particular, judging from the analogy of the sepulchral urns, on which the winged demons, especially those who are mere messengers of Death, are commonly represented of the fair sex, and may be called "Junones;" but those with hammer or mallet, as allied to Charun, are generally males, or "Genii," though Byres here represents them as females. So in the copies made by Cattell, by order of Millin. (*Inghir. Mon. Etrus. I. p. 273, VI. tav. E. 3*), and so Agincourt also represents them (*Histoire de l'Art, IV. pl. 10, and Ingh. I. p. 275, IV. tav. 27*); but Micali makes them almost all males.

² Virg. *Æn. VI. 555*—

Tisiphoneque sedens, pallâ succincta cruentâ
Vestibulum exsomnia servat noctesque diesque.

It seemed to me a male, but others have taken it for a female. *Inghir. Mon. Etrus. IV. tav. 25, VI. C. 3.* A figure very similar will be found on an Etruscan sarcophagus in the Campo Santo of Pisa.

an evil one on the other. They appear to have the same symbolical meaning as the Cupid and Psyche of the Greeks, for the evil genius is drawing Cupid, *i. e.* the bodily appetites and passions, towards the things of this world, represented by a tree and a labourer hurrying along with a huge stone on his head, as if to intimate that man is born to trouble, and his lot below is all vexation of spirit ; while on the other hand Psyche, or the more exalted part of human nature, draws him back, and her persuasions are seconded by the good genius, who, be it remarked, does not seize the soul, like the antagonist principle, but tries, with outstretched arms and gentle looks, to win it to herself. Behind her is a gate, through which a soul is calmly passing, as if to contrast the tranquil bliss of a future existence with the labour, unrest, and turmoil of this. It is a simple truth, eloquently and forcibly told.¹

I have spoken of souls on cars ; others are seated on horseback ; one is led by a good genius ; another genius is contending with an unmounted horse, as if leading it to a soul for him to mount. These favoured spirits may represent the great and wealthy of this world, or may merely indicate more clearly the journey into another state of existence, which is frequently symbolized by a horse on the Etruscan monuments of Chiusi and Volterra. The majority of souls are on foot—some full of horror, eager to escape ; others imploring mercy from their malignant tormentors ; but many are calm, resigned, melancholy beings, gliding along with

¹ Though I have heard antiquaries of renown question the truth of this scene as represented by Byres, I see no reason to do so. It is certain that the figures on the wall, as far as it is possible to make them out, correspond with those in his plate, though almost all distinctive character has vanished. The stone-bearer and the tree are the most distinct portions ; the two genii are far from clear ; and it is only possible to perceive that something like two children has existed in the centre of the scene. The soul in the gateway appears to me to be leaning indolently against the wall. Moreover, as I have compared the whole series of Byres' plates with the original paintings, as far as it was practicable, and have found them to correspond in subject and general character, though not always in minute detail, I am willing to accord him credit for accuracy, in the subject at least of this scene. The apparent confirmation of his correctness afforded by Lanzi (II. p. 252) who mentions a representation of Psyche with butterfly-wings in the paintings of this tomb (cf. Inghirami, *Mon. Etrus.* IV. p. 112), is open to suspicion, as Lanzi had evidently seen his drawings, and probably described from them, not from the originals.

356 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

rods in their hands. There is abundant room here for the imagination. Here it will perceive the warrior, arrested in his career of glory ; here the augur, for whose sacred functions Death has no regard ;¹ here the bride, giving her hand, not to an earthly husband, but to a ghostly visitor ; the village maiden with her water-pot on her head ; the labourer with his spade or pitchfork on his shoulder, hurried away by one who knows no distinction of ranks ;² and the infant in its mother's arms, fetched by a pale messenger, ere it had known aught of the joys or sorrows of the life it was called on to resign.³

On leaving the Grotta del Cardinale, continue your walk over the Montarozzi, which here assumes that peculiar rugged character whence it derives its name. Tumuli, or the remains of them, are scattered on every hand in hundreds ; here and there cut into by spade or mattock, but generally overgrown with myrtle, broom, and lentiscus ; tombs yawn around you at every step, once the resting-places of the princes and merchants of Tarquinii, now the dwelling of the fox, the bat, and the lizard, the shelter of the shepherd from the storm, or of the homicide from his pursuers ; the very pathway resounds beneath your tread, and is full of chinks, which let daylight into the subterranean abodes of the dead.

¹ This figure is represented leaning on a *lituus*. Byres draws him with wings, but I could perceive no traces of them. He has a snake on the ground by his side. None of the genii in this tomb have these reptiles bound round their brows, as in the Grotta Pompej ; but Byres gives drawings of two monstrous serpents, drawn with great boldness, each bestridden by a boy, who is lashing it with a cord. They are no longer visible.

² These figures are represented by Micali (Ant. Pop. Ital. tav. LXXV.) as bearing agricultural implements, which, as he gives them, are very like those used in this part of Italy at the present day ; but in Byres' plates no such instruments are given, nor could I perceive them in the paintings.

³ This tomb has been described by Pacciaudi, in Caylus, Antiq. Egypt. Etrus. IV. p. 110 ; Piranesi, Maniere d' adornar gli edifizii, p. 22 ; Winckelmann, Storia delle Arti. I. lib. III. cap. 2, § 23, 24 ; Garampi, ap. Tirabos. Litter. Ital. I. p. 50. Micali, Italia avanti il dominio de' Romani, tav. LI.—all quoted at length by Inghirami, Mon. Etrus. IV. Ragion. VI. No copies of the paintings in this, or in the Grotta Tifone, have been preserved in the Vatican or in the British Museum.

Tarquinius—the Cemetery 357

Here you are stopt by piles of large hewn stones, dug out by the peasantry from the substructions of the tumuli, to be applied to the construction of hovels or cattle-sheds ; there you cross a road hewn in the rock, with tombs in its cliffs to attest its antiquity.

At the distance of more than two miles from Corneto, you find yourself at the mouth of another painted tomb,

GROTTA DELLE BIGHE,

or "GROTTA STACKELBERG," or "del Barone," as it has been styled from the gentleman who first copied and described its paintings. I would rather call it the Tomb of the Symposium, or drinking-bout—that being its distinguishing characteristic.

Though the paintings in this tomb are in many parts greatly injured, a glance suffices to show that in its original state it must have been more richly decorated than any other painted sepulchre in this necropolis. Walls and ceiling must have blazed with colour. Like the Querciola tomb, this has a double frieze of figures ; but here the arrangement is reversed, and the smaller frieze is above the larger. As in that tomb, the end-wall is here also occupied by a banquet, and the side-walls by dances, of very similar character.¹

This banquet differs from those in the tombs already described, in the absence of the fair sex ; so that it is rather a *symposium* than an ordinary feast. The absence of edibles on the tables confirms this view. The guests, however, though all males, recline in pairs, on three couches ; and are attended by two naked slaves and a *subulo* playing his pipes. Beneath the couches are several blue ducks.

The dancers are of both sexes, distinguished by their colour ; the women draped, with tunic and *chlamys* ; the men, with merely a slight scarf round their loins. All, as well as the banqueters, have chaplets of myrtle round their brows. In action and character they are very similar to

¹ This tomb was discovered in the spring of 1827. It is about 15 ft. square, 6 ft. high at the sides, and 8 ft. 6. in. from the floor to the central beam of the ceiling. This beam is painted with ivy-leaves and circles, not unlike compass-dials ; the slopes on either hand are chequered with various colours, as in the Grotta Marzi. The lower frieze of figures is 3 ft. in height, the upper only 18 inches.

358 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

those in the Grotta Marzi, yet inferior in spirit. One girl playing the pipes is very good, a true

meretrix tibicina cujus
Ad strepitum salias terræ gravis.

The dance was continued on three sides of the tomb, but is now scarcely distinguishable on more than one, the paintings having been greatly injured by the damp.

The ground of this frieze has the peculiarity of being a deep red ; whereas in the upper and smaller frieze it is left of the colour of the rock, a creamy white. This small band is more remarkable than the other. It contains a multitude of figures scarcely more than a foot in height, and not fewer originally than one hundred in number, though not so many are now remaining. They represent the public, probably the funeral, games of the Etruscans.¹ On one wall are several *bigæ*, or two-horse chariots—whence the appellation of the tomb—not in the act of racing, but apparently preparing for the contest. The horses are red, blue, or white—a variety of colour introduced for the sake of contrast. On the other walls are figures on horseback—racing on foot—boxing with the *cestus*—wrestling—hurling the *discus*—leaping with poles—and some with helmets, spears, and shields, who seem preparing for gladiatorial combats. All these were the games of the Greeks also, save the last, which were unknown to that people, but had their origin in Etruria, and were borrowed thence by the Romans.²

¹ If such scenes as these, which occur not unfrequently in the painted tombs of Etruria, especially in those of Chiusi, be more than representations of the solemn games held at funerals, it is probable that they not merely typify the state on which the souls of the blessed had entered, but pourtray the actual pursuits in which they were supposed to be engaged. Virgil gives authority for this suggestion, when he describes the delights of the Elysian fields as similar to those the blessed had enjoyed on earth—

Pars in gramineis exercent membra palæstris

Contendunt ludo, et fulvâ luctantur arenâ

Pars pedibus plaudunt choreas, et carmina dicunt.—Æn. VI. 642.

And again,

quæ gratia currûm,

Armorumque fuit vivis, quæ cura nitentes

Pascere equos, eadem sequitur tellure repositos.—Æn. VI. 653.

² See Chapter IV. page 159. The figures with spears in this scene may be intended to represent the ἀκόντιον, or contest of hurling the

Among these figures are two serpent-charmers, each with a reptile round one arm, and a rod in the other hand;¹ and this presents a fresh link between Etruria and the East; besides affording a confirmation of the fact, made known by other monuments and by history, that the control of serpents was an art cultivated in Etruria—probably as a means by which the priesthood impressed a sense of its superiority on the minds of the vulgar.

Most of these figures are naked; a few only have red or blue tunics. In the same frieze at the corners of the walls are stands, or platforms, on which spectators of both sexes, richly clad, are seated, looking on at the sports; while beneath them the lower orders, mostly naked, are seen reclining on the ground. There is nothing here to give us a high idea of the morality or decency of the Etruscan *plebs*.²

In the pediment above the banquet is a large wide-mouthed *amphora*, supported (in the heraldic sense) by two small naked figures, each with a jug and dipping-ladle; and each angle of the pediment is occupied by a sitting figure, half-draped, garlanded for the banquet, pledging his

dart, which was one of the five games of the Greek *pentathlon*; the other four—leaping, running, casting the quoit, and wrestling—being also here represented. The *pentathlon* was introduced at the public games of Greece, in the 18th Olympiad, (708 B.C.); boxing, and horse and chariot-racing were subsequent novelties. Müller (Etrusk. IV. 1, 8, 9,) considers that the Etruscans were imitators of the Greeks in their public games, with the exception of gladiatorial combats, which were peculiarly their own.

¹ This seems to have escaped the observation of every one who has written on the tomb—at least I can find no statement to this effect. The figures are not so represented in any copies of these paintings that I have seen—not even in those on the same scale, in the Vatican and the British Museum, where what they hold in their hands rather resembles the so-called *acrostolion*, or scroll of victory, often depicted on vases. But to me it seems clearly to have been intended for a serpent.

² The figures in this frieze bear some analogy to those on the rim of a vase published by Millingen in his “*Peintures Antiques des Vases Grecs*,” pl. LII. and afterwards by Inghirami, Mon. Etrus. VI. tav. G. 4.

The outlines of the figures in this frieze have been scratched in before the colours were laid on; so that, as it often happens, where the colour has entirely faded, the figure may yet be clearly distinguished by the scratched outline. This finds an analogy in the vases of the earlier styles, with this difference, that the outlines on the vases are scratched *after* the paint has been laid on, for the sake of force and detail.

360 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

opposite neighbour with true convivial earnestness. In the pediment over the doorway is the usual pair of panthers, and also a pair of geese; which, like the former, may be regarded as guardians of the tomb. Remember it was

“Those consecrated geese in orders,
That to the Capitol were warders;
And being then upon patrol,
With noise alone beat off the Gaul.”

The correctness, ease, freedom, and spirit of these paintings mark them as of a good school of Etruscan art, and of a later date than belongs to any of the painted tombs of Tarquinii, save those of the Typhon and the Cardinal. Yet Gerhard pronounces them to be of the purest archaic Greek style, and of earlier date than those of the Querciola, which display a free and perfect Greek manner; whereas these partake of the primitive manner of Greek art.¹ It may be that these remarks refer solely to the lower frieze, which has a decided archaic rigidity. But the upper seems to me to be free from this, and to be superior in every respect, with as much of pure Greek feeling, I think with more, than is exhibited by the Querciola.² It is evidently of later date than the lower frieze, or by a different artist; and from its analogy to the figures on the vases of the Third Style, it must date from the last days of Etruscan independence, or about three hundred years before Christ.³

GROTTA DEL MARE.

Close to the tomb last described is a small, double-chambered one, called “Tomb of the Sea,” probably from

¹ Ann. Inst. 1831, p. 319.

² Chev. Bunsen (Ann. Inst. 1834, p. 57), gives the preference to this tomb as having the beauty of the Greek ideal in the countenances, motions, and attitudes. Chev. Kestner (Bull. Inst. 1833, p. 77) regards this tomb as superior to all the rest on this site, its paintings being of the purest Greek design—not a figure here that Demaratus, or Euechir his companion would have been ashamed of—or, he should have said, that they could have equalled, as it is clear that this tomb belongs to a much more advanced period of art.

³ Further details respecting this tomb will be found in Ann. Inst. 1829, p. 104, *et seq.* (Kestner); Gell's Rome, &c., I. pp. 387-391. Illustrations are given in the Museo Gregor. I. tav. CI. Micali, Ant. Pop. Ital. tav. LXVIII., and copies of very tolerable accuracy are preserved in the Gregorian Museum of the Vatican, and in the “Etruscan Room” of the British Museum, on the right-hand wall.

the character of its paintings, which are confined to the pediment of the outer chamber, and represent four sea-horses—two on each side of a large ornament, which bears some resemblance to a scallop-shell.

Seahorses and other marine animals and emblems are of so frequent occurrence in Etruscan tombs as well as on sarcophagi and funeral urns, as obviously not to be without a meaning. As stated in a former chapter, they probably have reference to the passage of the soul into another state of existence, according to the general belief of the ancients that the disembodied spirit had to cross a lake or river on its way to its future abode. By some they have been regarded as symbols of demons or infernal monsters. It seems not improbable that in certain cases they are emblems of the maritime power of Etruria, who long ruled the waves. Her naval greatness is also symbolized on her coins, a common device on which is the prow of a ship—copied on those of early Rome, long before that city had a fleet, or had achieved a naval triumph.¹

GROTTA DEL BARONE,

or “Grotta del Ministro,” or “Grotta Kestner,” as it is otherwise called,² because it was discovered by Baron Stackelberg, and Chevalier Kestner the Hanoverian minister at Rome, is close to the last-named tomb. It is remarkable for the extreme brilliancy of its colours, and for the simplicity of its subjects, which are contained in a single frieze of figures, about thirty inches high, banded above and below by a broad riband of variegated stripes. On the inner wall are a man and boy; the latter playing the double-pipes: the former, with blue hair and black beard, has his arm round the boy’s neck, and is offering a *cylix* to a veiled and crowned female, who seems to represent a goddess.³ The men on horseback, one on each

¹ Ovid (Fast. I. 229, *et seq.*) assigns a very different origin to the prow on Roman coins; but he relates the vulgar tradition; according to which it represents the ship in which Saturn came to Italy after he had been expelled from heaven by his son Jove.

² This is the tomb which Mrs. Hamilton Gray (Sep. of Etruria, p. 222) describes under the title of “Camera della Giustizia”—a name she probably confounds with “Giustiniani.” It is 15 feet by 13, and of the usual height, from 6 to 8 feet. It was opened in 1827.

³ It has been suggested that she represents Ceres or Cybele. Ann.

362 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

side of this group, do not seem to have reference to it, but appear from their whips with barbed handles to be preparing to contend in a race for the chaplets or crowns which hang above them.

On the right-hand wall the scene seems to declare a foregone conclusion. The race has apparently terminated, and the competitors, standing by the goal which is indicated by a fillet suspended from the wall, are respectively claiming the prize—each holding up a chaplet to attest his victory. The point in dispute is referred, on the opposite wall, to the decision of the same woman or goddess, already described, who here stands between the rival horsemen; but to which she awards the prize is not evident, unless her turning her face to one, and her back on the other, decide the question; though, as the artist was obviously unable to depict a figure otherwise than in profile, this was a necessary position.

The inner pediment contains a pair of particoloured sea-horses and some dolphins, on a ground of grey—a thin solution of black. In the opposite pediment is the usual pair of panthers.

The freshness of the colours in this tomb is remarkable. The blue of the man's hair, of the long-toed boots, and of the borders of the garments seems actually to have a bloom upon it; whereas in the other tombs, this is the colour which has most faded. The red is also very strong and bright; that of the horses and of the men's flesh is exactly of the same tint. Brown occurs in the *pallia* of the racers, and is probably a mixture of red with black. The trees here introduced are more neatly delineated than usual, and their leaves are either red, or of a bluish-grey, approaching nearer to green than I have seen in any other tomb of Tarquinii.¹ Of the oft-occurring conventionalities in colour, which give

Inst. 1831, p. 323. Micali (Ant. Pop. Ital. III. p. 102) regards her as Proserpine. She would seem at least to be a priestess, from her lofty cap, or *tutulus*, which is supposed to be a distinctive mark of Etruscan priests and divinities. Ann. Inst. 1831, p. 210—Gerhard. Yet it is worn by the women in the Grotta delle Bighe.

¹ It is strange that a decided green is rarely seen in Etruscan paintings; for with blue and yellow they could not in any case have been ignorant of it. Probably they refrained from making the compound, because their yellow was thick and heavy, and would not make a brilliant green—brightness and striking contrasts of colour being the great aim of their artists, often to the neglect of nature and correctness.

Etruscan paintings so peculiar a character, this tomb presents excellent specimens—one man having blue, the rest white hair; and some of the horses having blue hoofs, and all white manes and tails, though their bodies are black or red.

These figures are of more archaic design than those of any other tomb of Tarquinii yet described. The females have much Egyptian stiffness, or, as Chevalier Kestner says,¹ much of the grandiose spirit of the Egyptian and archaic Greek; while the man and boy on the inner wall are stepping out with the ease of more advanced art. But the figures of the racers are very inferior, having great rigidity and awkwardness, and being quite unworthy to mount the steeds, which are drawn with considerable correctness and spirit—better drawn in fact than the horses in any of these tombs, save the Grotta delle Bighe. These differences in style have led to the opinion that these figures are not the work of a single artist, or of the same period—some showing the infancy, others rather the decline of Etruscan art; and this is explained by supposing that after the lapse of centuries the original figures were repainted, and the outlines altered in the process.² But, though the figures are of various merit, I could see no signs of such repainting.³

¹ Ann. Inst. 1829, p. 112. Gerhard says they are imitations of the Greek, executed by Etruscan artists, yet is there no decadence observable. Ann. Inst. 1831, p. 319. Winckelmann (*Storia delle Arti*. lib. III. c. 2, § 24) speaks of similar female figures of Egyptian rigidity, placed motionless among a group of dancing-women, in certain painted tombs of Tarquinii open in his day; and he takes them for divinities.

² Ann. Inst. 1829, p. 113—Kestner. Raoul Rochette (cited by Kestner, *loc. cit.*), explains the pure and original design of the females, by supposing them mythological personages, and therefore not retouched like the rest, and urges the cloudy mistiness in which they are enveloped. But this brown mistiness Kestner regards as the original ground of the wall, left by the retoucher in its primal state, as he had not the courage to whiten up to the original outline. But to me it seems to indicate that the wall in these parts was covered with size or some other preparation, as a ground for the paint, which size has changed colour in the course of ages.

³ For further notices of this tomb see Ann. Inst. 1829, p. 109, *et seq.*—Kestner. Micali, *Ant. Pop. Ital.* III. p. 102, who also gives an illustration of a portion of its paintings (tav. LXVII.). The best copies are preserved in the Museo Gregoriano, and have been published in the work of that name. I. tav. C. None exist in the British Museum.

364 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

GROTTA FRANCESCA.

The tomb of this name, which is also called the "Grotta Giustiniani," from a young lady who was present at its opening, is not far from the group just described.¹ Here, as in the Grotta Barone, no feasting is depicted, but only the dances and sports which attended the funerals of the Etruscans. On the inner wall, the principal figures are two women, playing, one the double-pipes, the other the castanets; the latter wears the *ampyx* or frontlet, and from her dress and attitude, as she rests one hand on her hip, while she brandishes the castanets with the other, might pass as the prototype of the modern *maja* of Andalusia. Her companion the *tibicina*, has yet more of a modern air; pipes and bare head excepted, she is just such a dame as you may meet any day in Regent Street. Nothing is new under the sun—shawls, pelerines, and printed gowns with deep flounces and riband borders, seem to have been as well known in Etruria two thousand years and more ago, as they are to us. I cannot say as much of the dress of the two men on this wall, which would scarcely be deemed becoming in our streets. He on foot, with the crook in his hand, has nothing but a shawl thrown over his shoulders; he driving the *biga* in the opposite corner wears simply a short white tunic or shirt, so short that it scarcely serves its purpose; each from the middle downwards is bare, or as Hood would say,—

"Thence, further down, the native red prevails
Of his own naked fleecy hosiery."

The horses in the chariot are one red, the other blue, and their tails are curiously knotted or clubbed, just as they are often represented on the painted vases. In the pediment are two blue panthers, one on each side of the usual bracket.

Turn to the right-hand wall. What spirit, what life, what nature, in this dancing-girl! Her gown of gauze or muslin

¹ This tomb was discovered in 1833 by Chevalier Kestner. It is 14 feet by 12, and of the usual height. The beam of the ceiling is only marked out, not relieved; and the rafters are represented by broad stripes of red paint. In the left-hand corner is a rock-hewn bench for a sarcophagus, which has been removed.

floats around her in airy folds ; the broad blue ribbon which binds her “bonny brown hair,” and the red scarf hanging from one shoulder across her bosom, stream behind her with the rapidity of her movements ; while she droops her face and raises her arm to give expression to her steps. Her other arm is akimbo, so that you might declare she was dancing the *salterella*. For spirit, ease, and grace she has no rival among the *ballerine* of Tarquinii. Her dress is peculiar—I remember nothing like it on painted wall or vase. It is as modern as that of her neighbours. In truth there is nothing antiquated about her ; it is hard to believe she has been dancing in this tomb for some two or three and twenty centuries. She has now unfortunately but a short time to live ; she will soon take her last step—from the wall. Her partner in the dance is almost obliterated, though enough remains to mark his attitude as easy and graceful. Next to him are some fragments of another female ; but everything else on this wall is utterly effaced.

The opposite wall is also much dilapidated, but several figures are traceable. A male and female in the corner, in long, broad-bordered robes, do not seem to be dancing. Hard by are two males, apparently encountering a wild boar, or some other animal, no longer visible, for one of them holds a spear as if in the act of piercing it. Behind him stands a horse, from which he has dismounted, or which may have been attached to a chariot ; on this side of the door is another horse, also without a rider. The walls at this end are greatly dilapidated, so that half the paintings in the tomb are effaced.

The figures here, though coarsely executed, have more freedom and are of later date than those in the Grotta del Barone. They appear coeval with, or, it may be, somewhat later than those in the Grotta Marzi. I have seen no copies of these paintings except those made by myself.¹

Among this group of painted tombs is one which, as far as I can learn, has never been described in print ; therefore I shall take on myself the privilege of naming it, from its most remarkable feature—

¹ For particulars of this tomb see Bull. Inst. 1833, p. 74, *et seq.*—Kestner. Ann. Inst. 1834, p. 190, *et seq.*—Kestner.

366 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

GROTTA DELLA SCROFA NERA,

or, "Tomb of the Black Sow." Like the sepulchre last described, it was unknown to Mrs. Hamilton Gray. In truth, it is not to be entered by a lady, for it has no passage cleared down to its doorway; but among the half-destroyed tumuli of the Montarozzi is a pit, six or eight feet deep, overgrown by lentiscus; and at the bottom is a hole, barely large enough for a man to squeeze himself through, and which no one would care to enter unless aware of something within to repay him for the trouble, and the filth unavoidably contracted.

Having wormed myself through this aperture, I found myself in a dark, damp chamber, half-choked with the *débris* of the walls and ceiling.¹ Yet the walls have not wholly fallen in, for when my eyes were somewhat accustomed to the gloom, I perceived them to be painted, and the taper's light disclosed on the inner wall a banquet in the open air, for the ivy which forms a cornice round the chamber is depicted springing from the ground in one corner. The painting is so much injured that some of the figures are almost obliterated. I made out, however, three separate *lecti* on this wall, each with a pair of figures; one only of whom, on the central couch, is a female, distinguishable by her white flesh; the rest are males. From the absence of other females, and of the tables, the usual concomitants of the banquet, this seems to be rather a *symposium* or drinking-bout, than a regular *deipnon*. In front of the couches stand a male attendant, bare from the waist upwards, and a female playing the lyre, and clad in richly-embroidered robes, which leave her shoulders and bosom bare. Her foot rests on a low tripod stool. Beneath the couch stand some domestic fowl; and one of the pigeons presents an unique instance of that curious foreshortening of animals, which is not uncommon on black-figured vases, but is not to be seen in any other painted tomb in Etruria, at present open. Of the eight figures in this scene only two retain their heads; but these enable us to judge of the character and expression of the painting in its

¹ This tomb is 14 ft. 6 in. long, by 11 ft. 6 in. wide. It has the broad beam of the ceiling painted with red circles, and the rafters indicated with red paint. The figures on the walls are about 3 ft. 6 in. high.

original state. The drapery of the couches is particularly worthy of notice, being marked with stripes of different colours crossing each other, as in the Highland plaid; and those who are learned in tartanology might possibly pronounce which of the Macs has the strongest claim to an Etruscan origin.

The banquet was continued on the wall to the left, but here it is now almost entirely obliterated. It was continued also on the wall to the right, by another couch with two male figures, each raising aloft a *cylix* or drinking-bowl he has just emptied; and both, as well as the other revellers whom Time has not beheaded, having their brows bound with wreaths of myrtle. They are attended by two servants, one of whom is bringing forward a fresh supply of wine. The scene seems to have terminated on this wall in a hunt, probably of the wild boar, in all ages the favourite sport of the inhabitants of the Etruscan Maremma. No such beast is visible in the present dilapidated state of the wall, but there is a man in a grove of trees hurling his long lance, and having his robe wound round his left arm for a shield, as the Highlander uses his plaid, and the Spaniard his *manta*.

The same sport is represented in the pediment above the banquet, where an enormous sow, not such as met the eyes of Æneas on the wooded shore, with thirty little ones as white as herself, but black as night, with crimson dugs and mane, is attacked in front by a huntsman with knotted lance, and from behind by several dogs, which another huntsman is setting upon her.¹

In this tomb there is nothing Egyptian or archaic in the countenances, or the forms, as in the neighbouring Grotta del Barone. The features here are Greek, though with something of an Etruscan character. The eyes are in profile, and not in full, as in the earlier tombs. There is an absence of rigidity, a freedom, and correctness of design, which show an advanced state of the art, and cannot

¹ This may perhaps represent Theseus and the Sow of Crommyon, a not unfrequent subject on the painted vases, where the hero, however, is sometimes armed with neither sword nor shield, but with a conical mass of stone, which he is hurling at the brute. An instance of this is seen on a *cylix* in the British Museum. The same was represented on one of the sarcophagi in the Grotta Dipinta, Bomarzo, and a cone of metal, 8 lbs. in weight, was found within the tomb.

368 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

belong to a very remote age. This is particularly visible in the limbs of the man attacking the sow, which display, not merely in outline, but in the modelling of the muscles, no small acquaintance with anatomical design. This tomb, then, must be classed among those of more recent date, such as those of the Bighe and the Querciola—yet prior to those of the Cardinal and the Typhon. It belongs to the transition period, when Etruscan art was beginning to lose its peculiar features, and to merge in the Greco-Roman.

The existence of this tomb is known to few—its site only to Agápito, the *custode*, without whose guidance it would be vain to seek it among the countless mounds and pitfalls which chequer the surface of the Montarozzi. I know not why this tomb has not been properly opened, and furnished with a door. It can hardly be on account of the somewhat obscene character of one of the figures, or the same cause should render two other of these painted sepulchres unfit for eyes polite.¹

GROTTA DELLE ISCRIZIONI.

Crossing the Montarozzi to the side opposite the ancient city, you find in the face of the cliff, which overhangs the valley, another tomb, called, from the number of Etruscan inscriptions on its walls, "Tomb of the Inscriptions;" and also known as the Grotta delle Camere Finte, from the false doors painted, one in the centre of each wall, as if to indicate entrances to inner chambers.²

¹ Round this tomb, as round many others in Etruscan cemeteries, may be observed nails, much rusted, on which articles of pottery or bronze were suspended against the walls. Lanzi (II. p. 267) and Inghirami (IV. p. 112) thought they originally supported *aulæa*. But though the Etruscans may have decorated their apartments with such hangings, their funeral feasts are always represented as—

Cœnæ sine aulæis—

perhaps because they were in the open air. One instance alone has been found of a tomb with such hangings painted on the wall. See the Appendix, Note II. p. 394.

² This tomb is 15 ft. 6 in. long, by 12 ft. 3 in. wide; 5 ft. 6 in. high at the sides, and 6 ft. 9 in. from the ground to the central beam of the ceiling. It was discovered in 1827, by Signor Vittorio Massi. The door was closed by a large rectangular slab of stone, divided into small square compartments, containing figures of wild beasts or monsters, which Micali (Ant. Pop. Ital., tom. III. p. 105, tav. LXVII. 7) conceives to be emblems of the infernal spirits to whom the guardian-

The figures here depicted have several peculiarities. They are almost or entirely naked, even some which may possibly represent women ; the colour of the flesh is not the usual brick-red, but a paler tint, more true to nature ; and there is a marked approximation to the Egyptian, in the general contour, in the form of the head, and particularly in the eye.

The subjects are games and dances. To begin with the wall immediately to the left of the entrance. Here two naked men seem to be playing at dice, on a small table which stands between them. The dice are not depicted, but the attitudes of the men indicate their occupation. If it be so, it shows that the Etruscans at their funerals had games of chance as well as of strength and skill ; and explains the not unfrequent presence of dice in Etruscan tombs, as tokens of the funeral feast.¹

The next two figures on the side-wall are also naked, and are boxing with the *cestus* over an upright stick, crossed like a T, which limits their advances ; these figures are very much injured by a deep fissure in the rock. They are boxing to the music of a *subulo*, or piper,² in blue tunic and red boots. Each of these figures has his name in Etruscan characters above his head.³ Next is a pair of athletes wrestling, and in spirited attitudes—one having lifted the other from the earth, and thrown him completely on his shoulder. The victor has a cloth round his loins ; the other is quite naked.⁴

ship of the tomb was intrusted ; set there to terrify those who would violate its sanctity. The slab still lies within the tomb.

¹ That the Etruscans played with dice we have historical evidence in Livy (IV. 17), who records a tradition of Lars Tolumnius, King of Veii. The invention of dice is ascribed to the Lydians, during the eighteen years' famine, which drove a portion of them from their native land to colonize Etruria. Herod. i. 94. Several vases have been found in Etruria and Campania, which represent Achilles and Ajax playing at this game—the most beautiful of them is in the Gregorian Museum.

² Eratosthenes and Alcinus (ap. Athen. IV. c. 13, p. 154 ; XII. c. 3, p. 518, ed. Casaub.) say that the Etruscans boxed to the sound of the *tibia* ; the latter adds that they also scourged, and kneaded bread to the same music—*πρὸς αὐλὸν καὶ μάττουσι καὶ πυκτεύουσι καὶ μαστιγοῦσιν*.

³ These inscriptions are now mere fragments, some of the letters having faded, or peeled from the wall.

⁴ These figures have also their names attached, which, like the last,

370 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

The false door in this wall separates these combatants from an equestrian procession, which fills the space up to the false door in the centre of the inner wall. There are four mounted figures, preceded by another on foot, all perfectly naked. From the exultation of the first horseman, who throws his arms into the air, and from the anxiety of his followers to urge on their steeds, it is clear that the scene represents a race, which has just been won; the victor alone having his name recorded.¹ The steeds would not pass muster at Newmarket or Ascot better than their riders. Such quaint, peculiar forms—such tiny heads—such short, pinched barrels—such stilted legs—could hardly have existed in any country. Yet there can be little doubt that the favourite points with the turf-lovers of Etruria are here set forth in exaggeration;² resulting in a conventional form of singular uncouthness, which has not its counterpart in any other tomb of this necropolis, though bearing considerable affinity to the steeds in the Grotta Campana at Veii. These horses are alternately red and black, the manes and hoofs of the former being blue, of the latter, red or white; and all alike have long white tails.

The eight figures between the next two false doors—*i. e.* three on the inner, and five on the side-wall—form a Bacchic dance, as is apparent from the goblets and vases in their hands, and from the tipsy excitation of their gestures. The

are now but fragments. In the copies in the Vatican the names given are NUCKTELE and EICRECK. Whoever is familiar with Rosellini's plates of the ancient Egyptian games will be struck with the close similarity between these figures and some of the wrestlers there represented.

¹ His name is . . . RIS (Laris) LARTHIA. The man on foot, who is probably a herald, or umpire, is called VELTHUR. Sir W. Gell (Rome, I. p. 383) fancied these figures were "riding at the ring; their object being to catch, as they pass by at a gallop, certain rings suspended high above their heads." But it is most obvious that the rings he speaks of have no particular reference to these horsemen, as they are suspended all round the chamber, over the heads also of the boxers, wrestlers, and dancers. And so also in other tombs where there are no horsemen. This notion of the game of the ring was started by some Italians of more lively fancy than archæological knowledge, and is now utterly exploded.

² The Etruscans, he it remembered, were renowned for their race-horses. Liv. I 35. Müller (I. 2, 2) thinks that their passion for the turf must have led them to cultivate the breed. We have not in this tomb much evidence of such cultivation. Yet there is no want of spirit in these steeds.

first figure appears a female, from its form ; though the flatness of the bosom, and the sameness in complexion with the men who follow, render the sex dubious. The same may be said of the third figure, whose name seems to mark it as a male.¹ A more decided masculine character is seen in the anonymous *subulo* between these two. Each of the three has a chaplet round the brow, but the first has a high white cap, or *tutulus*, in addition, which is also worn by the two greybeards who follow on the side-wall. The first of these has his arms hung with red chaplets, and he is brandishing a *patera*, the contents of which he has either just quaffed, or poured forth as a libation. The second also holds a *cylix*, and is dancing with more energy than his fellow. He is followed by a younger man with black beard, also carried away by Bacchanalian furor.² The three with the *tutulus* must be priests, as that head-dress in males was a distinctive mark of the sacerdotal character.³ All six figures have a cloth wrapped round the loins, or are entirely naked, save that their legs are cased in long peaked boots, such as are worn by the female in the Camera del Morto, and such as came again into fashion in Italy during the middle ages. The procession is brought up by two slaves, who are differently attired from the rest, without chaplets or necklaces, or even boots, but wearing a close-fitting jacket, or spencer ; both have wine-jugs in their hands, and one bears a large *amphora* on his shoulder.⁴ The jugs and drinking-bowls are precisely similar in form to those which modern excavations are bringing to light in such abundance ; the *amphora*

¹ The first is named ARAUTHREC : IENEIEI ; the other LARIS U . . S. The copies in the Vatican read these names "Ara. Uthlec. Ienel," and "Laris Phanurus." In the description given in the Museo Gregoriano, tom. I., they are called women, and for such Micali also took the first (III. p. 103).

² The name of the first greybeard is LARTH MATVES ; of the second, AVILEREC : IENIIES ; of the black-bearded man, . . ARATHVINACNA.

³ The *tutulus* is described by Varro (de Ling. Lat. VII. 44) as a sort of *meta* or cone, worn on the heads of priests. Festus calls it the ornamental head-dress of the Flaminicæ, who wore their hair piled up above their head, and bound round with a purple fillet ; and also a woollen cap of the same form as the Flamines and Pontifices used. Varro adds that matrons who wore their hair twisted round the top of their heads, applied to it the same appellation.

⁴ The first slave is called TETIIE ; the second, PUNRU. The Vatican copy reads this "Runru."

372 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

is somewhat peculiar, though exactly like that in the Camera del Morto. Why the fifer alone in this procession is nameless is not easy to say, for even the dog under the foot of the leading figure has its appellation inscribed.¹

On the other side of the painted door on this wall is a bearded figure in red *pallium*, and with a pair of chaplets round his head, who from his attitude appears to represent some one in authority, commanding the slave in the corner, who bears several boughs of trees in each hand, to follow the Bacchic dance. He appears just to have arisen from a couch, where the slave has probably been fanning him with the boughs.²

The scene on the right of the entrance is difficult of explanation. It represents an old man, naked, holding in one hand a forked rod; and standing before a low stool, on which a boy, also naked, is about to lay a blue fish. It is possible that the stool is a sort of altar, and that the boy is making an offering to the other figure, which may represent a divinity. I have heard it designated "The God of Chastity;" and there are features which favour this conjecture. It would probably be explained could we interpret a long inscription in Etruscan characters over the head of this figure.³

Over the door is the usual pair of panthers, and in each angle of the pediment is a recumbent fawn, phallic, with brute-ears, and human legs terminating in goats' hoofs. A goose stands at his feet. In the opposite pediment are a

¹ It is called AEPHLA.

² His name is now a fragment, but the Vatican copy calls it VEI LANIIES.

³ In its present state it reads thus—. . AMATVESICALESECE: EURASECLES VASPIESTHICHVA; but in the Vatican copy it commences with CIVESAN. . . . In our present ignorance of the Etruscan language, all attempts at translating this or other inscriptions, except proper names or oft-recurring formulæ, must be mere guess-work.

Micali (Mon. Ined. p. 270, tav. XLIV. 1) gives a representation of a black-figured *amphora* from Vulci, now in the Pinacothek of Munich, which bears a Bacchic procession, very similar to that in this tomb; but all the figures are decidedly males, all are decently robed, yet with their hair hanging loosely down their backs, and are walking, not dancing. The first figure bears three boughs in each hand, like the slave in this tomb, and a chaplet on his head; the second also carries similar boughs or twigs in one hand, and a vase in the other; next is a *subulo* with his pipes; and then a fourth man, with boughs in one hand, and a chaplet in the other.

pair of lions, of deer, and of panthers—all particoloured, and curious examples of Etruscan conventionalities in pictorial art.

The paintings in this tomb are of a more quaint and archaic character than in any other sepulchre in this necropolis; and they bear a closer affinity than any other Etruscan paintings yet discovered, both in design and colouring, to the remarkable scenes in the Grotta Campana at Veii—unquestionably the most ancient specimens of pictorial art extant in Italy or Europe. The resemblance in the form of the horses has already been mentioned; it may be seen also in the particoloured animals, especially the stags, in the inner pediment. In the exaggerated fulness of the limbs, in the general contour of the bodies, the elongated form of the eyes, and in the attitudes, there is much similarity to the black figured vases of the Second or Tyrrhene style. Like them too, these paintings show more spirit than correctness, better intention than capability of execution.¹

To recapitulate these painted tombs in the order of their antiquity. First, I should place the Grotta delle Iscrizioni. Second—the Grotta del Barone, as partaking of the same archaic character, yet with advancement in certain of the figures. Third—the Camera del Morto, as being of very similar style, yet with less rigidity. Fourth—Grotta del Triclinio, which, though retaining certain archaisms in attitude and design, shows much of Greek feeling. Fifth—Grotta Francesca, which, though of inferior merit to the last-named tomb, shows more freedom, its defects being rather the result of carelessness than of incompetence. Sixth—Grotta della Scrofa Nera, which, though of less pure Greek feeling than the Grotta Triclinio, betrays more masterly design, and less of that conventionality which in various degrees characterizes all the preceding. Seventh—Grotta Querciola, which displays great advancement in

¹ Gerhard (Ann. Inst. 1831, p. 319) says this tomb displays archaic Greek art, partaking of the Etruscan manner, and with a rudeness in the countenances and drapery rather Tyrrhene than Greek. For other notices of it, see Ann. Inst. 1829, p. 106, *et seq.*—Kestner; Gell's Rome, I. p. 382, *et seq.*; Micali, Ant. Pop. Ital. III. p. 102, tav. LXVII. 5, 6. Copies of the paintings exist in the British Museum, in the "Bronze Room," on the left-hand wall; and also in the Vatican, and have been engraved in the Museo Gregoriano, I. tav. CIII.

374 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

correctness and elegance, and much of the spirit of Hellenic art. Eighth—Grotta delle Bighe, whose upper band shows an improvement even upon the Querciola. All these must be referred to the time of Etruscan independence, for not one arrives at the perfection of the later painted vases, which date as far back as the fifth century of Rome. To a subsequent period belong—Ninth—the Grotta Cardinale; and—Tenth—Grotta Pompej, which can hardly be earlier than the latter days of the Roman Republic.¹

It will be observed that the two last-named tombs differ from all the rest in making a direct reference to Etruscan mythology. The figures in the earlier sepulchres represent creatures of this world, in the most joyous moments of life—feasting, dancing, hunting, sporting—though there are valid reasons for regarding such scenes as descriptive of funeral rites and customs. But the later tombs disclose another state of existence; with few exceptions, the scenes are no longer of this world—the principal actors are divinities or demons—the figures are disembodied spirits. Why are such representations not found in the earlier tombs? It can hardly be accidental. The demonology of the Etruscans must have existed from the remotest period of their history, yet it is not set forth on their earlier monuments. On the

¹ Some have taken the beard as a test of the antiquity of early Italian monuments, on the ground that prior to the year of Rome 454 there were no barbers in Italy; for in that year, says Varro (*de Re Rust.* II. cap. 11), “barbers first came from Sicily—ut scriptum in publico Ardeæ in literis extat—and that there were none in earlier times is indicated by the statues of the ancients, which for the most part have large beards.” Compare Pliny (*VII.* 59), who adds that Scipio Africanus was the first who shaved daily. But this test, as applied to Etruscan monuments, is not to be relied on. First, because the Etruscans are known to have used depilatories of pitch instead of razors, and to have had houses for the removal of the hair, as the Greeks had barbers’ shops (*Athen.* XII. c. 3, p. 518; *Ælian.* *de Nat. Anim.* XIII. 27); so that the fact of the introduction of barbers into Italy in the fifth century of Rome does not affect the question as applied to the Etruscans. And also, because in some of the earliest monuments of Etruria, such as the paintings in the Grotta Campana at Veii, no beards are introduced, while on others of late date, even of Roman times, like the Grotta Dipinta at Cervetri, figures are represented with beards, and these not mythological personages, as some who are bearded in the Cardinal and Typhon tombs in this necropolis of Tarquinii. It has been suggested that the figures in these Etruscan scenes of festivity may be represented beardless, to indicate the eternal youth they were supposed to enjoy.—*Bull. Inst.* 1843, p. 48—Cavedoni.

most ancient pottery, whether relieved, scratched, or painted, we rarely find more than detached figures of divinities—as frequently perhaps symbolized as portrayed. So also in the earlier works in metal and stone—the religious creed is rather hinted at, and obscurely, than clearly expressed. It is only on urns, sarcophagi, mirrors, and other monuments of later date, that we see *genii* or other divinities taking part in human affairs.

The only solution I can suggest is, that in the earlier ages of Etruria the system of religion was thoroughly oriental—like her art, it savoured of Egypt—the people were so enthralled by the hierarchy, that they may not have dared to represent, perhaps scarcely to contemplate, the mysteries of their creed; but that after their intercourse with Greece, their religion, as well as their arts, gradually lost that pure orientalism which had characterized it; the distinctions of esoteric and exoteric were in great measure broken down, and the people dared to look within the veil, hitherto lifted by none but the augur and aruspex.

In contemplating these painted walls the question naturally arises—Are they fair specimens of Etruscan art?—are we justified in judging from them of the state of pictorial art among this ancient people, any more than we should be in drawing conclusions of modern Italian art from the painted decorations of chambers, from sign-posts, or from stage-scenery? Can we suppose that any but inferior or provincial artists would condescend to apply their pencil to the wall of a tomb, only for their work and their reputation to be buried from the world? Some think not; but I cannot agree with them.¹ With regard to this individual site, it is the cemetery of Tarquinii, the ecclesiastical, if not the political metropolis of Etruria, the source of her religious doctrines and rites, the fount of the Etruscan Discipline; the city which long maintained an extensive intercourse with Greece, and whither Euehir and Eugrammos of Corinth resorted—whether actual beings or symbols of the arts implied in their names, it matters not. Here, if anywhere in Etruria, art must have flourished. Nothing can here be termed provincial. Moreover, to take a more general view, there was a sacredness attaching to tombs among the nations of

¹ Micali (Ant. Pop. Ital. II. p. 246) thought all these paintings of Tarquinii were the work of provincial artists.

376 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

antiquity, to which we are strangers, and which must be realized by us before we can judge correctly on this matter. The Pyramids attest to all time the honour paid by the Egyptians to their dead. The Greeks, besides their recorded opinions, have left palpable memorials of the importance they attached to well-furnished and decorated sepulchres: to such a pitch, indeed, were they inclined to carry their extravagance, that their legislators were at times obliged to curb it by sumptuary laws for the dead. The Romans raised still prouder *mausolea*—such enormous piles as serve their descendants for fortresses and amphitheatres. Why then should not the wealthy princes of Tarquinii have engaged the most celebrated artists of their day, to decorate their family sepulchres? They furnished them with treasures of gold and jewellery, and with the choicest specimens of fictile and toreutic art—why should they have been content with inferior performances on the walls? I see no reason to doubt that these paintings are the works of the Signorellis, the Masaccios, the Raphaels, the Caraccis, of Etruria.¹ Analogy confirms this view; for Nicias, the Athenian, an artist of such eminence as to be extolled by Praxiteles,² did not disdain to decorate the walls of sepulchres with his pencil.³

I have described all the painted tombs now to be seen in the necropolis of Tarquinii. Many others have been discovered in past ages; but some have been immediately ruined by the admission of the light and atmosphere; others have fallen more gradually to decay; some have been wantonly destroyed; and a few have been reclosed, lost sight of, and forgotten. Records of several are in existence. Among the earliest found was one opened in 1699, close to the walls of Corneto, in the *tenuta* Tartaglia, whence it has received its name. It was illustrative of the religious creed of the Etruscans, representing souls in the charge of winged *genii*. Three of these souls, in the form of naked men, were suspended by their hands from the roof of the chamber,

¹ Gerhard (Bull. Inst. 1834, p. 12) is of opinion, from the strong Greek character of certain of these paintings, that they are the work of Greeks resident in Etruria, influenced by the native taste; and Bunsen (Ann. Inst. 1834, pp. 57, 74) thinks they are by Greeks or by native artists who had studied in Greece, or in her colonies in Italy.

² Plin. XXXV. 40.

³ Pausan. VII. 22. See page 126 of this work.

as appears in the copy that has been preserved; and the demons stood by, one with a mallet, some with torches, and some with singular nondescript instruments, with which they seemed about to torment the bodies of their victims. To a Protestant the scene is suggestive of the horrors of the Inquisition; to a Roman Catholic of the pains of purgatory.¹

Another early account of the now lost tombs of Tarquinii was written about the year 1756, by an Augustin monk of Corneto, Padre Giannicola Forlivesi, who, at a time when Etruria was little regarded in Europe, interested himself in her antiquities, and wrote a minute account of the painted tombs of this necropolis.² This work, which has never been printed, was a few years since in the hands of Avvolta of Corneto, but he lost it by lending it, and whether it be still in existence he knows not. The marrow of it, however, has been extracted by Gori, who acknowledges his obligations to the Augustin;³ and Avvolta also has given to the world a sketch of its contents;⁴ and preserves certain copies of the rude drawings made by the worthy Padre, which with his wonted courtesy he is ever pleased to show to the inquiring stranger.

In the work of Byres, already mentioned, plates are given

¹ Passeri (Paralipom. ad Dempst. p. 139) regarded it as a scene in the Etruscan purgatory. Notices and illustrations of these curious paintings will be found in Buonarroti, p. 42, ad Dempst. II. tab. LXXXVIII.; Gori, Mus. Etrus. III. p. 91.

² He described several tombs no longer to be found. One was decorated with a painting of Cybele, with turreted crown, and a spear in her hand, seated on a car drawn by four lions, and preceded by twelve musicians, with fifes, cymbals, and tambours—probably the Corybantes or Galli, who danced at her festivals; for they used such instruments, though the former at least always danced armed like the Curetes of Crète.—Strab. X. p. 468, *et seq.* So Horace, Od. I. xvi. 7—

acuta

Sic geminant Corybantes æra.

In another tomb was depicted Ceres, drawn by a pair of serpents. In a third was represented a galley, with oars and sails, with a king seated on the deck between two females, while Tritons were sporting in the waves, and blowing shell-trumpets. In a fourth was a procession of nine "priests," with lotus-flowers, birds, or vases in their hands. But the most remarkable scene described by the Padre was a man crowned with laurel, seated on an elephant, and attended by a number of spearmen on foot. This probably represented the Indian Bacchus.

³ Gori, Mus. Etrus. III. p. 90; cf. Maffei, Osservaz. Litter. V. p. 312.

⁴ Bull. Inst. 1831, p. 91.

378 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

of several other painted tombs, once existing in this necropolis, but no longer to be seen ; and the peculiar characteristics of Etruscan art are better preserved in these than in his illustrations of the Grotta Cardinale.¹

Other painted tombs, no longer visible, have been known in our own time. There was one fifteen or twenty years ago near the Grotta del Morto, which had a pillar in the centre, niches round the tomb, and large figures painted on the walls, with Etruscan inscriptions attached. The surface had so much decayed that the paintings were almost destroyed, but the figure of a female in magnificent apparel, with a very remarkable head-dress, was then visible. The tomb seemed to have stood long open, for it was full of swallows' nests, and bore no trace of recent excavation.² It is now lost sight of, and has probably fallen into utter ruin.

Another painted tomb was opened, near the Grotta Querciola, only as recently as 1844. It contained but four figures, rudely executed—two of human beings, two of demons. The former were taking a last farewell of each other ; for a grim Charun, mallet in hand, was seizing one of them to lead him away, while another similar demon stood at the gate of Orcus, resting on his hammer, which was encircled by a serpent—a representation quite unique. The meaning of the scene seems to be this. One soul is borne by the messenger of Death to the other world ; the other has yet to live awhile, as is gracefully indicated by the repose of his attendant spirit. This tomb was left open but a short time, during which a record of it was fortunately preserved by Dr. Henzen,³ and then it was reclosed ; the usual excuse being given—*per le vigne*—for the sake of the vineyards.

It is worthy of remark, that all the painted tombs now open are beneath the level surface ; not one has a superincumbent tumulus, though such monuments abound on this site. More than six hundred, it is said, are to be counted on the Montarozzi alone ;⁴ and they may be considered to have been originally much more numerous. They seem to have been all circular, surrounded at the base with masonry, on which the earth was piled up into a cone,

¹ For an account of these tombs, see the Appendix, Note II.

² Bull. Inst. 1832, p. 214—Avvolta.

³ Bull. Inst. 1844, p. 97—with comments by Dr. Braun.

⁴ Ann. Inst. 1830, p. 37—Westphal ; 1832, p. 274—Lenoir.

and surmounted probably by a lion or sphinx in stone, or by a *cippus*, inscribed with the name of the family buried beneath. After the lapse of so many ages, not one retains its original form, the cones of earth having crumbled down into shapeless mounds, though several have remains of masonry at their base. One is nearly perfect in this respect. It is walled round with travertine blocks, about two feet in length, neatly fitted together, but without cement; forming an architectural decoration which, from its similarity to the mouldings of Norchia and Castel d'Asso, attests its Etruscan origin. It rises to the height of five or six feet, and on it rests a shapeless mound, overgrown with broom and lentiscus.¹ The entrance is by a steep passage, leading down to a doorway beneath the belt of masonry. The sepulchral chamber is not in this case remarkable; but beneath a neighbouring tumulus is one of very peculiar character. The rock is hollowed into the shape of a Gothic vault, but the converging sides, instead of meeting in a point, are suddenly carried up perpendicularly, and terminated by a horizontal course of masonry. The form is very primitive, for it is precisely that of the celebrated Regulini tomb at Cervetri, one of the most ancient sepulchres of Etruria, and also bears much resemblance to the Cyclopean gallery of Tiryns in Argolis.²

It were an idle thing for the stranger to search for the wall-girt tumulus among the numerous mounds on this part of the Montarozzi. Let him ask for the "Mausoleo," and Agápito or his *locum tenens* will conduct him to the spot.

¹ Other tumuli, much akin to this, but with some variety in the masonry, were in existence a few years since (Mon. Ined. Inst. I. tav. XLI. 13, a. c.), but have been destroyed by the peasantry, who, it is to be feared, will soon pull this also to pieces, for the sake of the hewn blocks around it. One had a cone cut into steps, like the tomb at Bieda, shown in the woodcut at p. 310.

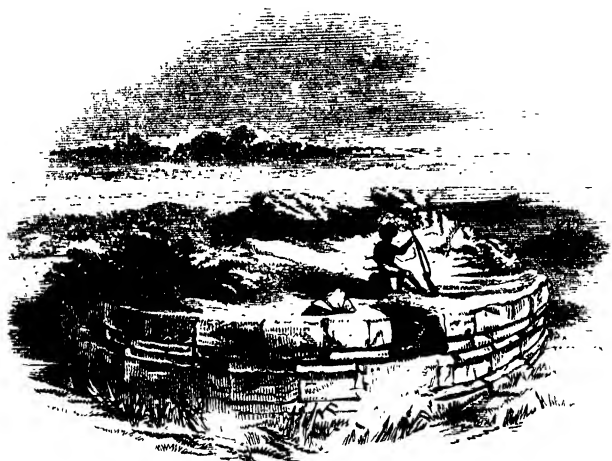
² A tomb has been found in this necropolis, vaulted over with a conical cupola, formed by the gradual convergence of horizontal courses of masonry, exactly as in the Treasury of Atreus at Mycenæ. It was about 18 feet in diameter.—Gell, Rome II. p. 406; Mon. Ined. Inst. I. tav. XLI. b. 4. It has either been reclosed, or its site is forgotten. I have sought it long in vain.



MOULDING
OF THE
MAUSOLEO.

380 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

These tumuli are probably the most ancient description of tomb in Etruria. Such, indeed, was the form of sepulchres



IL MAUSOLEO, ON THE MONTAROZZI.

among the primitive nations of the world. It varied in different lands. The Egyptians, Assyrians, and Hindoos assumed the pyramid; while in Asia Minor, and by the early races of Europe—Greeks,¹ Italians, Scythians, Celts, Scandinavians, and Germans—the cone was preferred. The ancient tribes of America also adopted the same mode of sepulture; and the vast pyramids rising from the plains of Mexico and Yucatan,² rivalling those of Egypt in dimen-

¹ Pyramids, however, are found in Greece, though of much inferior size to those of Egypt. Pausanias (II. 25) speaks of one existing in his day on the road from Argos to Epidaurus; and there are said to be several still extant, the best preserved of which is near Argos. It is 49 feet by 39 at the base, and built of polygonal masonry, inclining to the horizontal and rectangular. A plate and description of it are given by Colonel Mure, in his very interesting work on Greece (II. p. 195, *et seq.*), who ascribes it to the same primitive school of architects as the Treasury of Atreus.

² The two pyramids of the Sun and Moon in the plain of Teotihuacan, are particularly remarkable for their size; and one of them has shafts and galleries within it, like those which have been discovered in the Pyramids of Egypt. A further analogy with the cemeteries of the old world is displayed in the multitude of smaller pyramids, all sepulchres,

sions, and the conical mounds of Peru, attest a remote relation between the people of the Old and New World. Tumuli, we know, were in use among the Lydians, the traditional colonizers of Etruria, and the sepulchre of Alyattes, the father of Cræsus, described by Herodotus—*magna componere parvis*—was very like the “Mausoleo” of the Montarozzi; “the basement being composed of huge stones, the rest of the monument being a mound of earth.”¹ The description given by Dionysius of the necropolis of Orvini, a city of the Aborigines, a most ancient people of Italy, long prior to the foundation of the Etruscan state, answers so strikingly to the Montarozzi, that we might imagine he was writing of Tarquinii. His words are—“The foundations of its walls are visible, and certain tombs of manifest antiquity, and enclosures of cemeteries lengthened out in lofty mounds.”²

It was within one of these tumuli of the Montarozzi that Avvolta, in 1823, discovered “the celebrated virgin tomb which gave rise to all the excavations subsequently made in the neighbourhood of Corneto.” The discovery was owing to accident. He was digging into the tumulus for stones to mend a road, when he perceived a large slab of *nenfro*, part of the ceiling of the tomb. Making a hole beneath it, he looked in, and there (to give his own words)—“I beheld a warrior stretched on a couch of rock, and in a few minutes I saw him vanish, as it were, under my eyes; for, as the atmosphere entered the sepulchre, the armour, thoroughly oxydized, crumbled away into most minute particles; so that in a short time scarcely a vestige of what I had seen was left ranged in avenues or streets around these colossal monuments. The counterpart of this Micoatl, or “Path of the Dead,” may be seen in the Montarozzi of Tarquinii, but still more strikingly in the Banditaccia of Cervetri. See Prescott’s *Hernan Cortes*, II. pp. 354–7, for a description of these Transatlantic monuments,—also Stephens’ *Yucatan*.

¹ Herod. I, 93. This tomb of Alyattes is still in existence, and lies in a valley near the Gygean lake, not far from Sardis. It is extremely large—a mere mound of earth—and has no masonry now visible around its base; but it may be concealed by the sinking of the earth from above. A travelled friend informs me, that on one of the lofty overhanging ridges are numerous tumular mounds of various sizes, though all much inferior to that of Alyattes, none of them now having basements of masonry. By travellers they are commonly known as The Tombs of the Lydian Kings; but the Turks call them “The Thousand and One Hills.”

² Dion. Hal. I. p. 12, ed. Sylb. See the heading to this Chapter.

382 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

on the couch.¹ . . . Such was my astonishment, that it were impossible to express the effect upon my mind produced by this sight ; but I can safely assert that it was the happiest moment of my life."²

The contents of this tomb, as far as they can be judged of from Avvolta's description, indicate a high antiquity ; and the golden crown and rich bronzes show it to have belonged to some person of consequence. The absence of beautiful painted vases leads us to infer that he was buried prior to the perfecting of the fictile art, or in the early days of the Roman Republic.

This tomb had evidently never been opened since the days of the Etruscans, and such sepulchres being exceedingly rare, are of immense importance to the archæologist. We visit Museums, and see the produce of Etruscan cemeteries in objects rich and rare, but as to their arrangement as sepulchral furniture we gather not an idea. Or even should we be present at the opening of a tomb, if it has been rifled in past ages, as is the case with the vast majority, we can have no confidence in the genuineness of the arrangement ; we cannot regard it with the same interest as if we were convinced every object occupied its original position. Or, should we be so fortunate as to hit upon a virgin-tomb, it is not unlikely that it is full of earth—that the roof has fallen in, deranged the original collocation, and destroyed the furniture ; and happy shall we be if we can save anything uninjured from the wreck.

The necropolis of Tarquinii was of vast extent. Avvolta assured me that it covered sixteen square miles. Others tell us it stretched eight miles in length and six in breadth³—an extent hardly to be credited. It covers not only the whole of the Montarozzi, which is so thickly sown with tombs, that almost every step you take is on hollow ground, but it extends far down the slope towards the sea, and comprehends also Monte Quagliero, on the opposite bank of the Marta, and to the north of the ancient city. It is highly probable that the heights around the city in every other direc-

¹ The same singular effect of the atmosphere is narrated of the Grotta Torlonia at Cervetri.—Visconti, *Antichi Monumenti Sepolcrali di Ceri*, p. 21.

² For further particulars of this tomb, see the Appendix, Note III.

³ Pacciaudi, quoted by Lanzi, II. p. 465. cf. Inghir. *Mon. Etr.* IV. p. 111.

tion would be found to contain tombs, for the Etruscans did not confine their cemeteries to one spot, but availed themselves of any advantages afforded by the disposition of the ground or the nature of the soil, and sometimes quite encircled the city of the living by a "city of the dead."

The necropolis on the slope of Monte Quagliero was discovered only in 1829. A sepulchral road, sunk in the tufo, crossed the hill, and contained sepulchres in both its walls. Other tombs were sunk beneath the surface, for there were no tumuli on this spot.¹

Excavations which were carried on in this necropolis pretty briskly some fifteen or twenty years ago have long ceased. The attention of the tomb-burglars has been absorbed by the more lucrative operations at Vulci and Chiusi. For, though tombs are so abundant that almost every step you take in the neighbourhood of Corneto is over a sepulchre, yet the cemetery has been so well rifled in bygone ages, that it is rare to find anything to repay the expense of excavation. Cavalieri Manzi and Fossati, who have been the principal spadesmen on this site, give it as their opinion that this rifling took place in the time of Julius Cæsar, when the painted vases were of great value, and were sought for eagerly, as we are told, in the tombs of Campania and Corinth.² Their reason for this opinion is, that the more ancient tombs have all been plundered, while those of later date have generally been spared. This, however, may be accounted for, I think, by the superior wealth treasured in the older sepulchres; for these gentlemen inform us that the poorer ones of equal antiquity are often intact—a fact which is to be wondered at, seeing that there is no external distinction now visible, whatever there may have been of old. Nor is there any local separation—nothing like classification in the arrangement—but sepulchres of all ranks and of various dates are jumbled together in glorious confusion. It seems as though, after the necropolis had been fairly filled, the subsequent generations of Tarquinians thrust in their dead in every available spot of unoccupied ground; and so

¹ Bull. Inst. 1829, p. 8; Ann. Inst. 1830, p. 38—Westphal. Here were the remains of a Roman villa, the substructions of which had cut into Etruscan tombs. The Poggio della Vipera, further up the Marta, also contains sepulchres.

² Suet. Jul. 81; Strab. VIII. p. 381.

384 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

it continued to a late period, for there are tombs of Romans, as well as of Etruscans, and some apparently even of the early Christians. From the number of painted vases yielded by this necropolis, I should conclude that the rifling was of much later date than Julius Cæsar; more probably of the time of Theodoric (A.D. 489-526), when grave-spoiling was general throughout Italy. For that monarch thought, with the Wife of Bath—

“It is but waste to bury precious,”

and sanctioned the search for gold and silver, yet commanded everything else to be spared.¹

Taking all classes of tombs into account, those which are virgin or intact are said to be one in thirty; but those which, like Avvolta's tomb, contain articles of value, are in much smaller proportion. The painted pottery is far less abundant than at Vulci. It is of various descriptions and degrees of merit; from the coarse, staring, figured ware of Volterra, to the florid forms and decorations of Apulia and Lucania, and the chaste and elegant Attic designs of Vulci—which, in fact, is its general character. And this is singular, for we might expect that the Corinthian artists who settled here with Demaratus, the father of Tarquinius Priscus, would have introduced a Doric style of pottery; whereas there is here little or nothing that reminds us of Corinth or Sicyon; but much of the Attic character so prevalent at Vulci.² The best ware of Tarquinius is in no degree inferior, either in form, material, varnish, or design, to that of Vulci; and, if there be a difference, it is that it is generally less archaic in character.

Besides vases, many fine sarcophagi of *nenfro* have been found here—“ash-chests” rarely; for the Tarquinians were accustomed to *bury*, rather than *burn*, their dead. Bronzes

¹ Cassiodor. Variar. IV. 34.

² Niebuhr (I. p. 133) shows that the legend of Demaratus and his companions, Eucheir and Eugrammos, is meant to express that from Corinth Tarquinius derived her skill in forming and painting pottery; but he is mistaken in asserting that there is a striking similarity between the vases of the two cities. Occasional resemblances may occur, but they are by no means characteristic. Gerhard (Ann. Inst. 1831, p. 213) thinks the companions of Demaratus were workers in metal, for which branch of art the Dorians were renowned; for there is little like the infancy of Greek art in the vases of Tarquinius.

are not very abundant on this site ; yet I have seen some of great beauty, with reliefs of mythological subjects. In one tomb were found eleven bronze discs, about sixteen inches in diameter—seven of them with a lion's head, and the rest with a face of the horned Bacchus, in high relief, in the centre—as is shown in the woodcut below.¹



BRONZE DISC, WITH THE HEAD OF THE HORNED BACCHUS.

On the slope of the Montarozzi, towards the sea, there are some tumuli of great size, which promise well to the excavator. In this neighbourhood is a remarkable tomb, which, though now in a very dilapidated state, should not fail to be visited by the traveller. Let him leave Corneto by the Civita Vecchia gate, and, instead of pursuing the road to that port, let him take a lane a little above it, which

¹ The eyes are supplied by some material in imitation of life. These bronzes are too small and thin ever to have served as shields, and were probably suspended as ornaments on the wall of the tomb. Bull. Inst. 1829, p. 150 ; Micali, *Ant. Pop. Ital.* III. p. 57. They are now in the Gregorian Museum. For notices of the excavations at Tarquinii, and their fruits, see Ann. Inst. 1829, pp. 91-101 (Avvolta) ; pp. 101-116 (Kestner) ; pp. 120-131 (Fossati) ; Bull. Inst. 1829, p. 150 (Gerhard) ; p. 197. Ann. Inst. 1831, pp. 327-330 (Manzi and Fossati) ; pp. 115, 213 (Gerhard) ; Ann. Inst. 1834, p. 64, *et seq.* (Bunsen).

386 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

will lead him through olive-woods, till, at the distance of a mile or more from the city, he will enter a grass-grown area, inclosed by low cliffs, which are hollowed into caverns, some of vast extent. Among them is the tomb in question. The spot is called

LA MERCARECCIA,

and the tomb is known by the same name. Its outer wall has fallen, so that the doorway is quite destroyed. The walls of the first chamber have been covered with reliefs, now scarcely traceable, save in a frieze beneath the ceiling, where animals—apparently wild beasts—are represented in combat, or devouring their prey—a frequent subject on Etruscan vases and bronzes of archaic character.¹ Among them is the figure of a boy distinctly traceable, who seems to be struggling with a huge beast like a hyæna.² Another animal on the same wall appears to be a winged sphinx. The walls below the frieze bear traces of figures almost as large as life—men and horses—but now almost obliterated, nothing remaining distinct. It would be surprising were it otherwise, for the rock is a friable tufo, and the tomb, for the last sixty or eighty years at least, has been used as a cow-shed or sheep-fold. The walls have been hollowed into niches for the lamps of the herdsmen, holes made in the reliefs for their pegs, and the whole tomb is blackened with the smoke of their fires. Were it not for this, traces of colour would doubtless be discernible on the reliefs, as on those of Norchia.³

It is lamentable to see this, almost the sole instance known, of an Etruscan tomb with internal sculptural decorations, in such a state of ruin. Had any care been taken to preserve it, were it a mere door or fence to keep out mischievous intruders, the sculptures would in all probability be still as fresh as the reliefs on the

¹ This subject is very common on early Greek works of art, the Doric vases to wit—and is also found on Lycian and Asiatic Greek monuments. See Fellows' *Lycia*, pp. 174, 176, 197; and the reliefs from Xanthus, now in the British Museum; also the reliefs from Assos in Mysia, now in the Louvre—Mon. Ined. Inst. III. tav. XXXIV.

² Agincourt (*Hist. de l'Art*. III. p. 8) interprets this as showing "the torments reserved for the damned."

³ A century ago, according to Gori, the cornice or frieze was red, and the beams of the roof red and blue.

sarcophagi and ash-chests. How long it has been subject to neglect on the one hand, and wantonness on the other, is not known. There is no record of its discovery.¹ Eighty years ago, according to Byres, the sculptures were at least intelligible; but even then the outer wall had fallen, and the tomb was open to all intruders.² From the spirit and freedom evident in the remains yet visible, quite as much as from Byres' plates, which betray too much

¹ The earliest mention of it is by Maffei (Osserv. Letter. V. p. 311), who published in 1739. Gori in 1743 gave a description and illustrations (Mus. Etr. III. p. 90, class II. tab. 7, 8).

It is not improbable that this is the tomb referred to by Pope Innocent VIII. at the end of the fifteenth century, in a letter which he wrote to the citizens of Corneto, about a certain "sepulcrum marmoreum" just then discovered. This cannot have reference to a marble sepulchre, such as flanked Roman roads, for it was evidently subterranean; it must mean a tomb with reliefs, which are vulgarly designated "*marmi*" by the Italians, just as we speak of the "Elgin marbles." The tomb must have been highly adorned in itself, and rich in furniture; for the Holy Father sent "a beloved son" to Corneto expressly to see it, charging the authorities to show him the sepulchre, "in our name," and to compel those who had abstracted the contents to restore them forthwith. The civic powers, it appears, were themselves the culprits, for they replied that nothing had been found but some gold, which they had expended on repairing the fortifications. Bull. Inst. 1839, p. 69. Or it may be this tomb which is described in a poem of even earlier date, and which so astonished the natives with its magnificence as to be taken for the palace of Coritus. The benches around, the carved ceiling, with its chimney, and the sculptures on the walls here described, all tally with the original. The rock, however, is not the usual white travertine of the Montarozzi.

Sunt immensa albis exausta palatia saxis
 Multa nimis magnæ mansio gentis erat.
 Vivi intus fontes, excisa sedilia circum,
 Spiramenta locis dant penetrare diem.
 Celatum in quodam pulchrum est spectare lacunar;
 Illa, reor, Coriti regia regis erat.
 Sculpta ea perlegerent oculi memoranda, sed illud
 Priscum longa dies attenuavit opus.
 Quin etiam effigies veterumque sepulcra virorum
 Sunt, et semideûm, sunt simulacra deûm.

² Byres (part I. plates 5-8) represents three draped female figures on the right-hand wall, where now is nothing but shapeless prominences of rock—a horse and a man standing beyond, still discernible in ruin—a male and two female figures on the inner wall, of which one of the latter only is now to be traced. In the frieze above he represents lions, bears, and sphinxes, and more than one instance of a human victim. Each corner of the frieze he shows to be occupied by an ox-skull.

388 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

mannerism, we may learn that these reliefs belong to a late period of Etruscan art—a period apparently agreeing with that of the best sarcophagi and ash-chests.

The ceiling of this tomb is hewn into the form of a trapezium, with beams on each of its sides, sloping off from the centre, which is occupied by a square aperture, tapering up like a funnel through the rock for twenty feet, till it opens in a round hole in the surface of the plain above.¹ In the sides of this chimney or shaft are the usual niches for the feet and hands. This can hardly have been the sole entrance, though tombs so constructed have been found—some in this very necropolis, illustrated by Byres, and described by Winckelmann,² and others in the plain of Ferento already mentioned.³ A similar tomb has been discovered on the Aventine Hill, the necropolis of early Rome.⁴ Yet it seems strange that a sepulchre so singularly and elegantly decorated as this, should be so carefully concealed—that there should be so much “art to conceal the art.” It is impossible to determine if there were a doorway below, for the cliff is too much broken away; but there are manifest traces of a chamber in front of this, whether a mere vestibule or a distinct sepulchre cannot be decided. It is worthy of remark that in its roof this tomb, which is unique in this particular, represents that sort of *cavædium*, which Vitruvius terms *displuviatum*,⁵ or that description of court, the roof of which slopes from within, so as to carry the rain outwards, instead of conveying it into the *impluvium* or tank in the centre of the *atrium*. It may be, however, that this opening represents—what it more strictly resembles—a chimney; for we know it was the practice of the Greeks of old to have a vent for the smoke in the centre of their apartments.⁶

¹ The height of the tomb from the floor to the square aperture in the ceiling is 13 feet; the height of the walls 9 feet.

² Winckelmann, *Storia delle Arti*, lib. III. c. 2, § 23.

³ See Chap. XIII. p. 256.

⁴ Bartoli, *Sepolcri Antichi*, tav. L. It was discovered in 1692. It was a round chamber excavated in the rock, 45 feet below the surface, entered only by a perpendicular shaft, and encircled by a corridor, in which was sunk a second shaft, 15 feet deep.

⁵ Vitruv. VI. 3. No specimen of such a *cavædium* is, I believe, extant, but a painting of it may be seen on the walls of the Casa de' Capitelli Dipinti, and also of the Casa de' Dioscuri, at Pompeii.

⁶ Orph. Hymn. LXXXIII. 2; cf. Herod. VIII. 137; though Becker

A steep passage cut in the floor of the tomb leads down to an inner chamber, the roof of which is level with the floor of the first. Byres represents a procession painted on its inner wall—a number of souls, one of whom seems of princely or magisterial dignity, conducted by winged *genii*; but hardly a trace of it now remains.¹ It is a fair inference, however, that a tomb so richly decorated with sculpture and painting was not of the *commune vulgus*, but the last resting-place of some Lucumo, one of the princes of Etruria.²

Adjoining this tomb is one which appears a *columbarium*, like those of Faleri and Sutri, but the holes in its walls are of modern formation.

In the cliffs which surround the Mercareccia are the mouths of several caverns, which seem to have been tombs, subsequently enlarged into “antres vast.” But between (Charicles, Exc. I. Sc. III.) cannot understand the *καρνοδόχην* here as a regular chimney. Maffei, Gori, and other early writers on Etruscan antiquities fancied these holes in the ceilings of the tombs were to admit light; but this—opinion as well as light—is quite inadmissible.

¹ In Maffei's time, a century ago, they were almost obliterated. With minute examination, I could perceive on the smoked stucco traces of red and black paint, and of scratches marking the outlines of the figures, but no forms are now distinguishable. Between the two chambers is a small circular apartment; but Byres represents it as a square niche recessed in the inner wall of the sculptured tomb—so that the rock beneath the niche must have broken away into the passage. The outer chamber is about 22 feet square, the inner about 20.

As regards the relation of the inner to the outer chamber, this tomb is not unique. The tapestried sepulchre, represented by Byres, and now lost sight of, was constructed on the same plan, as also the singular “Tomb of the Tarquins,” recently opened at Cere.

² This tomb was described and drawn by the Padre Forlivesi, to whom Gori (Mus. Et. III. p. 90) owns himself indebted for the materials he published. According to his account, the beams of the outer chamber were painted red and blue—“a very pleasant effect.” The cornice also was painted, as well as some of the reliefs. The inner wall of the second chamber was painted almost as Byres represents it, though each figure had its name in Etruscan letters; but the other walls also had figures of men alternating with trees, as in the Tomba del Colle Casuccini at Chiusi. The men were all naked, save a light *chlamys* or scarf, and some had birds in their hands, one a lyre, and one was watering a tree from a vase. These seem to have disappeared before Byres' time.

Besides the descriptions and illustrations of Maffei and Gori aforesaid, see Micali, Ital. avanti il dom. Rom. tav. LI.; Ant. Pop. Rom. tav. LXIV. 3; Agincourt, Histoire de l'Art. IV. pl. xi. Inghir. Mon. Etrus. IV. tav. 20, 21, 22.

390 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

this and Corneto are others of much larger size. One day I joined a party on an exploring expedition to them. We went provided with torches, for without them it were dangerous, as well as vain, to penetrate these

“Grotts and caverns, shagged with horrid shades.”

The mouths of the caves are generally low and shapeless, affording no index to the extent and character of the interiors, which stretch far into the bowels of the earth, sometimes in galleries or passages, sometimes in spacious halls, whose lofty ceilings are sustained by enormous pillars hewn out of the rock, presenting a rude analogy to the subterranean temples of Egypt and Hindostan. Their artificial character is manifest; but whether they are natural caverns, subsequently fashioned by man for some particular purpose, or are wholly artificial, it is difficult to say. There is not enough regularity to evince plan, nor anything to indicate a definite object in the construction, so that I am inclined to agree with the popular belief which regards them as quarries, opened for the building of Corneto. Nevertheless, when we remember what burrowers were the ancient Etruscans, the extent, number, and variety of their subterranean works, we cannot despise the opinion, held by some, that these caverns are of very early date, and associated with Etruscan times and rites.¹

If the traveller have leisure, he will not regret visiting these caverns. True, unlike the tombs, they impart no valuable archæological information, throw no fresh light on history; yet will he find a solemn pleasure in penetrating their recesses. As he gropes onwards through passage after passage, through hall after hall, here threading his way among huge masses of rock fallen from above, there creeping along to avoid the bats which cling to the ceilings in hundreds—the profound gloom which his torches' glare is unable wholly to dispel—the ever-shifting shadows, which appear to an imaginative eye to assume form and substance

¹ The largest cave of the Mercareccia is said by Dr. Urlichs (Bull. Instit. 1839, p. 67) to be as “grandiose” as the celebrated Latomie of Syracuse, which is giving it much more than its due. The same writer considers these caverns to be undoubtedly the quarries mentioned by Vitruvius and Pliny, under the name of *Lapidicinæ Anitianæ*. See Chapter XIII. p. 255. He is mistaken, as those quarries are expressly stated to be near the lake of Volsinii.

—the mysterious shapes dimly disclosed in the distance—the awakened bats wheeling round the pillars, or swooping at the lights—the solitude rarely disturbed, as is testified by the untrodden soil—the solemn silence, now broken by the unwonted echoes of voices and footsteps,—might cause him to fancy himself in the cave of the Cumæan Sibyl—*horrendæ secreta Sibyllæ*—or on the descent to the Stygian lake, for verily—

Umbrarum hic locus est, Somni Noctisque soporæ.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XVIII

NOTE I.—CHAPLETS IN ETRUSCAN TOMBS.

THE frequent occurrence of chaplets depicted on the walls of these tombs cannot fail to arouse inquiry as to their signification. If these sepulchral paintings be nothing more than representations of actual feasts, the presence of chaplets is sufficiently explained by the well-known custom of the ancients of wearing crowns and garlands at banquets and other festive occasions. By both Greeks and Romans they were assumed after the meal and before the drinking-bout which followed (Athen. XV. pp. 665, 685. Petron. Satyr. LX.) ; wherefore to wear a garland was equivalent to being in cups (Plaut. Amphit. act III. sc. 4. 16). By the Greeks they were generally composed of myrtle-twigs, as in the Grotta Querciola and other tombs of Tarquinii ; or of ivy, which was deemed an antidote to the effects of wine (Plato, Sympos. 37. Plutarch. Sympos. III. q. 1, 2. Athen XV. p. 675) ; or of poplar (Theocrit. Idyl. II. 121) ;—sometimes bound with ribands, and with flowers, roses or violets, interwoven. Hence Athens derived her epithet of “violet-crowned” (*ἰοστέφανοι Ἀθῆναι*—Aristoph. Equit. 1320. Acharn. 637). The Greeks made them likewise of wool, for crowns of victory (Pind. Isth. V. 79). The Romans also made chaplets of the same simple materials—Nature’s best ornaments—sometimes fastening flowers to strips of bast (*nexæ philyrâ coronæ*—Hor. Od. I. 38, 2. Ovid. Fast. V. 335–337) ; and likewise of wool bound round with fillets, which was the most ancient material (Festus *v.* Lemnisci). That the Etruscans also wore woollen chaplets is shown by the sarcophagi and urns which bear the figure of the deceased reclining on the festive-couch, for such seems to be the texture represented, and that flowers were bound into them by ribands—*lemnisci*—is proved by many of the same monuments, especially those of terra-cotta ; the best specimens of which are in the Campana collection at Rome. Of similar materials seem

392 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

to be those depicted in these tombs, and the red or white spots in them probably represent flowers, or it may be gems. Of the same description are the longer garlands worn by the Etruscan sepulchral statues on the breast, equivalent to the *ἐποθυμίδες* of the Greeks (Plut. Symp. III. q. 1. Athen. XV. pp. 678-688), and the breast-garlands of the Romans (Ovid. Fast. II. 739; Tibul. I. 7, 52; Hor. Sat. II. 3, 256). The heads of banqueters are sometimes represented on vases, bound with fillets—*ταῖνλαι*, *vittæ*—the long ends of which hang down behind (Mon. Ined. Inst. III. tav. XII). The Etruscans on triumphal or other solemn occasions wore chaplets of pure gold in the form of leaves, set with gems, and terminating in ribands of the same metal (Plin. XXI. 4, XXXIII. 4; Appian. de Reb. Punic. LXVI.; Tertul. de Coronâ Milit. XIII.), nearly such as are found in their tombs. But the Romans in the height of their luxury used golden chaplets at their entertainments (Petron. Satyr. LX.) as well as on occasions of great pomp or solemnity. On a few of the latest Etruscan monuments these ornaments are gilt, but in the generality, which belong to earlier times and more simple manners, the chaplets represent wool or other primitive materials.

With woollen wreaths, also, the ancients adorned their wine-vessels, especially those for mixing—*crateres*, *celebæ*—(Theoc. Idyl. II. 2), and, perhaps, also crowned them with flowers (Virg. Æn. I. 724; Serv. ad locum; III. 525; VII. 147); though some think these and similar passages in Homer mean only "filling to the brim." In reference to this custom we are said metaphorically to—

"Wreath the bowl
With flowers of soul."

An analogy to it may be observed in the Camera del Morto of Tarquinii, where the *crater*-like *amphora* between the dancers is decorated with chaplets.

But the chaplets in these tombs may be more than festive—they may have a sacred and funereal import. If so, they have an analogy to the *infulæ* of the Romans, which were used at solemn rites and festivals, suspended on the statues of gods, on altars, in temples, or at their doors, on the victims to be sacrificed, or were worn by priests about their brows—or were used as symbols of supplication. For authorities, see Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities, v. *Infula*, *Vitta*; to which may be added Varro, de Ling. Lat. VII. 24, and Frontin. Strat. I. 12, 5, who are the only ancient writers that mention *infulæ* in connection with sepulchres. But the *taniæ*, which were analogous, are mentioned in such a connection by Cæcilius (ap. Festum, s. *voce*), who speaks of "a tomb full of them, as usual." Pliny (XXI. 8) says that "crowns were used in honour of the gods, of the Lares public and private, of sepulchres, and of the

Manes," (cf. Ovid. Fast. II. 537 ; Trist. III. 3, 82 ; Tibul. II. 4, 48) ; they were also offered to the Lares (Plaut. Aulul. prol. 25, and II. 7, 15 ; Tibul. I. 10, 22 ; Juven. IX. 138), whose images were even decorated with them (Tibul. II. 1, 60 ; Fest. *v. Donaticæ*). The Greeks crowned the funeral urns of their friends (Plut. Demetr. ad fin.). Philopœmen's urn was so covered with chaplets as scarcely to be visible (Plut. Philop. ad fin.) ; and Hannibal crowned the urn of Marcellus (Plut. Marc. ad fin.) ; and on ancient vases, funeral *stelæ* are often represented hung with chaplets or bound round with fillets (Stackelberg, Graeber der Hellenen, taf. XLV. XLVI. ; Millingen, Vases Grecs, collect. Coghill, pl XXVI. ; Inghir. Mon. Etr. VI. tav. L. 5). Even the dead themselves were sometimes crowned (Eurip. Troad. 1143 ; Aristoph. Eccles. 534 ; Lysist. 602-4 ; Cicero pro Flac. 31 ; Tertul. de Coron. X. ; Clem. Alex. Pædag. II. p. 181), especially when they had acquired in their lifetime a crown as a distinction (Cicero de Leg. II. 24 ; Plin. XXI. 5). Clemens of Alexandria explains this custom of crowning the dead, by the crown being a symbol of freedom and delivery from every annoyance. Claudian (Rapt. Proserp. II. 326, *et seq.*) represents the Manes themselves feasting at a banquet, and decorated with crowns.

As there is abundant evidence that crowns and chaplets were used by the ancients as sepulchral furniture, it is highly probable that those depicted in these tombs, though primarily festive, had at the same time a sacred import—which is strongly intimated in the Grotta delle Iscrizioni, where they are worn and carried by priests and musicians in a Bacchic procession. The only hues of which such chaplets seem to have been made, are white, purple or red, and blue, in which case they were sacred to the Manes. (See Smith's Dict. Antiq. v. *Vitta*, for authorities, to which many others might be added, if need were). It is worthy of remark that in all the tombs of Tarquinii where these chaplets are introduced, they are of one or other of these hues, except in the Grotta del Morto, where some are black.

For the use of festive chaplets among the Greeks, see the Fifteenth Book of Athenæus' Deipnosophistæ, which is devoted to this subject ; and for the use of chaplets by the Romans, see Plin. Nat. Hist. XXI. 1-10.

An erudite article on the *tæniæ* represented on ancient vases, and their various applications and significations, will be found in the Ann. Inst. 1832, p. 380, *et seq.*, from the pen of Professor Welcker. See also Becker's Gallus. Sc. X. excurs. 2.

NOTE II.—LOST TOMBS DELINEATED BY BYRES.

ONE of the painted tombs illustrated by Byres (part I. plates 2, 3, 4) was unique in character. It was somewhat on the plan of the Grotta Tifone, with a double tier of rock-benches around

394 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

it, and a massive pillar, 6 feet square, in the centre ; but between this pillar and the outer wall was a partition-wall of rock, 4 feet thick, forming an interior apartment, surrounded by a wide corridor. The inner chamber was 26 feet by 22 ; and the dimensions of the entire tomb were very great, not less than 59 feet by 53 ft. 6 in., which surpass even those of the Grotta Cardinale ; so that this was the largest sepulchre yet discovered in this, or perhaps any other Etruscan necropolis. The interior chamber was vaulted, with a broad beam in relief on the ceiling, and had an opening in three of its sides. A double border, painted, of vine-leaves above, and the wave-pattern below, surrounded the inner apartment. In one pediment was painted a rabbit between two triple-headed serpents ; and on the wall below was a long inscription in four lines of Etruscan characters, scarcely legible in Byres' plate, which, fortunately, is not the only record of it in existence.¹ The pillar, like that in the Grotta Tifone, had a colossal figure, ten feet high, painted on at least two, probably on all four, of its sides. One was a young man, naked, save a cloth about his loins, holding a bough in one hand. His full face, foreshortened limbs, and correctly drawn figure, prove a late date—certainly not earlier than that of the Grotta Pompej, *i. e.* of the days of Roman domination in Etruria. The other figure was that of a winged genius in the act of running. He was bearded, and draped, with a short tunic worn over a longer one reaching to his feet ; his brow was bound with snakes, a pair of the same reptiles formed his girdle, and he brandished a third with one hand, and held a rod in the other. Judging from Byres' plates, I think this remarkable tomb, if it still exist, must be sought for in the cliff of the Montarozzi, which faces the ancient city.

Another tomb represented by Byres (part IV. plates 1, 2, 3) contained paintings of two figures of opposite sexes, one on each side a moulded doorway containing a niche, and each holding a pair of snakes, which the man controls with a wand, the female with an olive branch. The walls of this tomb were painted with an imitation of tapestry, fastened up by nails, hanging in folds,

¹ This is clearly the same tomb described by Maffei (Osserv. Letter. V. p. 310) and Gori (Mus. Etrus. III. p. 89), who gives an inscription of four lines (class II. tab. VII. 3), and vouches for its correctness, as it was carefully copied a few days after the tomb was opened. Gori says it is in the Montarozzi, four miles from Corneto. He gives a second inscription of two lines on the opposite wall. (Cf. Inghir. Mon. Etrus. IV. tav. 19.) The first begins with the name of "Ramtha Matulnei"—the second with "Larth. Ceisinis." A lady of this family, Cæsennia, is mentioned by Cicero (pro Cæcinâ, IV.) as being of Tarquinii and the wife of his client Cæcina. The name of "Ceises" also occurs on a tomb at Castel d'Asso (see page 284), which is worthy of notice, as Cæsennia had an estate at Castellum Axia.

and terminating below in a vine-leaf border. No such painted hangings have I seen in any Etruscan tomb.

A third painted tomb given by Byres (part IV. plates 4-8) was adorned with banqueting-scenes. On each side-wall were two *lecti* or couches, each bearing a pair of opposite sexes. One of the fair ones wears a Phrygian cap, and, turning round to her mate, seems to be pressing him to drink; another is quaffing wine from a *rhyton*, and her companion from a *phiale* or *patera*; the third is chatting about a fillet, which her fellow is about to bind on her; and in the fourth scene, the man has a lute, and the woman holds up to his view a drawing of a boar-hunt, which she has just unrolled. This is a very remarkable scene—quite unique. At each end of each couch is a slave—a boy by the man, a girl by the female—bringing wine-jugs or chaplets; and on the inner wall are other slaves at a sideboard with vases, or tending a candelabrum, which is burning among the trees. In spite of the mannerism of the artist, it is obvious that there was a more archaic character about the paintings in this tomb, than in any other he has illustrated. This *grotta* also seems to have been in the cliffs of the Montarozzi, facing the ancient city.

Inghirami (Mon. Etrus. IV. tav. 29, 30, 31) gives some interesting coloured friezes and architectural decorations from certain lost tombs of Tarquinii, some of which attest their origin by Etruscan inscriptions.

NOTE III.—GROTTA AVVOLTA.

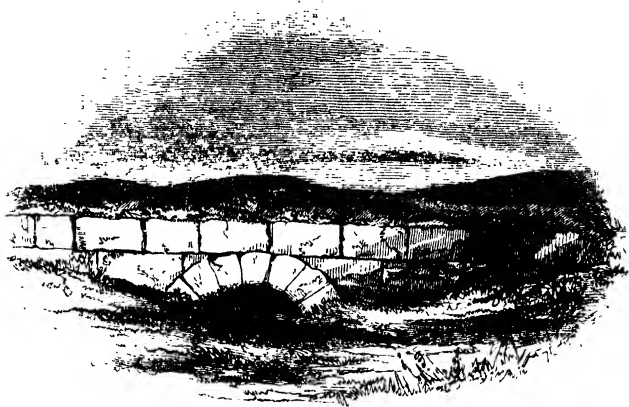
AMONG the crumbled fragments of armour Avvolta found burnt bones and small pieces of a garment, evidently woollen, and of a yellow colour. A lance and eight javelins lay on the couch by the armed man, all rusted into one mass, which broke into several pieces in the attempt to remove it. Remains of the wooden shafts on which these weapons had been fixed were still visible. A short, two-edged, cross-hilted sword lay on the couch, as though it had been placed in the hand of the deceased. On the ground by the side of the couch stood a large covered vase of bronze, containing portions of the warrior's *biga* or chariot, partly burnt, partly broken. Fixed against the opposite wall, corresponding with the couch, was a rectangular slab or table, of reddish calcareous stone, well polished, supported on legs of *nenfro*. On it lay a little heap of fine black earth, on which rested a diadem of gold, wrought with lilies in relief—not of massive gold, but of very fine sheets of this metal, covering a plate of bronze, from which they had received the impression. So fragile was this ornament, owing to the oxydization of the bronze, that it utterly perished on its journey to Rome, save a small portion which passed into Lord Kinnaird's possession. Against the same wall of the tomb stood two circular bronze shields, about 3 ft. 3 in. in diameter, embossed with figures of

396 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

men, horses, and other animals in relief, in concentric circles, all of most elegant workmanship. Hard by stood two urn-shaped vases of bronze, both very elegant, and one embossed ; a large open vessel or bowl, of the same metal, and a smaller one by its side, nearly full of ashes, hardened to a cake. All these articles seemed to have been suspended against the wall, and to have fallen, owing to the rusting of the nails which had supported them, for stumps of iron nails were found imbedded in the wall above. Against the wall opposite, or at the foot of the warrior's couch, was a row of eight large vases of terra-cotta, channelled vertically—four of them full-bellied, the rest of lighter form—with lids surmounted by marine monsters, or “sea-dragons,” as he calls them. In front of these, arranged in symmetrical order, stood many other vases of moderate size, and of beautiful and fanciful forms. In the middle of the tomb, not far from the doorway, lay a good-sized heap of *tasse*, of elegant forms, some of black ware—*bucaro*—and various other small articles mixed confusedly together. A little further in was a similar heap, which bore evident traces of having been subjected to fire. None of this ware was painted, save a lachrymatory, and one small *tazza*, in no way extraordinary.—Ann. Inst. 1829, pp. 95–98.

A plan and sections of this tomb, showing the arrangement of the contents, are given in Ann. Inst. 1829, tav. d'Agg. B.

Singularly enough, this same tumulus contained a second virgin-tomb, but it had not fared so well as its fellow ; it was in ruins. Some fragments of female ornaments, a coarse vase full of earth and baby's bones, were among the articles dug out, and this, together with the absence of weapons, made it appear that it was the sepulchre of a female—possibly the wife of the warrior of the contiguous tomb. This same tumulus contained four other tombs, all rifled and in ruins ; but the number is remarkable, as it is rare at Tarquinii to meet with more than a single tomb in one tumulus, or at most with a double-chambered sepulchre.—Ann. Inst. 1829, p. 99.



HALF-BURIED GATEWAY IN THE WALLS OF TARQUINII.

CHAPTER XIX

TARQUINII.—THE CITY

Giace l'alta Cartago ; appena i segni
Delle alte sue ruine il lido serba.
Muojono le città, muojono i regni ;
Copre i fasti e le pompe arena ed erba. —TASSO.

That castle was the strength of all that state,
Untill that state by strength was pulled downe ;
And that same citie, so now ruinate,
Had bene the keye of all that kingdomes crowne. —SPENSER.

AFTER beholding the wonders of the Montarozzi, the attention is naturally directed to the city from which these tombs were peopled. "If such were its sepulchres," we may exclaim with Lanzi, "what must have been its palaces!" Its antiquity, power, and magnificence are naturally inferred—what was its history?

The origin of Tarquinii is wrapt in the mists of fable. The story, as told by the ancients, is this :—Soon after the Trojan War, Tyrrhenus, son of Atys king of Lydia, being compelled by famine to quit his native land, brought a colony to this part of Italy, and built the Twelve cities of

398 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

Etruria, appointing to that work his relative Tarchon, from whom the city of Tarquinii, one of the Twelve, received its name.¹ From this tradition there is one dissentient voice, that of Justin, who says that Tarquinii was built by the Thessali and Spinambri,² or, in other words, by the Pelasgi.³ This Tarchon was a man of such wonderful wisdom, which he had displayed even from his childhood, that he was traditionally said to have been born with a hoary head.⁴ He it is who is introduced by Virgil as leading his forces to the assistance of Æneas against Turnus and Mezentius.⁵

Here, in the neighbourhood of Tarquinii, and about the period in question, it came to pass, said the Etruscan tradition recorded in the sacred books of the nation, that as a certain peasant was ploughing the land, and chanced to make a furrow deeper than usual, up sprang a wondrous being, a boy in appearance, but a patriarch in wisdom,

¹ Strab. V. p. 219; Herod. I. 94; Vell. Paterc. I. 1. Strabo calls the city *Ταρκυνία*, Stephanus *Ταρχώνιον*, from its eponymus, Tarchon; but Dionysius (III. p. 184) gives it the plural appellation, *Ταρκυνίοι*. So also Strabo, elsewhere (p. 220). Müller thinks its Etruscan name must have been Tarchufin, as Tanaquil becomes Tanchufil (Etrusk. einl. 2, 1), but from the Tomb of the Tarquins we may conclude it was Tarchna. Whether Tarchon was the son or brother of Tyrrhenus ancient writers are not agreed (Serv. ad Æn. X. 198; Cato, ap. Serv. Æn. X. 179; Lycoph. 1246; see also Müller, einl. 2, 7, n. 41); but Müller (einl. 2, 8; IV. 4, 2) regards them as identical—as respectively the Etruscan and Greek names of the same individual. Müller's theory is this:—"A Tyrrhene is a man of Tyrrha, the Lydian Torrha; the vowel was pronounced short, and therefore obscurely; the Etruscans aspirated strongly; what was more natural, then, than that a Tyrrhene should be called by them Tarchun, and the city of the Tyrrhenes Tarchufin, *i. e.* Tarquinii?" That the Tyrrheni were Pelasgi from Tyrrha in the interior of Lydia, says Mr. Grote (History of Greece, III. p. 239), "is a point on which we have not sufficient evidence to advance beyond conjecture;" and the evidence on which Müller built "seems unusually slender."

² Justin. XX. 1.

³ Niebuhr. I. pp. 36, 116. Müller (Etrusk. einl. 2, 7) also regards Tarquinii as of Pelasgic origin, but thinks that this Pelasgic colony came from the Lydian coast, thus reconciling the two traditions. He fixes the date of this emigration about the year 290 before the foundation of Rome, or 1044 B.C., which he considers the commencement of the Etruscan Era (einl. 2, 2). Gerhard (Ann. Inst. 1831, p. 203) also thinks Tarquinii was Pelasgic.

⁴ Strab. loc. cit.

⁵ Joannes Lydus (de Ostent. III.) speaks of two Tarchons—one, the founder of the Etruscan state; the other, the ally of Æneas—and distinguishes them as the elder and the younger.

Tages by name, the son of a Genius, and grandson of Jove.¹ The peasant, amazed at this apparition, uttered a loud cry ; a crowd gathered round ; and, “in a short time,” says Cicero, who relates the story, “all Etruria was assembled on the spot.” The mysterious boy then made known to them the practice of divination by the inspection of entrails and the flight of birds ; they treasured up all he had said or sung, and committed it to writing ; and these records formed the code of the sacred Discipline of the Etruscans, which regulated their entire polity, civil and religious, and was by them transmitted to the Romans.² Though all this is evidently fable,³ yet through the mists of tradition we can catch a glimpse of substantial forms ; we can perceive the high antiquity of the city of Tarquinii, dating from the very foundation of the Etruscan state—its importance, in the

¹ Festus *v.* Tages. The Etruscans, however, regarded Tages as the son of Hercules and Minerva, as we learn from an Etruscan mirror, confirmed by other monuments.—Ann. Inst. 1841, p. 94—Dr. Braun ; who has also published a separate tractate on this subject—“Tages und des Hercules und der Minerva heilige Hochzeit.”—München, 1839. An argument confirmatory of the Pelasgic origin of Tarquinii may be drawn from this very name. Tagus was the title of the chieftain of the confederate cities of Thessaly (Xenoph. Hist. Græc. VI. 1 ; Pollux, I. c. 10) ; whence Tarquinii, according to Justin, derived her origin ; and the word Thessali was used as a synonym with Pelasgi (Strab. V. p. 220), the latter people having one of their principal seats in Thessaly. Mr. Grote (Hist. Greece, II. p. 373) shows that the title Tagus was once applied by a Roman consul to the chief magistrate of the several cities of Thessaly.

² Cic. de Divin. II. 23, 39 ; Ovid. Metam. XV. 553–9 ; Censorin. de die Nat. IV. ; Serv. ad Æn. VIII. 398 ; Lucan. I. 636 ; Amm. Marcell. XXI. 1, 10 ; Arnob. II. 69 ; Isid. Orig. VIII. 9 ; Mart. Capella de Nupt. II. p. 27 ; VI. p. 134 ; Joan. Lydus de Ostentis. II. III. Müller credits the version of the last named writer, that the husbandman who ploughed up the oracular child was no other than Tarchon himself (Etrusk. III. 2, 3). Elsewhere (III. 2, n. 14) he says, in reference to Tarchon’s hoary head, mentioned by Strabo, “It is very clear that Tarchon and Tages were personages of the same legend, who might be easily confounded.” Cluver (II. p. 519) seems to regard them as identical.

³ Cicero (de Div. II. 23) so regarded it, and laughed to scorn any who should credit it. Müller considers these traditions of Tarchon and Tages as local and genuinely Etruscan (Etrusk. einl. 2, 1, and 8 ; IV. 4, 2). Cluver (Ital. Ant. II. p. 520) suggests that the legend of Tages was a mere version of the creation of Adam, who first taught his children and children’s children the practice, not of divination, but of all divine worship and sacred rites, which he had received from God himself.

400 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

derivation of its name from the mythical hero of the land, the founder of the Twelve Cities ; and as the spot selected for the divine revelation of the national system of polity. That it was one of the Twelve, none can doubt. Nay, it can urge claims to metropolitan supremacy ; and, if not the political head, it must at least be regarded as the ecclesiastical metropolis of the land, the city peculiarly honoured by the gods, the spot where the religious system and the peculiar civilization of the Etruscans took their rise.¹

Of the early history of Tarquinii we are utterly ignorant ; as we find no mention of it from the time of Tarchon till the close of the first century of Rome, when Demaratus, a wealthy merchant of Corinth, being compelled to fly from his native city on the usurpation of Cypselus and the expulsion of the Bacchiads, migrated to Etruria, with which he had long been in the habit of commercial intercourse, and settled at Tarquinii. He married a lady of that city, and begat two sons.² He brought with him a large band of fellow-refugees, among them two potters or workers in clay, Eucheir and Eugrammos—names indicative of their skill—and a painter named Cleophantos. Whether these be real existences, or mere symbols of their respective arts, it is obviously meant that Demaratus introduced the civilization of Greece and her refinement in the arts into the land of his

¹ It is nowhere expressly stated that Tarquinii was the chief city of the Confederation, yet it is implied in the fact of its being the spot where the civil and religious polity of the Etruscans had their origin, and of its *eponymus* Tarchon being the traditional founder of the Twelve Cities. The metropolis, in the primary sense of the term, it undoubtedly was. Müller remarks (Etrusk. einl. 2, 1, 2), that "the Etruscans themselves regarded Tarquinii as the metropolis of their Twelve Cities." And again (einl. 2, 16)—"Tarquinii is that particular spot of Etruria, to which are attached all traces of a permanent unity and a close connexion of the Etruscan cities under one head." Cluver (II. p. 520) also thinks the metropolitan supremacy of Tarquinii is clearly implied. If this be so, it must, *à fortiori*, have been one of the Twelve, and no proof of this is requisite. Yet I may add that Dionysius (III. p. 184) calls it "a great and flourishing city" in the time of Demaratus, which is confirmed by Cicero, Repub. II. 19. Its eminence is also strongly implied by its conduct in the war with Servius Tullius (Dion. Hal. IV. p. 231), and again in the war of 398, when Tarquinii and Falerii took the lead of all the Etruscan states (Liv. VII. 17).

² Liv. I. 34 ; Dion. Hal. III. p. 184 ; Strab. V. p. 219 ; Cic. Tusc. Quæst. V. 37 ; de Repub. II. 19 ; Macrob. Saturn. I. 6. Dionysius says he had made his immense fortune by trading with Etruria alone,

adoption.¹ He was well received by the Tarquinienses,—one account, indeed, represents him as attaining to the supreme power in that city, in consequence of his great wealth.²

Lucumo or Lucius, the eldest son of Demaratus, and heir of his vast possessions, married an Etruscan lady of noble birth; but though thus allied to their aristocracy, and himself a native of Tarquiniî, he was looked down on by the Etruscans on account of his foreign origin. Unable to brook this wound to his pride, he quitted the city of his birth, and seeking a fairer field for his ambition, migrated to Rome, where his talents and wealth eventually raised him to the throne, which he filled as Tarquinius Priscus.³ With his history after he quitted his native city, we have nothing more to do than to mention that, if chroniclers may be credited, he had his revenge on his fellow countrymen, by the conquest of the entire Etruscan Confederation, which sent him twelve *fascæ*, and the other *insignia* of empire in acknowledgment of its submission to his authority.⁴ It may

¹ Plin. N. H. XXXV. 5, 43. He says that these two *factores* first introduced the plastic art into Italy. Tacitus (Ann. XI. 14) says Demaratus taught the Etruscans alphabetical writing; and according to Cicero (de Repub. II. 19) and Dionysius (loc. cit.), he instructed his sons in all the arts of Greece, for which Rome was indebted to Tarquin, who—Græcum ingenium Italicis artibus miscuisset—says Florus, I. 5.

² Strab. VIII. p. 378.

³ Liv. I. 34; Dion. Hal. III. p. 185; Polyb. VI. 2, ap. Suid. v. Λεύκιος. All this pretty legend of Demaratus falls to the ground at a touch of the critical wand of Niebuhr, who shows (I. p. 372, *et seq.*) that the chronological basis on which it rests is utterly unsound. He does not positively deny the existence of such a man as Demaratus, but totally rejects his relationship with Tarquinius Priscus, whom he regards not as an Etruscan at all, but as a Latin—which he deduces from his *cognomen*, Priscus. The two potters he looks on, not as real personages, but as symbols of moulding or painting on clay. Yet these names were not always mere abstractions; for I have seen that of “Eucheir” on a vase in the possession of Dr. Braun, at Rome, inscribed as the potter. There is also a *tazza* in the British Museum, with the inscription—

ΕΤΧΕΡΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕ.

Müller (einl. 2, 16, n. 32) agrees with Niebuhr in considering the two legends of Demaratus and L. Tarquinius as originally in no way connected. He regards (einl. 5, 4) the legend of Demaratus as purely Corinthian, not Italian—and as showing, whether true or false, the early commerce of Tarquiniî with Corinth.

⁴ Dion. Hal. III. p. 195; Flor. I. 5. See Niebuhr’s objections to

402 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

be, however, that the legend of Tarquin's migration to Rome and his attainment of the kingly power are merely significant of the conquest of that city by an Etruscan prince, who introduced the institutions of his country, and made her the capital of a powerful state in connection with the national Confederation.¹ In this case we may regard the legend of Tarquin's conquest of the Twelve Cities as significant either of the metropolitan power of Tarquinii over the rest of Etruria,² or as an invention of the annalists to account for the introduction of the Etruscan *insignia* of authority into Rome.³

When Servius Tullius ascended the throne, the Etruscans, who had been subdued by his predecessor, says Dionysius, revolted; and Tarquinii, with Veii and Cære, took a prominent part in the war, which lasted twenty

this tradition of Tarquin's conquest of Etruria, I. p. 379, *ut supra*, p. 102, note 1. Müller (einl. 2, 16) also regards this legend of Tarquin's conquest as "impossible;" for Etruria was then at the zenith of her power. Mannert (Geog. p. 333) also points out the impossibility of this conquest, as being opposed to all the occurrences of the later history of Etruria. The silence of Polybius, Cicero, and Livy, proves—thinks Niebuhr—that they did not credit it.

¹ Niebuhr (I. p. 384) is of opinion that the legend of Tarquinius Priscus "clearly implies a belief that there was a time when Rome received Tuscan institutions from a prince of Etruria, and was the great and splendid capital of a powerful Etruscan state." Müller (einl. 2, 16) is much of the same opinion. Arnold (Hist. of Rome, I. p. 56) also considers the Etruscan dynasty of Rome to show the dominion of Etruria over the Latins, and the expulsion of the Tarquins to signify the decline of the city of Tarquinii, and the liberation of Rome from the Etruscan yoke.

² Müller (einl. 2, 16) considers this tradition of Tarquin's conquest of all Etruria as indicative of the supremacy of Tarquinii over the rest of the Etruscan cities. "If you will," says he, "you may view the two Tarquins as regents of Tarquinii in Rome; but this seems in both cases open to doubt." He would rather consider Priscus and Superbus as names descriptive of an earlier and later tyranny; and the two kings so specified as being in fact "nameless in history." Niebuhr (I. p. 383) suspects a connexion between the Roman legend of Tarquin, being the supreme ruler of all Etruria, and the Etruscan one of Tarchon, who conquered that land and founded the Twelve Cities.

³ Strabo (V. p. 220) ascribes the introduction of the Etruscan *insignia* into Rome to Tarquin himself, who brought them from Tarquinii. The statement of Strabo that "Tarquin adored Etruria"—which from the context would seem to refer more particularly to his native city, Tarquinii—"by means of resources derived from Rome," seems opposed to the tradition of his subjugation of that land, and more consistent with his conquest of Rome as an Etruscan prince.

years, and ended in the entire subjugation of the Confederation.¹

After Tarquinius Superbus had been expelled from Rome, he sought assistance from the Tarquinienses and Veientes on the plea of consanguinity. It seemed good to the people of Tarquinii that their race should reign at Rome, and in conjunction with Veii they sent an army to reinstate Tarquin. In the battle which ensued, the Veientes, who had been often beaten by the Romans, turned and fled; but the Tarquinienses, “a new enemy, not only maintained their ground, but even repulsed the Romans.” This was the battle of the Arsian Wood, in which Junius Brutus, the First Consul, and Aruns Tarquinius fell by each other’s hands; and the Etruscans had to learn from divine lips that they were beaten.²

We hear nothing further of Tarquinii for more than a century, till in the year of Rome 357 (397 B.C.) she took up arms to assist Veii, then closely besieged by the Romans, but was severely punished for her interference.³

The next mention we find of her is in the year 366 (388 B.C.), when the Romans invaded her territory, and destroyed the towns of Cortuosa and Contenebra.⁴

In the year 395 (359 B.C.) her citizens retaliated by ravaging the Roman territory,⁵ routed their army, and put to death in the Forum of Tarquinii three hundred and seven of the captives, as a sacrifice to their gods—the disgrace of the Romans being increased by the ignominy of the punishment.⁶ In 397 the Tarquinienses were joined by the Falisci,⁷ and in the following year occurred that singular scene, already referred to, when the Etruscan priests, with flaming torches and serpents in their hands, led the van of their force against the Romans, who, terrified at this charge

¹ Dion. Hal. IV. pp. 214, 231. To this conquest of Etruria by S. Tullius, the same objections will apply that are urged against that by his predecessor. Niebuhr (I. p. 367) rejects it as fictitious.

² Liv. II. 6, 7; Dion. Hal. V. pp. 279, 288, *et seq.* Livy, in making Tarquinii on this occasion for the first time at war with Rome, is quite opposed to Dionysius; but seems to corroborate the opinion above mentioned of the early Etruscan conquest of Rome, and to show that the Tarquinienses regarded the expulsion of the Tarquins as a rebellion against their authority in particular. The expedition of Porsena seems, however, rather to indicate that it was regarded as a rebellion against the entire Confederation.

³ Liv. V. 16.

⁴ Liv. VI. 4.

⁵ Liv. VII. 12.

⁶ Liv. VII. 15.

⁷ Liv. VII. 16.

404 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

of Furies, at first gave way ; but being laughed out of their fears by their leaders, rallied, rushed blindly on the foe, and put them to the rout. Hereupon the allied cities gathered all the force of the Confederation, and marched to the Salinæ, at the mouth of the Tiber, where, being suddenly attacked by the Romans, eight thousand of them were captured, and the rest slain or driven out of the Roman territory.¹ But Tarquinii was not yet subdued : she continued the war manfully, and in the year 400 (354 B.C.) sustained another signal defeat, in which a vast number of her soldiers were taken prisoners, who were all slain in cold blood, save three hundred and fifty-eight of noble birth, who were sent to Rome, and there in the Forum were either scourged to death, or perished by the axes of the lictors. Thus bitterly did the Romans avenge the sacrifice of their countrymen in the forum of Tarquinii.² Not yet even was the spirit of the Tarquinienses subdued ; they still maintained the war, aided by the Cærites and Falisci. But their allies of Cære proved faithless, and made a separate peace with Rome, and the other two cities continued a fruitless struggle, till in the year 403 (351 B.C.), when the Romans had laid waste their lands with fire and sword, “doing battle,” as Livy says, “with fields rather than with men,” they besought and obtained a truce for forty years.³

At the expiration of that period they, in conjunction with the rest of the Confederate cities, save Arretium, again took up arms, and besieged Sutrium, then in alliance with Rome, which made vain efforts to raise the siege ; till in the following year, 444 (310 B.C.), Fabius routed the Etruscans with a shower of stones in the neighbourhood of that town ; and followed up his victory by crossing the Ciminian Mount.⁴ Tarquinii, though not expressly mentioned, doubtless took part in the great struggle and defeat at the Vadimonian Lake in 445 ; for in the next year she was compelled to furnish corn for the Roman army, and to petition for another truce of forty years.⁵

¹ Liv. VII. 17 ; Frontin. Strat. II. 4, 17 ; Diod. Sic. XVI. p. 432. The latter writer says nothing memorable was effected—only the *ager Faliscus* was devastated. Yet Rutilus the dictator had his triumph—Fasti Capitolini, anno 397.

² Liv. VII. 19.

³ Liv. VII. 19–22.

⁴ Liv. IX. 32, 33, 35, 36 ; cf. Diod. Sic. XX. p. 773, ed. Rhod. Flor. I. 17 ; Fasti Capitolini, anno 444.

⁵ Liv. IX. 39, 41 ; Diod. Sic. XX. p. 781. Niebuhr (III. n. 276)

Though we find no further mention of Tarquinii in Etruscan times, there is little doubt she took part in the final great struggle for independence, and joined her confederates in the second fruitless stand made at the Vadimonian Lake in the year 471 (283 B.C.).¹ At what precise period she fell under Roman domination we know not ; but it must have been at the close of the fifth century of Rome. In the Second Punic War she furnished Scipio's fleet with sail-cloth.² The city was subsequently a colony and a *municipium* ;³ and inscriptions found on the spot prove it to have been flourishing in the time of Trajan and the Antonines.⁴ It is supposed to have been desolated by the Saracens in the eighth and ninth centuries of our era, at which time its inhabitants removed to the opposite hill, and founded Corneto ; but it was not finally deserted till the year 1307, when its last remains were destroyed by the Cornetans.⁵

The site of the ancient city is still called Turchina,⁶ or Piano de Civita. From the Montarozzi nothing is to be seen of it but the high, bare table-land on which it stood, girt about with white cliffs. This table-land lies inland from the Montarozzi, and parallel to it, and rises five or six hundred feet above the sea. It is more than a mile from Corneto, across the deep intervening valley ; and as there is no road or even track, the excursion must be made on foot or horseback—the latter being advisable for ladies, as the slope is steep and rugged. The highest part of the city is to the west, opposite Corneto. Here and in many other

regards Tarquinii as the only bitter enemy that Rome possessed among the Etruscans, after the fall of Veii.

¹ See Chapter IX. p. 221. Of this final war we have but scattered notices. A connected and detailed account was doubtless given in the lost second decade of Livy.

² Liv. XXVIII. 45.

³ Plin. III. 8 ; Frontin. de Col.—colonia Tarquinii lege Sempronianâ est assignata. Cicero, pro Cæcinâ, cap. IV. ; Ptolem. Geog. p. 72, ed. Bert.

⁴ For these inscriptions, see the records of the Archaeological Institute, *ut supra*, Chap. XVIII. p. 317, n. 4. That it was in existence in the fourth century after Christ is proved by the Theodosian Table.

⁵ Garampi, ap. Tirabos. Letter. Ital. I. p. 50.

⁶ This is very nearly the Etruscan appellation, which, as we learn from the Tomb of the Tarquins recently discovered at Cære, must have been TARCHNA.

406 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

parts around the brow of the cliffs are a few massive rectangular blocks, the foundations of the ancient walls, but other trace of a city, above ground, there is none—a long, bare platform, overrun with weeds or corn-stubble, meets the eye, with not a sign of life, it may be, on its melancholy surface, or at most a few cattle grazing, and a lonely herdsman seated on some prostrate block, or stretched beneath a lowly bush. Yet that this has been the site of a city will not be doubted by him who regards the soil on which he treads; which is composed of brick-bats, earthenware, hewn stone, and marble—ineffaceable traces of ancient habitation. A practised eye might even perceive in these fragments records of the city's history—that it was originally Etruscan is proved by the pottery, which resembles that on purely Etruscan sites; while the intermixture of marble tells of the domination of the Romans, and the frequent pieces of verd-antique, and other rare and valuable stones, determine it to have been a place of wealth and consequence under the Empire.¹

The lover of nature will turn from these dim traces of antiquity to the bright scene around him. He looks across the deep, bare, lonesome valley to the opposite height of the Montarozzi, whose long, rugged mass bounds the view to the south and west, terminating abruptly in yellow cliffs, which are crowned by the many towers of Corneto. The lofty bare height to the west is Monte Quagliero, part of the ancient necropolis; the line of trees in the intervening hollow marks the course of the Marta; and stretching away over a tract of level shore, the eye reaches the broad blue of the Mediterranean, and travels on to the graceful headland of Monte Argentaro, to the Giglio and Giannuti, its islet satellites, and if the weather be clear, to the peaks of Elba, dim and grey on the blue horizon. From this quarter round again to the south stretches the wide sweep of the Etruscan plain, broken and undulating—no longer here richly wooded as in days of yore,² but for the most part naked and barren; with the dark crests of the Canino

¹ It is said that scarabei and beautiful cameos are often brought to light by the plough. *Ann. Inst.* 1829, p. 93.

² *Stat. Sylv.* V. 2, 1; Varro, *de Re Rust.* III. 12. The latter writer speaks of a park here, stocked with wild animals, not only deer, roebuck, and hares, but also wild sheep.

mountains on the north ; the giant mass of Santa Fiora, a wedge of snow, towering behind ; Monte Fiascone rising like a long wave in the north-east ; the loftier double-peaked Ciminian at its side ; and, bounding the view to the south, the long, serrated, and forested range of the Alumieri, sinking to the sea at Civita Vecchia.

On the way from this point eastward to a lofty part of the ridge several remains are passed—here mere substructions, there fragments of walling—here a well, there a vault opening in the slope. Still more numerous are such vestiges on the summit of this height, which seems to have been the Arx of Tarquinii. Here are nothing but substructions, yet the outline of several buildings may be traced,¹—possibly temples of the three great Divinities, Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, which were usual in Etruscan cities,² and which analogy teaches us to look for on the Acropolis, or most elevated position. This spot is known by the name of Ara della Regina, or “The Queen’s Altar.”

At a little distance behind these substructions, a semi-circular line of blocks is to be traced, which appears to mark the outline of the citadel. On the east of it are traces of a gate ; and on the opposite side, in the slope facing the Montarozzi, is a half-buried arch, which must be an ancient gateway, now encumbered with *débris*. It is shown in the woodcut at the head of this chapter.³

From the Arx the hill is seen to turn to the north-east, showing the form of the city to have been that of an obtuse angle. The arm most remote from Corneto is bounded at the distance of nearly a mile by a high sugar-loaf mound, and the intervening slopes are thinly strewn with blocks of the ancient walls—one stone rarely standing upon another. The conical, or rather wedge-shaped, height, called La

¹ On the side facing the Montarozzi, the blocks are arranged in terraces down the slope, possibly the steps by which the superincumbent buildings were approached, but more probably so placed for the sake of a firmer foundation. Manzi and Fossati, who excavated here, first took these substructions to be part of a pyramidal sepulchre (Bull. Inst. 1829, p. 199 ; 1830, p. 73) ; but afterwards (1831, p. 4) acknowledged that this was the citadel.

² Serv. ad Æn. I. 426.

³ The arch is only 6 ft. 6 in. in span, and about 3 ft. thick, inwards ; so that it must have been a mere postern. The depth of the voussoirs is 21 inches, and of the courses in the surrounding masonry, 17 or 18 inches.

408 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

Castellina, appears to have been without the limits of the city, from which it is separated by a hollow.¹ Were it not included, the city must still have been about five miles in circuit.

The line of walls may be traced in many detached portions by substructions. The blocks, though sometimes volcanic, are generally cut from the calcareous cliffs of the city, in dimensions and arrangement resembling the remnants of masonry at Veii and Cære, and with equal claims to be considered Etruscan. In fact, where the outline of a city is almost determined by nature, the original line of wall at the verge of the cliff may well have been preserved in all ages, and how often soever the upper portions may have been renewed, it is highly improbable that the foundations would ever have been disturbed. There seem to have been many gates. The sites of some are very discernible—especially in that part nearest Corneto.

The principal remains within the walls are evidently Roman. Just under the Arx to the west are traces of Baths, excavated in 1829. Little is now to be seen, but when opened there were painted walls, broken statues and columns, long Latin inscriptions, beautiful mosaics,² and other remains which told of

“What time the Romaine Empire bore the raine
Of all the world and florisht most in might.”

Traces of other buildings have been discovered—a *nymphæum*, temples, reservoirs—in fact, every excavation brings some ruin to light, for the entire surface of the hill is a thick stratum of *débris*; but as such excavations, however valu-

¹ Westphal (Ann. Inst. 1830, p. 37) took this height for the acropolis. Its slope, indeed, bears fragments of ancient walling, but whether these belonged to a fortification, or mark the precinct of a temple which crowned the summit, now occupied by medieval remains, I could not determine.

² Some of the devices in the mosaics were singular. The inscriptions, which were also in the pavement, were much worn by the feet, showing that the Baths had been in use for many years. They are preserved in the Palazzo Bruschi at Corneto—*ut supra*, page 317. A singular capital of a column having an Etruscan inscription on its abacus—PANZAI or PANZNI—was found here in 1830. It was of *peperino*. It is delineated by Micali, Ant. Pop. Ital. tav. CXX. 1; cf. II. p. 225. For notices of the excavations on the site of Tarquinii, see Bull. Inst. 1829, p. 197; 1830, pp. 72, 238; 1831, p. 4; 1835, p. 27.

able to science, are seldom lucrative to the speculator, we cannot expect many discoveries to be made.¹

A very remarkable relic on the site of the city is a tomb, or what is precisely similar to those found in such abundance on Etruscan sites—a chamber hollowed in the rock below the surface, of the ordinary size, with walls slightly converging as usual, and ceiling carved into beam and rafters. The circling row of benches is alone wanting ; but this is wanting also in the majority of the tombs of the Montarozzi.

As it is in the very heart of the city, and I had never heard of an Etruscan tomb in such a situation, I felt persuaded, when on the spot, that it was no tomb, but a cellar or underground apartment, and even regarded it as a proof how closely the Etruscans in their sepulchres imitated the chambers of their habitations. But in the records of these excavations I find it mentioned as a tomb, and as containing, when opened, fragments of beautiful, painted vases, mingled with burnt bones.² It must then be regarded as an exception to the rule of Etruscan burial—as the tomb of some illustrious individual, who was honoured with sepulture within the city-walls.³

Such are the extant remains of the city which formerly occupied this site—a city among the most ancient, and once, it may be, the chief in all Italy—the metropolis of the Etruscan Confederation—which was in the zenith of her power and splendour when Rome was but a group of straw-built huts on the Palatine—which gave a dynasty

¹ Micali (Ant. Pop. Ital. II. p. 222) mentions a large *cloaca*, similar in construction to the Cloaca Maxima, at the foot of the hill of Tarquinii. I sought it in vain ; nor is it mentioned by any but himself. He may possibly mean the half-buried arch, of which a woodcut is given at the head of this chapter.

² Bull. Inst. 1830, p. 72. Instances of similar intramural sepulture I have since observed on the site of the ancient Cære.

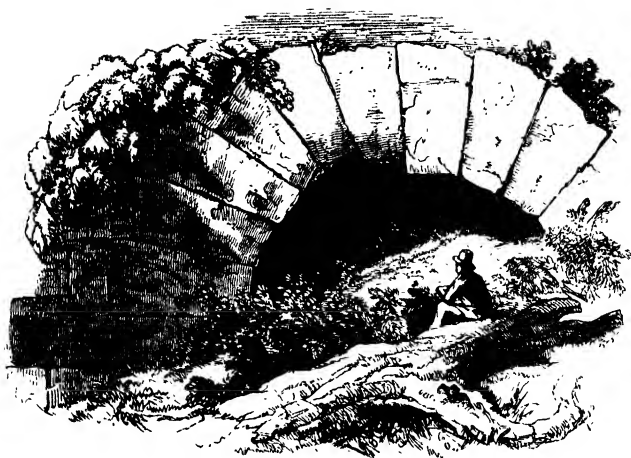
³ This was the custom with the Romans. Cic. de Leg. II. 23 ; Plut. Publicola, ad finem. And in Greece, though in early times the dead were buried in their own houses (Plato, Minos, II. p. 315, ed. Steph.), and though in Sparta and some of her colonies it was usual to inter within the city (Plut. Lycurg. ; Polyb. VIII. p. 533, ed. Casaub. ; Paus. I. 43), yet in the historic period it was the general custom to bury without the walls, as at Athens (Cic. ad Div. IV. 12), except when peculiar honour was to be shown to the dead ; as when Themistocles was interred in the forum of Magnesia (Plut. Themist. ad fin.), and Timoleon in that of Syracuse (Plut. Timol. ad fin.).

410 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

to the Seven Hills, and exchanged with the cities of Greece, even in that early age, the products of her skill and labour. Who can behold unmoved her present desolation? Where stood temple and tower, palace and forum, where shone the glories of art and the lavishments of wealth and luxury, nature now displays, as in mockery, her summer tribute of golden corn—*seges ubi Troja fuit*. Or where the rock-strewn soil refuses to yield, all is a naked waste—

“The mighty columns are but sand,
And lazy snakes trail o’er the level ruins.”

The sage or artist from Athens or Corinth—the Egyptian priest or magician—the Phœnician merchant—the Samnite ally—the subject Umbrian—the rude Gaul or stern Roman marvelling at the magnificence—the stately augur—the haughty Lucumo—the fierce corsair—the crowd of luxurious citizens, the rank, the wealth, the beauty of Tarquinii—where are they? Your voice passes over the lonely waste, and meets not the wall of temple, mart, or palace, to echo back the cry, “Where are they?” The city is no more—one stone of it is scarcely left upon another. And its inhabitants? They lie in the depths of yonder hill. Not one abode of the living is left, but sepulchres in thousands. There lie the remains of Tarquinii—the dust of her citizens, their treasures of gold and silver, of bronze and pottery, of painting and sculpture, all they prized in life, lie not here, but there—buried with them. Strange that while their place of abode on earth is mute, their sepulchres should utter such eloquent truths!



ANCIENT CLOACA ON THE MARTA.

CHAPTER XX

GRAVISCÆ

Inde Graviscarum fastigia rara videmus
Quas premit æstivæ sæpe paludis odor.

RUTILIUS.

As Tarquinii carried on an extensive commerce with foreign countries, yet was situated some miles from the sea, she must have had a port. This, though nowhere expressly named, can have been no other than Gravisca, a town on this coast,¹ said by Livy to have belonged to Tarquinii,² and whose position is indicated by the geographers and Itineraries as somewhere in this neighbourhood.³

¹ Called also Gravisca, and Graviscium. Plin. III. 8; Strab. V. p. 225; Mela, II. 4; Ptolem. p. 68, ed. Beit.

² Liv. XL. 29.

³ Strabo (loc. cit.) describes it as 300 *stadia* ($37\frac{1}{2}$ miles) from Cosa, and somewhat less than 180 ($22\frac{1}{2}$ miles) from Pyrgi. The Maritime Itinerary of Antoninus states the distance from Pyrgi as 27 miles. The Peutingerian Table is defective in the distances on this side of Gravisca, but states that from Cosa to be 19 miles, which is much too small. Ptolemy indicates it as lying between Cosa and Castrum Novum.

412 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

Of Graviscaë a few scattered notices only have come down to us. We have no record of its foundation, yet we learn that it was of high antiquity.¹ It was probably a colony of Tarquinii, raised solely for purposes of commerce; and it must have followed the fortunes of its mother-city. Yet

Precision in these matters is not to be looked for from the ancient geographers, both on account of their imperfect means of information, and from the great facility for the introduction of errors in the transcribing of figures. We must be content with an approximation to truth.

ANTONINE ITINERARY. (Via Aurelia.)

Pyrgi	
Castro Novo	VIII
Centum Cellis	V
Marta	X
Forum Aureli	XIII
Cossam	XXV

ANTONINE MARITIME ITINERARY.

Pyrgi	
Panapionem	III
Castrum Novum	VII
Centum Cellas	V
Algas	III
Rapinium	III
Graviscas	VI
Maltanum	III
Quintianam	III

Regas	VI
Arnine fluv.	III
Portum Herculis	XXV

PEUTINGERIAN TABLE.

Pyrgi	
Punicum	V
Castro Novo	VIII
Centum Cellas	III
Mindo fl.	—
Gravisca	—
Tabellaria	V
Marta	II
Foro Aurelii	III
Armenita fluv.	III
Ad Nonas	III
Succosa	II
Cosam	—
Portum Herculis	XX

¹ Sil. Italicus (VIII. 475) characterizes it as—*veteres Graviscaë*. Virgil (*Æn.* X. 184) mentions it among the Etruscan cities of the time of Æneas. Lanzi (*Sagg.* II. p. 67) thinks, from the connection in which Virgil cites it, with Care and Pyrgi, that it was of Pelasgic origin.

There are certain coins—with the legend ΓΡΑ, and the head of Jupiter, two eagles on a thunderbolt, and two dots as the sign of a *sextans*,—which have been attributed to Graviscaë. Lanzi (*Sagg.* II. pp. 26, 68) refers them to this city, (so Mionnet, *Med. Ant.* I. p. 100,) because he has no proof to the contrary, but remarks on their great similarity to those of Agrigentum, so that it might be suspected the inscription was altered from ΚΡΑΓΑΥΤΙ, the usual legend on those Sicilian coins. Sestini (*Lett. Numis.* VI. pp. 5, 7) finds fault with this conjecture, but Müller (*Etrusk.* I. p. 340) confirms it, and says the types of these coins are wholly Agrigentine, and that the omission of the initial A is not uncommon, so that Γραγας was probably used for Ακραγας. Millingen (*Medailles Inédites*, cited by Müller) refers these coins to Crastos in Iapygia; and Cramer (*Ancient Italy*, I. p. 197) following Sestini, to Graia, Callipolis, in the same part of Italy.

it fell into the hands of the Romans at an earlier period, for it was taken from Tarquinii. In the year 573 (181 B.C.) it became a Roman colony,¹ and it appears to have been in existence as late as Trajan,² but in the time of Rutilius it was in utter ruin, and scarcely a vestige of it was visible.³ If this were the case 1450 years since, what can we expect to find now? Its general position is pretty clearly indicated by ancient writers, but its precise site has not been satisfactorily determined,—most placing it near the Porto San Clementino, between the mouths of the Marta and Mignone⁴—Westphal alone pointing out a site on the right bank of the Marta.⁵ I have visited both spots, and have come to the opinion that the latter is the true site of Graviscæ.

S. Clementino, or Le Saline, as it is called from the neighbouring salt-works, is a small port, four or five miles below Corneto. Though called a port, it is scarcely a village—a large Dogana, a puny fort, and a few hovels inhabited by the labourers in the salt-works, are its sole ingredients. A little commerce, however, is carried on, for it exports the two grand tests of Arab hospitality—salt to Fiumicino or the capital, and corn in considerable quantities to France and England, as in ancient times to Rome.⁶ This is in the cool season. In the summer months the place is well nigh deserted. Not a soul enters this fatal region, save under imperious necessity. The *doganiere* turns his face to the waveless, slimy expanse, which mocks his woe with its dazzling joy, and sighs in vain for a breath of pure air to

¹ Liv. loc. cit. ; V. Paternulus (I. 15) dates this event a year earlier. Fabretti (X. p. 748) gives a Latin inscription which refers the colony to Claudius Pulcher, consul in the year 570. Frontinus (de Coloniis) speaks of a later colonization of Graviscæ by Augustus, and says that Tiberius marked out its *ager* by huge stones.

² This is learned from the designation of a legion as “Ulpia” on one of the inscriptions found at Tarquinii, and which refers to Graviscæ. It is given in Ann. Inst. 1832, p. 152.

³ Rutil. Itin. I. 281.

⁴ Cluver. II. p. 484. Cramer, Ancient Italy, I. p. 197. Micali, Ant. Pop. Ital. I. p. 146 ; Abeken, Mittelitalien, p. 36. This view is based on the Itineraries given above. Holstenius and Dempster offer no opinion on the site of Graviscæ.

⁵ Ann. Inst. 1830, pp. 28, 30.

⁶ Liv. IX. 41. I cannot learn that coral is found on this coast as in ancient times.—Plin. XXXII. 11.

414 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

refresh his fevered brow;—the lonely sentinel drags his sickening form around the pyramids of salt which stud the shore, using his musket for a staff, or he looks out from his hovel of reeds on the brink of a salt-pit, to the naked trembling swamp around, and curses the fate which has consigned him to this lingering death. It is a dreary spot, where danger is not masked in beauty, but comes in its native deformity. Such has ever been the character of this coast. Virgil describes it as most unhealthy¹—and the very name of Gravisæ, according to Cato, is significant of its heavy pestilent atmosphere.² The curse on Moab and Ammon is here realized—"Salt-pits and a perpetual desolation."

The salt-works, with the exception of those at Cervia in Romagna, are the largest in the Papal dominions. Eight pyramids on an average, each containing nearly a million of pounds, are annually made here. It is strange that none of this salt is consumed at Corneto, which receives her supply from France—the heavy duties on the native product, as usual a government monopoly, making it more expensive than that imported.

At San Clementino are traces of ancient habitation—two vaults and a sewer of Roman date, and fragments of pottery mingled with the soil.³ As the space thus strewn is very circumscribed, and nothing is of Etruscan character, I regard this as the site of some Roman station;⁴ there is nothing extant to warrant the conclusion that it is that of Gravisæ.⁵

Three miles along the shore to the south stands the

¹ *Intempestæque Gravisæ*—Virg. *Æn.* X. 184; Serv. in locum; Rutil. I. 282.

² Ap. Serv. loc. cit.—ideo Gravisæ dictæ sunt, quod gravem aerem sustinent.

³ Westphal is therefore in error in denying the existence of ancient remains on this site.—Ann. Inst. 1830, p. 28.

⁴ An inscription on the Dogana calls it the ancient Forum Aurelii, but that was much more probably at or near Montalto on the Fiora.

⁵ At this site, however, painted vases have been found, which, if of the usual character, would indicate Etruscan habitation. They were found in sarcophagi of stone or earthenware, not in tombs, but buried at a very little depth below the surface, and in a circumscribed spot of ground. In one were found all the bones of a horse, and (as if the owner had left to his steed the post of honour) by its side lay a human skeleton of gigantic size. Ann. Inst. 1829, p. 95—Avvolta.

lonely Tower of Bertaldo, at the mouth of the Mignone,¹ probably marking the site of Rapinium, another station on this coast, half-way between Centum Cellæ (Civita Vecchia) and Graviscæ. It is more commonly called Sant Agostino, from a legend of that saint. The holy man, as he once strayed along this shore, was pondering on the mysteries of the Trinity, and doubts, suggested by the evil powers whose attacks he deplores in his "Confessions," were arising in his mind, when, on reaching this spot, he beheld a child busied in filling with water a small hole in the sand. St. Augustine asked what he was about. "Trying to put the sea into this hole," replied the *criatura*. "Impossible," cried the saint, laughing at the boy's simplicity. "More easy this," said the other, who now stood confessed an angel, "than for thee to comprehend those sublime mysteries thou art vainly seeking to penetrate."

To reach the other site on the right bank of the Marta, it is necessary on leaving Corneto to take the road to Leghorn, as far as the Marta, a mile distant; then, crossing the bridge, turn at once to the left, and after a couple of miles in a country-road, you will reach some Roman ruins by the way-side. A few furlongs beyond is an eminence, some thirty or forty feet high, on and around which are scattered sundry large blocks of tufo, and fragments of travertine columns. This I take to be the site of Graviscæ. That more than a temple or villa occupied it, is clear, from the extent of the broken pottery, and from several circumstances presently to be mentioned. True, it is almost two miles from the sea, yet scarcely a furlong from the Marta, which here swells into a respectable stream, and bears palpable evidence of having been of much more importance in ancient times than at present, and of having been in direct connexion with this eminence.

To discover these traces of antiquity, you must follow the course of the stream from the point where you first meet with the Roman ruins; and at the distance of two or three furlongs you will come upon some large blocks rising from the soil. Further examination will show them to be the crest of an arch. Look over the bank—you will perceive

¹ Anciently the Minio, mentioned by Virgil. *Æn.* X. 183; Serv. in loc.; Mela, II. 4; Rutil. I. 279. Cluver (II. p. 483) regards the Rapinium of the Maritime Itinerary as a corruption of Minio.

416 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

the vault beneath you ; and if you clamber down, you will find it to be one of the finest specimens of an ancient arch in all Etruria. My astonishment on making this discovery was great. A friend who had previously visited this site had remarked the blocks rising from the soil, but had not perceived the grand relic of antiquity at his feet. Grand it is, for the vault is not inferior to the Cloaca Maxima in span, or about fourteen feet, while the masonry is on a much larger scale.¹ The arch opens in a long embankment of regular masonry, which, rising some twenty feet above the stream, extends in fragments a considerable distance towards the sea. The masonry of both arch and embankment is of tufo, uncemented, and though not *emplecton*, is of manifest antiquity. The vault must be the mouth of a sewer or stream, as is clearly shown by the mound of earth which chokes it. Were it not for this, and the trees which have taken root in it, the arch could not be examined from this bank ; and to the boughs of the said trees I acknowledge my "indebtedness" for the sketch which is copied in the woodcut at the head of this chapter.

Remounting the bank, I descried a double line of substructions stretching away in connection with the arch, in a direct line towards the height of the town. I traced it across the plain, till the modern road, which skirts the base of that eminence, obliterated its vestiges. It was obviously the ancient road or causeway from the stream to the town. Scarce a block of the pavement remained, but the skeleton—the double line of kerb-stones—was most palpable. This causeway explained the long embankment to have been a quay, and a port was at once confessed.² I could not doubt that this was a quay, for the opposite bank was very low, and entirely without masonry. The whole seemed the counterpart of the Pulchrum Littus and the Cloaca Maxima ; the embankment being of the same height, the vault of the same dimensions, and the object being doubtless similar—

¹ The *voussoirs* are from five to six feet in depth ; those of the Cloaca Maxima are scarcely two feet and a half ; but there is a triple row of them.

² The river would not serve as a port now-a-days, but must have been quite deep and broad enough for the galleys of the ancients. The causeway may possibly have formed part of the ancient Via Aurelia, but the absence of all traces of a bridge across the Marta seems opposed to that view.

to drain the low grounds on this bank,¹ and to serve as a barrier against occasional floods—the Marta being the natural emissary of the Lake of Bolsena. This must have been one reason, added to the all-cogent one of superior salubrity, which led the founders of the town to select a site, not on the sea-shore, or on the banks of the stream, but on the first convenient eminence, though it were two miles inland. This quay, sewer, and causeway, raise Westphal's opinion that this was the site of Graviscæ, from mere probability almost to certainty.²

¹ The arch may possibly have been a bridge over a small stream, which fell into the Marta, but no traces of a channel could I perceive in the plain. The proprietor of the ground, Signor Falzacappa, of Corneto, is of opinion that the arch, called by the peasantry *Il Pontone*, is a bridge originally crossing the Marta itself, which has since changed its course. But the comparatively narrow span of the arch, the absence of all vestiges of a former channel, and the long embankment, forbid me to entertain this view.

² I stated this opinion in *Bull. Inst.* 1847, p. 92, and it elicited the following remarks from Cav. Canina. "The remains of ancient walls existing near the mouth of the Marta, cannot have belonged to Graviscæ, because this city is placed in the Maritime Itinerary of Antoninus at three miles' distance from the said river, and at twelve from Centumcellæ, *i. e.* very near the mouth of the river Mignone, where remains are extant, and which site agrees with the distance of a little less than 180 *stadia*, prescribed by Strabo as that between Pyrgi and Graviscæ. The remains mentioned by Mr. Dennis must have belonged to that castle indicated in the Maritime Itinerary under the name of Maltano (*Maltanum*), which was placed precisely at the mouth of the said river Marta, as may be deduced from the agreement of the other Itineraries in registering that station with the simple name of Marta."

I should not have arrived at the above opinion, could I have yielded, as the learned Cavaliere appears to do, implicit credence to the Itineraries. But finding them so often widely in error, or at variance—as a comparison of them in this very case will attest—I cannot accord them confidence, in the face of the more convincing evidence of extant remains. If Graviscæ were the port of Tarquinii, no site could be better adapted to it than this, on the stream which washed the walls of that city. I confess that the agreement of the Maritime Itinerary and the Peutingerian Table in placing Graviscæ between the Marta and the Minio is not without weight; yet I cannot think that it outbalances the stronger evidence to the contrary adduced in the text. And I cannot in any way accord to Cavaliere Canina that Graviscæ stood near the mouth of the Mignone. For if with him, I cite the Maritime Itinerary in evidence, I find Graviscæ placed 12 miles from Centumcellæ (*Civita Vecchia*), while the Minio is in fact but 7 or 8 miles distant; the Saline, where Graviscæ is generally supposed to have stood, is but 10, whereas my site is just 12½ miles from that port. And Strabo's distance of 180 *stadia* from Pyrgi is much better answered in the Saline

418 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

West of the town is a rising ground, in which are some caves, and here, it is said, tombs have been found. Sepulchres richly decorated and furnished, are not likely, however, to be discovered here; for Graviscaë can have been little more than a place of business to the parent city—a landing-place for goods—where the merchant princes of Tarquinii had their warehouses and offices.¹ No one would have dwelt in the pestilent atmosphere of this swampy coast who could have afforded a residence on the comparatively salubrious heights of Tarquinii. The fever-fraught climate of the summer months is the only feature which the site retains of its ancient character. Nothing can be more dreary and desolate than the scenery around. The sun calls forth no beauty; the showers no verdure or luxuriance. Of the dense pine-groves which over-shadowed the waves of old,² not a solitary tree remains—the vineyards which still earlier gave Graviscaë renown,³ have left not a vestige,—a patch of corn here and there in the plain, and the dull grey olive-woods on the distant slopes of the Montarozzi, are the only signs of cultivation within view.

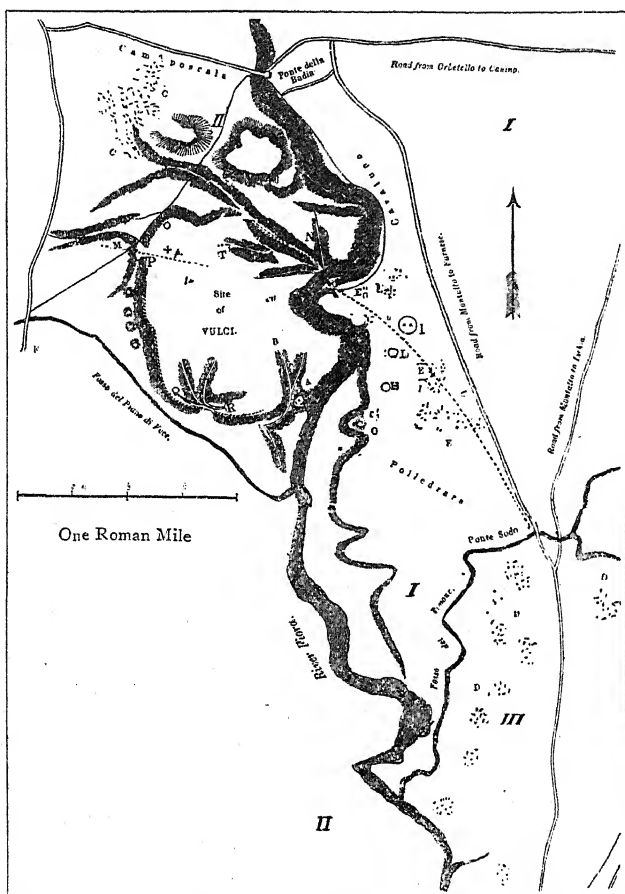
than in the mouth of the Mignone; while the Maritime Itinerary in stating it at 27 miles, favours the site on the right bank of the Marta. Thus these very authorities may be made to support my view as well as that of Cav. Canina, but I lay no further stress on this than as it shows how little dependence is to be placed upon them for precise information.

There is much plausibility in Westphal's proposed amendment of the Peutingerian Table (Ann. Inst. 1830, p. 32). In the chart, after "Mindo fl." is placed "Gravisca" without any distance attached; next a station with the simple word "Co"; and beyond that "Tabellaria V." Westphal proposes merely to shift the word "Gravisca" a little to the left, by which the three words are thrown into one sentence—"Tabellaria co (i. e. cum) Gravisca,"—a mode elsewhere adopted by the Table to indicate a place at some distance from the station, but connected with it by a branch road. Next we find "Marta II" but with no station indicated. This Westphal would read "Marta fl." showing that Tabellaria was on that river, instead of two miles from it. In fact he would place this station at the present bridge, a mile below Corneto.

¹ It was probably, like Alsium and Pyrgi, a mere—*oppidum parvum* (Rutil. I. 224); for Strabo (V. p. 223) and Pliny (III. 8) assert that there was but one Etruscan *city* on this coast—Populonia.

² Rutil. Itin. I. 283; Müller (Etrusk. I. 1, 1, n. 8) deduces from this passage that it was these pine-woods which checked the extension of the bad air.

³ Plin. N. H. XIV. 8, 5.



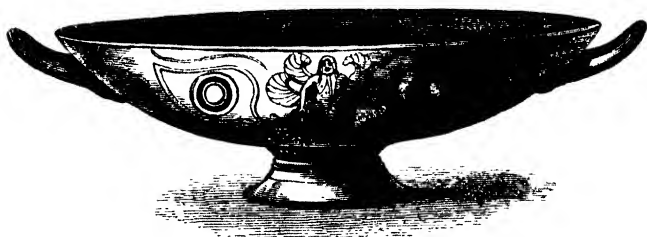
VULCI AND ITS NECROPOLIS.

(ADAPTED FROM KNAPP.)

- I. Tenuta di Ponte Sodo.
- II. Tenuta di Castelluccia di Volci.
- III. Tenuta di Campo Morto.

- A Castelluccia.
- B Castellina.
- C Scavi de' Campanari, Candelori, Fossati.
- D Scavi de' Feoli.
- E Scavi del Principe Canino.
- F Casette del Pian di Maggio.
- G La Cucumelletta.

- H Small Tumulus—La Rotonda.
- I La Cucumella.
- L Tombs of masonry.
- M Traces of a Roman Aqueduct.
- N, O, P, Q, R, Outline of the ancient City. The dotted line from O to R indicates fragments of the walls.
- S Site of an ancient Bridge.
- T Two *adricula* of Roman times.
- U Line of ancient road from Cosa to Tarquinii, flanked with tombs.
- p. Remains of a Christian chapel.



CYLIX, OR DRINKING-BOWL, FROM VULCI.

CHAPTER XXI

VULCI

Ruine di cittadi e di castella
Stavan con gran tresor quivi sozzopra.—ARIOSTO.

What sacred trophy marks the hallowed ground? . . .
The rifled urn, the violated mound.—BYRON.

“VULCI is a city whose very name, twenty years since, was scarcely remembered, but which now, for the enormous treasures of antiquity it has yielded, is exalted above every other city of the ancient world, not excepting even, in certain respects, Herculaneum or Pompeii.”¹ Little is to be seen, it must be confessed, on its site; yet a visit to it will hardly disappoint the traveller. It lies about eighteen miles north-west of Corneto. The road, for the first eleven or twelve, or as far as Montalto, follows the line of the ancient Via Aurelia along the coast, and is the modern high-road to Leghorn; traversing a country bare and undulating, and of little scenic beauty. Montalto, the only town between Corneto and Orbetello, is a small, dull place, with no attraction beyond a comfortable inn, kept by one Cesarini, whose local knowledge may prove serviceable to the traveller. It is supposed to be the site of the Forum Aurelii, a station on the Via Aurelia.² At the mouth of the Fiora, on which

¹ Dr. Braun. *Ann. Inst.* 1842, p. 39.

² Cluver. II. p. 485; Mannert, however (*Geog.* p. 370), places Forum Aurelii at Castellaccio, near the mouth of the Arrone, half-way between the Fiora and the Marta; a site more in accordance with the Peutingerian Table. See page 412. The Fiora is the Armenita of the Table, and the Arnine of the Maritime Itinerary. Some singular

it stands, are also a few Roman remains. On the shore, about three miles to the south, stood Regæ, the site of a very ancient Pelasgic settlement, Regisvilla, whose king Maleos, or Malæotes, the legendary inventor of the trumpet, abandoned his throne, and migrated to Athens.¹ The site is now called, from its prominent rocks, Le Murelle.²

Vulci lies near the Ponta della Badia, seven or eight miles inland from Montalto, and is accessible in a *carretino*, or light vehicle.³ All this district is a desert—a desert of corn, it is true, but almost uninhabited, so deadly is the summer-scurge of *malaria*. One solitary house is alone passed on the road to the Ponte della Badia, and that is a little mill, on the Timone, which is here spanned by a natural bridge, called, like that of Veii, Ponte Sodo. Beneath it is a cavern, grotesquely fretted with stalactites.

On passing the Ponte Sodo we entered on a vast treeless moor, without a sign of life, save a conical *capanna* of rushes, here and there rising from its surface, and a dark castle, standing in lonely pomp in the midst, nearly three miles before us. All this moor, from the other side of the Ponte Sodo, up to the castle and far beyond it, was the necropolis of Vulci; but no signs of sepulture were visible, except one lofty tumulus—the Cucumella—half-way between us and the castle. As we proceeded, however, we observed numerous pits, marking the spots where tombs had been recently opened, and partly reclosed with earth.

We alighted at the castle-gate. It is a fortress of the middle ages, and in most other lands would be a piece of antiquity. Here it is a modern work, with no interest

Etruscan monuments have been found in the neighbourhood of Montalto of late years (Micali, *Mon. Ined.* p. 195, tav. XXXIV.; p. 403, tav. LIX.

¹ Strab. V. p. 225; Lactant. ad Stat. Theb. IV. 124. Müller (Etrusk. einl. 2, 6) thinks he derived this name from the headland of Malea in Laconia. Regisvilla is probably a Roman corruption of the more ancient name of Regæ, which afterwards came again into use. Welcker (cited by Gerhard, *Ann. Inst.* 1831, p. 205) derives it from *ρηγῶν*, clefts, which is indicative of its situation.

² Holsten. *Annot. ad Cluver.* p. 34; Westphal, *Ann. Inst.* 1830, p. 30.

³ There are two roads from Montalto to Vulci, both practicable for light vehicles. The shorter runs on the right bank of the Fiora, but the other on the left bank is preferable. This it is which is described in the text. It is also marked in the Map.

*



PONTE DELLA BADIA, VULCI.

beyond its picturesque character. It is now a Papal custom-house; and a few *doganieri* mount guard here over the neighbouring frontier, and take toll on the cattle and goods which cross it. The castle stands on the verge of a deep ravine, which is here spanned by a narrow bridge, fenced in with parapets so tall as to block all view. Not till I had crossed it had I any idea of its character; and then, from the slope below, it burst on me like a fresh creation. It is verily a magnificent structure, bestriding the rocky abyss like a colossus, with the Fiora fretting and foaming at a vast depth beneath.¹ But what means this extraordinary curtain of stalactites which overhangs the bridge on this side, depending in huge jagged masses from the parapet, and looking as though a vast cataract had rolled over the top of the bridge, and been petrified in its fall, ere it could reach the ground? One might almost fancy the bridge had been hewn out of the solid rock, and that the workmen had abandoned it before its completion,—like Michael Angelo's statues with unfinished extremities. How else came this rugged appendage fixed against the very top of so lofty a structure? The only solution is—it is the result of an aqueduct in the parapet. I observed the rocks around fretted in the same manner, and then comprehended that the water flowing from the table-land of the necropolis, charged with tartaric matter, in its passage through the aqueduct had oozed out of its channel, and by the precipitation of the earthy matter it held in solution, had formed this petrified drapery to the bridge. The stalactites stand out six or seven feet from the wall, and depend to a depth of fifteen or twenty feet. Independently of their remarkable conformation, their colouring—a clear yellowish white—combines, with the grey or reddish masonry, to add to the effect of the bridge. Then the solemn castle, high on the

¹ The height of the arch above the stream is said to be 96 French feet, and its span 62 feet. The width of the bridge is only 10 feet, and its entire length 243 feet. Ann. Inst. 1832. p. 261. There is a second arch, only 15 feet in span, formed merely to lighten and strengthen the long wall of masonry on the right bank. It has a draped figure in relief on its key-stone. There is a third arch, still smaller, close under the castle, not perforating, but merely recessed in the structure. Being on the southern side of the bridge, it is not shown in the illustration on the opposite page. A view of the bridge from the other side is given in Mon. Ined. Inst. I. tav. 41.

424 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

cliff by its side, rearing its dark-red tower against the sky—the slopes clothed with the ilex and shrubs—the huge masses of rock in the hollow—the stream struggling and boiling through the narrow cleft—the steep frowning cliffs seen through the arch—are so many accessories in keeping with the principal object, forming with it as striking and picturesque a whole as I have seen in Etruria.

What is the date of the bridge, and by whom was it constructed? Signor Vincenzo Campanari, who first made it known to the world, took for granted that it was of Etruscan architecture;¹ but M. Lenoir, who exercised a more critical eye, entertained doubts of this. The truth is, that the bridge is of different dates. It has three projecting piers of red tufo, much weather-worn, which are obviously of earlier construction than the neat and harder *nenfro* masonry which encases them. Both are in the same *emplecton* style, like the walls of Sutri, Nepi, and Falleri; and the *nenfro* portion is, in part, rusticated. This style, having been adopted by the Romans, affords no decided clue to the constructors of the bridge. The return-facing of the arch, however, is of travertine, and may with certainty be referred to that people, as it possesses features in common with bridges of undoubted Roman origin—the Ponte d'Augusto at Narni, and the celebrated Pont du Gard. The aqueduct, also, I take to be Roman, simply because it passes over arches of that construction; for the skill of the Etruscans in hydraulics is so well attested, as to make it highly probable that to them were the Romans indebted for that description of structure. The tufo buttresses are very probably Etruscan, for they are evidently the piers of the original bridge; and may have been united, as Lenoir suggests, by a horizontal frame of wood-work—a plan often adopted by the Romans, in the Sublician, to wit—which subsequently gave place to the *nenfro* masonry of the close of the Republic, and to the arches. This seems a plausible hypothesis; and, in default of a better, I am willing to adopt it. The *nenfro* and travertine portions are, in any case, of Roman times, whatever be the antiquity of the tufo piers.²

¹ Ann. Inst. 1829, p. 195.

² These piers are merely encased, not connected with the rest of the structure. Lenoir points out an analogy, as regards these tufo piers,

The enormous masses of stalactite which drape the bridge seem to indicate a high antiquity for the whole structure ; and, doubtless, they must have been the formation of centuries : yet we need not refer them to too remote a period ; for, in a parallel case at Tivoli, a vault in the face of a cliff, lined with Roman reticulated work, has had its mouth blocked by an immense sheet of this fantastic formation, many tons in weight.

About a mile below the bridge, on the right bank of the Fiora, stood the ancient city of Vulci. It occupied a platform of no great elevation, and, except on the river side, not defended by inaccessible cliffs ; yet it is the only height in the wide plain at all adapted to the site of a city. Its surface is now sown with corn ; and, besides the usual traces of habitation in broken pottery, there is the wreck of a small temple, with *cella* and niches still standing, and the statues of its divinities and the columns which adorned it lying in shattered fragments around.¹ All these are of Roman, even of late times. Of the Etruscan city there are no traces, beyond portions of the walls, of tufo blocks, on the brow of the cliffs to the south and west.

The city was of no great size—not larger than Fæsulæ or Rusellæ, or about two miles in circuit.² Yet, at the period of its greatest prosperity, it must have been extremely populous ; for its sepulchres disclose this fact. Its vast wealth, which is learned from the same source, must have been obtained by foreign commerce ; yet the position of the city, seven or eight miles from the sea, and on no

between this bridge and the Ponte Nonno, on the Via Prænestina, near the site of Gabii, which is known to be of high antiquity. Ann. Inst. 1832, p. 261. Westphal (Ann. Inst. 1830, p. 40) takes the Ponte della Badia to be Roman, from its similarity to other bridges of that construction.

¹ From the variety in these fragments, in size, style, and material, it would seem that several public buildings had occupied this site—all, however, of the low Empire. For notices of the remains on the site of the city, see Bull. Inst. 1835, p. 177 ; 1836, p. 36 ; and 1835, p. 122 ; where an account is given of an ancient furnace, containing fragments of pottery—suggesting, to some extent, the native manufacture of the vases.

² Micali, Ant. Pop. Ital. I. p. 147. Some have thought it once spread over the adjacent heights. The Prince of Canino imagined it to have occupied both banks of the river, and that its two parts, thus divided, were connected by bridges. Museum Etrusque, p. 16.

426 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

navigable stream, is such as could have been chosen only by agriculturists.

It is a remarkable fact, and one which proves how limited is our acquaintance with antiquity, that though this city, from its population, wealth, and magnificence, must at some period have been among the first in Etruria, we have absolutely no account of its history in Livy, Dionysius, or any other ancient writer—nothing beyond a bare record of its existence in the catalogues of geographers.¹ The history of Vulci is chronicled in its sepulchres. Were it not for these, and the marvellous secrets they disclose, Vulci might have remained to the end of time in obscurity—its existence unheeded, its very site forgotten.²

¹ Pliny (III. 8) mentions its inhabitants as—Volcentini, cognomine Etrusci,—and states that Cosa was in their territory—Cossa Volcentium. Ptolemy (p. 72, ed. Bert.) calls it *Οὐόλκοι*, and Stephanus says—*Ὀλκιον*, a city of Etruria; according to Polybius, VI., the name of its people was *Ὀλκιῆται* and *Ὀλκίεις*. Gerhard (Ann. Inst. 1831, pp. 107, 215) thinks the name of Greek origin, and from *δλκοι* (as *δλκοι νεῶν*—Herod. II. 154); but what it can have to do with ships it is difficult to perceive. There is no need of so far-fetched an origin; for the genuine Etruscan character of the word is evident at a glance. Its initial syllable places it in the same category with Volaterræ, Volsinii, Voltumnæ Fanum, Felsina, Falerii, and the names of numerous Etruscan families—some of which bear a close analogy, as Velcia, Velscia, Phelces or Phelcia, Velchei, Velchnas, Velczna, Velzina. Passeri, ap. Gori. Mus. Etr. III. pp. 103–110; Lanzi, Sagg. II. pp. 311, 383, 384, 445; Vermiglioli, Iscriz. Perug. I. pp. 72, 208, 245, 275, 298. The M. Fulcinus of Tarquinii, whom Cicero (pro Cæcinâ, IV.) speaks of as owner of an estate near Castellum Axia, seems also to have derived his name from Vulci.

There is a curious passage in a Latin Christian writer, which refers to this city—"Regnatoris in populi Capitolio quis est hominum, qui ignoret Toli (Oli?) esse sepulcrum Vulcentani," &c. Arnob. adv. Nat. VI. 7. Arnobius says that the head found in digging the foundations of the Capitol, from which that temple and hill took its name—caput Oli, vel Toli,—was that of a native of Vulci, to whom there was a mysterious story attaching. Cf. Serv. ad Æn. VIII. 345; Dion. Hal. IV. p. 257; Plin. XXVIII. 4. See Orioli's comments on this passage of Arnobius, Ann. Inst. 1832, p. 31, *et seq.*

² Gerhard (Ann. Inst. 1831, p. 101) is inclined to date the foundation of Vulci after the battle of Cuma, or about the year of Rome 278; but, I think, without adequate reason. His arguments are, the silence of ancient writers, the close vicinity of Tarquinii and Regisvilla, the former of which he imagines began to decline in power about that period, leaving Vulci to rise into importance. But if Cosa, as some suppose from Pliny's mention of it, were a colony of Vulci, the latter must have existed in very early times.

The only event in the annals of Vulci, which has come down to us, is recorded in the *Fasti Consulares*, preserved in the Capitol. It is the defeat of its citizens, in concert with the Volsinienses, by T. Coruncanius, the Roman Consul in the year 474 (B.C. 280).¹ This date proves the power and importance of Vulci, that, after the disastrous defeats the Etruscans had experienced at the Vadimonian Lake, in the years 444 and 471, where the strength of the nation was completely broken, Vulci could still make head against Rome; and its conjunction with Volsinii, which at that time must have been one of the mightiest cities in Etruria, is a further evidence of its importance.² It is even probable that at this late period of the national independence, after Veii, Falerii, and other cities south of the Ciminian, had been conquered, Vulci took rank among the Twelve.³ That it was not at its conquest destroyed, as has

The similarity between the names of Volci or Vulci, and Volsci or Vulsci (*sic* Cato, ap. Priscian. V. 12; VI. 8), is very apparent. But what real connection existed is not so easy to determine. We know that the land of the Volsci, as well as all Campania, was at one period subject to the Etruscans (Cato, ap. Serv. ad *Æn.* XI. 567; ad Georg. II. 533; Strab. V. p. 242; Polyb. II. 17, 1); and thence Micali (*Ant. Pop. Ital.* I. p. 149) infers that a colony of Volsci may have settled at Vulci during that domination. But I incline rather to the opinion of Niebuhr (*I.* p. 120, cf. p. 70), who thinks, from the mention by Livy (XXVII. 15), of a people bearing almost the same name, the Volcentes, in connection with the Lucani and Hirpini, that there is substantial ground for conjecturing that the Vulcientes were not Etruscans, but an earlier people, who had kept their ground against those invaders; or, in other words, that the Etruscans, by their conquest, separated two portions of the same primitive Italian race—just as the Gaels of Scotland were widely severed from their Celtic brethren of Gaul by the Roman and Teutonic conquests of Britain. If Niebuhr (*I.* p. 72) be correct in supposing a close affinity between the names and races of the Falisci and Volsci, the same must also exist between the Falisci and Vulci.

¹ The *Fasti*, which follow the Catonian æra, have it 473.

. NCANIVS . TI . F . TI . N . COS . AN . CDLXXIII.
. VLSINIENSIBVS . ET . VVLCIENTIB . K . FEB.

See Gruter, p. 296.

² Müller, *Etrusk. einl.* 2, 17; II. 1, 2.

³ This view, which is favoured by the immense treasures of its necropolis, is almost established by a monument discovered a few years since at Cervetri, and now preserved in the Lateran Museum. It is a bas-relief, which seems to have formed one side of a marble throne. On it are three separate figures, each with the name of a people of Etruria attached—VETULONENSES— . . . CENTANI—and TARQUINIENSES. The middle word can have been no other than Vulcentani; there is just

428 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

been supposed,¹ is proved by the Roman remains—baths, statues, inscriptions, coins—which have been here brought to light. Pliny and Ptolemy prove its existence under the Empire; and coins of Constantine, Valentinian, and Gratian, show it to have stood at least as late as the fourth century after Christ.²

The name of the ancient city has been preserved traditionally; and this site has been known, from time immemorial, as the *Pian di Voce*.³ Yet the Prince of Canino, Lucien Bonaparte, who owned the greater part of the necropolis, fancied this to be the site of the long-lost Vetulonia, on whose ruins rose the city of Vulci.⁴ The Prince, however, who had but shallow ground for his conjecture, stood almost alone in this view; the general and better supported opinion being, that Vetulonia occupied a site on this coast more to the north.

The city of Vulci stood on lower ground than its necropolis; not so much therefore is to be seen from its site,

room for the three initial letters in the space where the inscription is defaced. It seems highly probable that the names of the Twelve people of Etruria, and their several devices, were recorded on this monument. Bull. Inst. 1840, p. 92 (Canina); Ann. Inst. 1842, pp. 37–40 (Braun), and tav. d'Agg. C. Even Annio of Viterbo makes a guess at this eminence of Vulci, and in his *Comments on his Catonis Origines*, calls "Volcen" one of the Twelve.

¹ Bull. Inst. 1831, p. 168—Gerhard.

² Bull. Inst. 1835, pp. 121, 177. Tombs purely Roman have also been discovered, and some even of Christian date, as is proved by inscriptions—"Pax cum sanctis"—"Pax cum angelis." One of these Christian tombs had remains of paintings on its walls. Inscriptions, proving Vulci to have existed under the Empire, are given by Gruter, pp. 301, 447, 1.

³ Micali (Ant. Pop. Ital. I. p. 147) claims the merit of having first pointed out this as the site of Vulci, forgetting or not knowing that Holstenius (Annot. ad Cluver. p. 40) more than a century before, had mentioned this as the *Piano di Volci*—the site of the ancient Vulci. All doubt of its identity has now been removed by the discovery of Latin inscriptions on the spot (Bull. Inst. 1835, pp. 11, 121), some of which are now in the Gregorian Museum at the Vatican.

⁴ Ann. Inst. 1829, pp. 188–192; Mus. Etr. pp. 13, 163, *et seq.* He was followed by Valeriani (Mus. Chius. I. p. 68). His opinion was based principally on an inscription on a vase found in this necropolis—*VIΘΔONOXEI*, written against a figure in a Bacchic scene. Panofka (Bull. Inst. 1829, p. 140) translates this *ῥθλον ὄχει*—"he conducts the follies (of Bacchus)"; but Gerhard and Raoul-Rochette more plausibly interpret it *ἀθλον ὀχει*—"he bears off the prize." Bull. Inst. 1830, p. 187; Ann. Inst. 1831, p. 186.

as from the opposite cliffs, from which spot the stern grandeur of the scene is most imposing. The wide, wide moor, a drear, melancholy waste, stretches around you, no human being seen on its expanse; the dark, lonely castle rises in the midst, with the majestic bridge spanning the abyss at its side; the Fiora frets in its rocky bed far beneath your feet, and its murmurs conveyed to your ear by the tall cliffs you stand on, are the sole disturbers of the solemn stillness. Deep is the dreariness of that moor. Not the Landes of Gascony, nor the treeless plains of the Castilles, or Estremadura, surpass it in lifeless desolation. The sun gilds but brightens it not. The dark mountains, which bound it on the north and east, are less gloomy in aspect, and afford a pleasing repose to the eye wearied with wandering over its surface.

“All is still as night!

All desolate!—Groves, temples, palaces—
Swept from the sight; and nothing visible
Amid the sulphurous vapours that exhale,
As from a land accurst, save here and there
An empty tomb, a fragment like the limb
Of some dismembered giant.”

Can it be that here stood one of the wealthiest and most luxurious cities of ancient Italy—the chosen residence of the princes of Etruria? Behold the sole relics of its magnificence in the stones scattered over yon field on one side, and in the yawning graves of the vast cemetery on the other, a surer index than the crumbled city presents to the civilization once flourishing on this site, but long since extinct—the one desolated, the other rifled—both shorn of their glory. The scene is replete with matter for melancholy reflection, deepened by the sense that the demon of malaria has here set up his throne, and rendered this once densely-peopled spot “a land accurst.”

The remains of two bridges, it is said, may be traced, connecting the city with the necropolis; but none could I perceive, though it is highly probable that there was some more direct communication than the distant Ponte della Badia. Were it so, it must have been at a spot called *Il Pelago*, where the stream widens into a small lake or pool, and its banks lose their precipitous character.¹ It is a spot

¹ The Prince of Canino asserts the existence of two bridges in ruins

430 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

which has claims on the artist as well as the antiquary. The range of lofty cliffs, fretted with stalactites, feathered with hanging wood, and washed by the torrent, presents, in conjunction with the distant castle, the broken ground of the city, and the wild mountains, rare morsels of form and colour for the portfolio.¹

In the cliffs near the Ponte is a natural cavern, scarcely worth the difficulty of the descent to it.

Twenty years ago the existence of this vast cemetery was utterly unknown. In the early part of 1828 some oxen were ploughing the land near the castle, when the ground suddenly gave way beneath them, and disclosed an Etruscan tomb with two broken vases. This led to further research, which was at first carried on unknown to the Prince of Canino, but at the close of the year he took the excavations into his own hands, and in the course of four months he brought to light more than two thousand objects of Etruscan antiquity, and all from a plot of ground of three or four acres.² Other excavators soon came into the field; every one who had land in the neighbourhood tilled it for this novel harvest, and all with abundant success; the Feoli, Candelori, Campanari, Fossati,—all enriched themselves and the Museums of Europe with treasures from this sepulchral mine. Since that time the Prince or his widow has annually excavated on this site, and never in vain; and the glories of ancient ceramographic art, which he thus brought to light and diffused throughout Europe, have, perhaps, made the name of Lucien Bonaparte as well known, and will, perhaps, win for him as lasting a renown as his conduct on the 19th Brumaire, or the part he played in the councils of his Imperial brother.

The necropolis embraced both banks of the Fiora. In the tract between the city and the Ponte della Badia, on the right bank, known as the *tenuta* Camposcala, excavations were commenced by the Campanari in 1828; and hence

(Ann. Inst. 1829, p. 192); Westphal, however (Ann. Inst. 1830, p. 40), speaks of the remains of one only, more than a mile below the Ponte della Badia, which agrees with the position of Il Pelago.

¹ It is said that fragments of an ancient chariot of bronze have been discovered at the foot of these cliffs, and it is supposed, from the bones of horses near it, that it had been drawn over the precipice. I give this as a mere report, which I have not been able to verify.

² Museum Etrusque, p. 12.

come most of the vases in the Vatican and the British Museum. Of the multitude of tombs here opened, few remain unclosed; but of these one, discovered in 1830, and called Grotta del Sole e della Luna—"Tomb of the Sun and Moon," particularly deserves attention. It has eight chambers; the walls of some are curiously adorned with panels, and the ceilings with mouldings in regular patterns, all carved from the rock, in relief, in evident imitation of wood-work. One of these ceilings has a singular fan-pattern,¹ the counterpart to which is found in two tombs at Cervetri; whence we may conclude it was no uncommon decoration of Etruscan houses. In this same *tenuta*, under the walls of the city, was found in 1833, a painted tomb of remarkable character, and the only one ever discovered on this site. It is now utterly destroyed, but a record of it has been preserved, and copies of its paintings now in the British Museum rescue it from oblivion.²

But it is on the other bank of the Fiora that most of the excavations have been, and are, annually made. Here, about a mile from the castle, towards the Cucumella, we came upon a gang of excavators, in the employ of the Princess of Canino; most of the necropolis on this bank of the Fiora being her property. And a pretty property it is, rendering a large percentage to its possessor; for while her neighbours are contenting themselves with well-stocked granaries, or overflowing wine-presses, the Princess to her earlier is adding a latter harvest—the one of metaphorical, the other of literal gold, or of articles convertible into that metal. Yet, in gathering in the latter harvest, the other is not forgotten, for to lose no surface that can be sown with grain, the graves, when rifled, are re-filled with earth. On this account, excavations are carried forward only in winter. They were now just commencing for the season.

At the mouth of the pit in which they were at work, sat the *capo*, or overseer—his gun by his side, as an *in terrorem*

¹ This pattern is given in Mon. Ined. Inst. I. tav. XLI., together with the plan and sections of this tomb. According to Lenoir (Ann. Inst. 1832, p. 266) it is in the style of the carvings of the spherical vaults of Philibert de Lorme. The moulding round one of the doors, besides being of the usual Etruscan form, is painted with red and black ribands, diagonally, so often seen in Egyptian door-mouldings.

² For a description of it see the Appendix to this Chapter.

432 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

hint to his men to keep their hands from picking and stealing. We found them on the point of opening a tomb. The roof, as is frequently the case in this light, friable tufo, had fallen in, and the tomb was filled with earth, out of which the articles it contained had to be dug in detail. This is generally a process requiring great care and tenderness, little of which, however, was here used, for it was seen by the first objects brought to light that nothing of value was to be expected—*hoc miseræ plebi stabat sepulcrum*. Coarse pottery of unfigured, and even of unvarnished ware, and a variety of small articles in black clay, were its only produce; but our astonishment was only equalled by our indignation when we saw the labourers dash them to the ground as they drew them forth, and crush them beneath their feet as things “cheaper than seaweed.” In vain I pleaded to save some from destruction; for, though of no marketable worth, they were often of curious and elegant forms, and valuable as relics of the olden time, not to be replaced; but no, it was all *roba di sciocchezza*—“foolish stuff”—the *capo* was inexorable; his orders were to destroy immediately whatever was of no pecuniary value, and he could not allow me to carry away one of these relics which he so despised. It is lamentable that excavations should be carried on in such a spirit; with the sole view of gain, with no regard to the advancement of science. Such is too frequently the case. Yet they are occasionally conducted, as by the Cavaliere Campana of Rome, by men whose views are not bounded by money-bags, but who are actuated by a genuine love and zeal for science. The man to whom the Princess had intrusted the superintendence of her *scavi* was “a lewd fellow of the baser sort,” without education or antiquarian knowledge, though experienced, it may be, in determining the localities of tombs, and the pecuniary value of their contents. Matters were differently conducted during Lucien’s lifetime, for he often personally superintended the excavations.¹ Surely the Papal Government, which, in Rome and its neighbourhood, watches carefully over antiquarian researches,

¹ Gerhard (Bull. Inst. 1831, p. 88) complains of the incivility and vandalism of most of the excavators at Vulci, making a particular exception in favour of the Prince. Chevalier Bunsen (Ann. Inst. 1834, p. 85) pronounces the same condemnation. The mercenary character and barbarism of Italian excavators are notorious, and prompt one to cry—*Desine scrutari quod tegit ossa solum!*

would not do amiss in appointing experienced men to superintend the progress of *scavi* also in more distant parts of the country—to note the character of the sepulchres, the nature and relative arrangement of their contents, and to prevent any improper application of the spade or pickaxe. There is no British “liberty of the subject” to interfere. As excavations are made only at one season of the year, and on few sites, such a plan would be neither difficult nor expensive; and the additional light thrown on antiquarian science would be valuable. As it is, facts, often perhaps of great importance, are now unnoticed and unrecorded. We see in the Museums of Europe, from Paris to St. Petersburg, the produce of these Vulcian tombs, and admire the surpassing elegance of the vases and the beauty of their designs, and marvel at the extinct civilization they indicate; but they afford us no conception of the places in which they have been preserved for so many centuries, or of their relations thereto. All this is not, of course, to be set forth in every case, yet the history of the most interesting articles should be preserved. Such a record is kept but in very few cases, where notices of remarkable tombs are given in the publications of the Archæological Institute, and other antiquarian societies of Italy.

The excavations at Vulci, on the day I refer to, were not wholly unproductive. From an adjoining tomb, sundry painted vases of great beauty were drawn, together with several basketfuls of fragments of similar vases, which would be put together by a skilful artificer in the employ of the Princess. I learned that the contents of the adjoining tombs often differed widely in value, style, and degree of antiquity—that sepulchres of various ranks, and different periods, lay mixed indiscriminately, just as at Tarquinii, and that the same tomb sometimes contained objects of several ages, as though it had been the vault of one family through many generations.

The difference between the cemeteries of Tarquinii and Vulci is striking enough. There you have a hill studded with sepulchral mounds, and distinguishable afar off by its rugged outline; here is a vast uniform level, with scarcely an inequality on its surface—one lofty barrow alone rising from it, to mark, like the tumulus on the plain of Marathon, or the lion-crested mound on that of Waterloo, that this is

434 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

a field of the dead. The tombs of Vulci are sunk beneath the level surface. They are not in general of large size, and are usually of oblong form, surrounded with benches of rock, on which the dead were laid, generally without any inclosure or covering beyond their armour or habiliments. Yet some sarcophagi of great beauty and interest have been found here. The abundance of bones, and the rarity of cinerary urns or vases, may be adduced in confirmation that inhumation was more in fashion at Vulci than combustion. The doorways to the tombs are of the usual Egyptian form, and, though sunk deep beneath the soil, are often adorned with the square lintelled moulding so common at Bieda. It is calculated that more than six thousand tombs have already been opened in this necropolis.¹

LA CUCUMELLA.²

This singular tumulus, which, standing in the midst of the bare plain, is visible at the distance of many a mile, is a vast cone of earth, like Polydore's tomb—*ingens aggeritur tumulo tellus*—about two hundred feet in diameter, and still forty or fifty in height, though much lowered from its original altitude by time and the spade of the excavator. It was encircled at its base by a wall of masonry, which was traceable by fragments in 1830,³ though now not a block is left. The mound was opened by the Prince of Canino, in 1829. Above this wall were found sundry small sepulchral chambers, as in the tumuli of Cervetri and Chiusi; but all are now reclosed. They were probably tombs of the dependents and slaves of the great personage or family for whom the mausoleum was erected.⁴

¹ Micali, *Mon. Ined.* p. 361.

² Cucumella—probably à *cacumine*—is the term commonly applied in Central Italy to a mound, hillock, or barrow. This Vulcian *tumulus* is called the Cucumella, *par excellence*, as there is no other on this site to rival it. Cacume, evidently from the Latin, is also applied to sharp heights—as Monte Cacume, a conical peak in the Lepino range above the Latin Valley. There may be some affinity to the Etruscan, for we find the proper name of “Laris Cucuma,” on a tile in the Pasquini collection at Chiusi. *Mus. Chius.* II. p. 124.

³ Micali, *Ant. Pop. Ital.* III. p. 94.

⁴ Micali (*Mon. Ined.* p. 361) regards the tumulus as a mark of distinction and dignity. It may be in this case, but can hardly be so at Tarquinii and Cære, where the tumuli are most abundant. Knapp (*Ann. Inst.* 1832, p. 280) accounts for the general adoption of the tumulus on certain sites, by the inferior hardness and compactness of

In the heart of the mound were unearthed two towers, one square, the other conical, both between thirty and forty feet in height, of horizontal, uncemented masonry, but extremely rude and irregular, and so loosely put together as to threaten a speedy fall.¹ The conical tower appears to have been hollow; but neither this, nor the other, has, and perhaps never had, any visible entrance; and it seems probable that they served no more practical purpose than to support the figures with which the monument was crowned.²

At the foot of these towers is now a shapeless hollow; but here were found two small chambers, constructed of massive regular masonry, and with doorways of primitive style, arched over by the gradual convergence of the horizontal courses. They were approached by a long passage, leading directly into the heart of the tumulus; and here on the ground lay fragments of bronze and gold plates, very thin, and adorned with ivy and myrtle leaves. Two stone sphinxes stood guardians at the entrance of the passage, and, with sundry other quaint effigies of lions and griffons found within this tumulus, now mount guard at the palace-gate of Musignano.³ No other furniture—sarcophagi, urns, or vases—was brought to light; whence it was evident that the tumulus had been rifled in by-gone ages. The masonry of the towers, the primitive doorways, and the character of the few articles found, tend to prove this tomb to be of very ancient date—much prior to the generality of sepulchres in this necropolis.⁴

the rock in which the tombs were excavated. But this notion, which seems to have sprung from a comparison of Tarquinii and Vulci alone, is quite upset by a more extended view of Etruscan cemeteries. For in the soft friable arenaceous earth of Chiusi and its neighbourhood, tumuli are never found, whereas at Cervetri, where the tufa is as hard as on any other site, they are most numerous. The reason of this peculiarity certainly does not lie in a constructive necessity.

¹ Gerhard (*Bull. Inst.* 1829, p. 51) accounts for the rudeness of this masonry by supposing it to have been faced, probably with metal, as marble was not used by the Etruscans. This supposition is quite unnecessary, for the towers were not intended to be seen, but were always buried in the earth.

² According to Micali (*Ant. Pop. Ital.* p. 148) several sphinxes were found on the summit of the towers, and it may be presumed that they were for the external decoration of the tumulus.

³ *Ann. Inst.* 1832, p. 273. For illustrations, see *Mon. Ined. Inst.* I. tav. XLI.

⁴ For an account of the opening of this tumulus, see *Bull. Inst.* 1829,

436 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

This tumulus bears a striking analogy to that of Alyattes, king of Lydia, and father of Cræsus, which had a basement of huge stones, surmounted by a mound of earth. Five *termini*—*ὄπποι*—stood on the summit, which were seen by Herodotus, and on them were carved inscriptions, recording the construction of the monument, and that it was raised principally by the hands of young females! The tumulus was six *stadia* and two *plethra* (3,842 ft. 8 in.) in circumference, and thirteen *plethra* (1,314 ft. 1 in.) in diameter.¹ As the Lydians are traditionally the colonizers of Etruria, we might *à priori* expect to find similar monuments in this land; assuredly, when we do find them, we may regard them as strengthening the probability of the tradition, and may assign them an early date in style, if not always in actual construction. The tumulus of Alyattes was six or seven times as large as the Cucumella, yet the affinity is not the less striking. In truth, it is in character and arrangement alone, not in size, that the former is to be regarded as a type of Lydian tombs, for Herodotus specifies this as among the marvels of the land on account of its size—*ἔργον πολλὸν μέγιστον*—inferior only in magnitude to the works of the Egyptians and Babylonians.² The five *termini* on the Lydian monument are not clearly and definitely described; but the inscriptions on them show an analogy to the *cippi* of the Etruscans and Romans; and as they could not, consistently with the rest of the monument, have been on a small scale, the probability is that they were either cones surmounting towers, or the terminations of such towers, rising above the body of the mound; a probability heightened almost to certainty by the close analogy of this and other Etruscan monuments.³ It is a remarkable fact,

p. 50, *et seq.* (Gerhard); and Micali, loc. cit. III. p. 94. For a plate of this monument, see Mon. Ined. Inst. I. tav. 41, 2, and Micali, loc. cit. tav. LXII., who represents the square tower with a door.

¹ Herod. I. 93.

² In the same necropolis of Sardis are numerous other tumuli, much inferior in size to that of Alyattes, and called by the Turks "The Thousand and One Hills." See Chapter XVIII. p. 381.

³ When writing the above, I was not aware that anything remained on the tumulus of Alyattes to determine this fact; but I perceive that Stuart (Monuments of Lydia and Phrygia, p. 4) states that "on its summit may still be perceived the remains of a pavement of brick, and a decayed fragment of one of the *pillars* which decorated this gigantic mound."

that the tomb of Porsenna, at Clusium, the only Etruscan sepulchre of which we have record, bore a close affinity to the only Lydian sepulchre described by the ancients—the square merely taking place of the circular; for it is said to have had “five pyramids” rising from a square base of masonry, “one at each angle, and one in the centre.”¹ And the curious monument at Albano, vulgarly called the tomb of the Horatii and Curiatii,² has a square basement of masonry, surmounted by four cones, and a cylindrical tower in the midst. Five, indeed, seems to have been the established number of cones, pyramids, or columnar *cippi*, on tombs of this description; whence it has been suggested that three other towers are probably buried in the unexcavated part of the Cucumella.³

Southward from this is a much smaller mound, called La Cucumelletta, because it is a miniature edition of the other. It was opened by the Prince in 1832, and was found to contain five chambers.

Still nearer the Cucumella is a low tumulus, like the

¹ Varro, ap. Plin. XXXVI. 19, 4.

² It is supposed by Ligorio, Volpi, and Venuti, to be the sepulchre of Pompey the Great, erected hereabouts by his wife Cornelia—Plut. Pompeius, ad finem. To this opinion Canina is also inclined—Ann. Inst. 1837, 2, p. 57. Others regard it as the tomb of Aruns, son of Porsenna, who fell at Aricia, contending with the Greeks of Cuma. Piranesi first started this opinion, and is supported in it by Nibby, Gell, and the Duc de Luynes, Ann. Inst. 1829, p. 309. But there is no valid reason for regarding it as of very early date, or of Etruscan construction, as some have conjectured (Letronne, Ann. Inst. 1829, p. 391. Orioli, ap. Inghir. Mon. Etr. IV. p. 168). The basement was faced with *emplecton* masonry, now destroyed by the recent repairs, but above this, where the original structure is disclosed, it is seen to be of *opus incertum*, in strata alternating with courses of masonry. This stamps it as Roman; no instance of such a construction having been found in genuine Etruscan monuments. The mouldings also, as Canina observes mark the latter days of the Republic. It must be a Roman tomb, in imitation of those in use in the early days of Italy; whether of Pompey, or of some other wealthy Roman, is a matter of mere conjecture. The opinion that it is the tomb of Pompey, however, derives strength from the fact that his family seems to have been Etruscan, as shown in the account of the Grotta Pompej at Corneto; and also from the remains, hard by the tomb, of an extensive Roman villa, which may have belonged to him, as he is known to have possessed one near Alba. Plut. Pomp. ad fin.

³ Ann. Inst. 1832, p. 273—Lenoir. I doubt this. There may be one or two more, but from the position of the disclosed towers in the mound, there can hardly have been five originally.

438 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

"Mausoleo" of Tarquinii, about thirty feet in diameter, and walled round with a single course of travertine blocks. It is called "La Rotonda." The cone of earth is now levelled to the top of the masonry.¹ There is a trench and rampart around it, as in the conical rock-hewn tomb of Bieda. The chamber is now choked with earth; but in it were found vases of great beauty.

Another tumulus, on the right bank of the Fiora, near the site of the ancient city, was opened by Campanari, in 1835. In the middle of the chamber, stretched on the ground, lay the skeleton of a warrior, with helm on his head, ring on his finger, and a confused mass of broken and rusted weapons at his feet. Against the wall of the tomb, depending from a nail, which, from rust, could hardly support it, hung a large bronze shield, lined with wood. An elegant bronze vase and a tripod were also there, but no pottery. In an adjoining chamber, however, where articles of jewellery, strewn on the ground, indicated a female occupant, there were some beautiful painted vases.²

These warrior-tombs are not uncommon, scattered indiscriminately among those of men of peace. In some are found arms of various descriptions, the iron generally much oxydized, the helmets frequently bearing marks of the battle-fray, in "good old blows" of sword or lance, and sometimes circled with chaplets of ivy, myrtle, or oak-leaves, in pure gold, of the most delicate and exquisite workmanship; as if to show that the departed had fallen in the moment of victory, or, it may be, to typify the state of triumphant bliss into which his spirit had entered. Not always are there remains of the corpse itself. When the soil is unusually dry, bones may be found, even in a perfect state; but it more often happens that, on the rocky bier, lie the helmet, breastplate, greaves, signet ring, weapons—or, if it be a female, the necklace, earrings, bracelets, and other ornaments, each in its relative place; but the body they once encased or adorned, has left not a vestige behind. In two of the warrior-tombs of this necropolis, as also on other sites, the bones of a horse and dog have been found by the side of those of the man;³ whence we may infer that

¹ Ann. Inst. 1832. p. 277. Mon. Ined. Inst. I. tav. 41, 3.

² Bull. Inst. 1835, p. 203, *et seq.* Burial in armour was a Carian custom. Thuc. I. 8.

³ Bull. Instit. loc. cit.

the Etruscan believed in a future state of existence for the brute creation,

“And thought, admitted to that equal sky
His faithful dog would bear him company;”

a doctrine held by the civilized nations of antiquity, as well as by “the poor Indian;” for Virgil pictures the souls in Elysium as practising equitation; and Homer mentions the sacrifice of horses and household dogs at the pyre of Patroclus.¹

Among the tombs on this site was that of a young child, whose skeleton was found surrounded by a number of toys, and small articles of pottery, elegantly painted. The sepulchre was intact, when discovered.²

Among the tombs, in that part of the necropolis to the south, called the Campo Morto, are scattered here and there sundry square areas paved with large flags, and surrounded by walls of regular masonry. Professor Gerhard imagines that they may have served for the religious ceremonies connected with interment;³ but it seems quite as probable that they were *ustrinæ*, or spots appropriated to the burning of the dead, which, though not a common custom with the Etruscan inhabitants of Vulci, must have prevailed among its Roman possessors.⁴

GROTTA D'ISIDE.

One of the most remarkable tombs discovered in Etruria was opened in 1840, in a part of this necropolis called

¹ Virg. *Æn.* VI. 655. Hom. *Il.* XXIII. 171-4. Lucian (*de Luctu*, p. 810, ed. Bourd.) says that horses and concubines were sometimes slain at the funeral pile, and clothes were cast on it, or buried with the defunct, as though he would use and enjoy such things in the other world as he had been wont in this.

² Ann. Inst. 1835, pp. 114-118. Among the pottery was an *olpe* or jug, with the painting of an Etruscan portico, having a door like those in the Grotta delle Iscrizioni at Corneto, but with two snakes on the panels, and a Doric frieze above, surmounted by a swan, and two lions, one at each extremity.

³ Bull. Instit. 1829, p. 4.

⁴ The *ustrina* or *ustrinum* differed from the *bustum* or *τύμβος*, in being the place where the corpse was burnt alone, whereas in the *bustum* it was also buried. Festus *v.* Bustum. The best specimen of an *ustrina* extant is that large quadrangle on the Via Appia about four or five miles from Rome, which Gell took to be the Campus Sacer Horatorum, mentioned by Martial (*III. epig.* 47. 3.) A detailed description of it is given by Fabretti (*Inscrip. Ant.* III. p. 230).

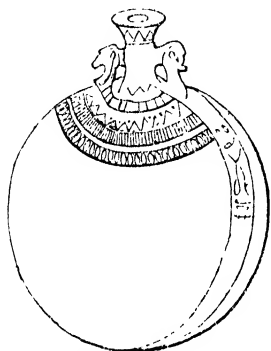
440 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

Polledrara, to the west of the Ponte Sodo. It was second in interest and importance only to the Regulini-Galassi tomb of Cervetri; for, besides objects of native art, of very high antiquity, anterior to all Hellenic influence, it contained articles purely and unequivocally Egyptian, attesting the very early intercourse between Etruria and Egypt. This tomb had nothing remarkable in its construction; it was hollowed beneath the surface, like the other tombs of Vulci, and had an antechamber and three inner chambers. From the character of its contents, it received the name of the "Tomb of Isis;" but it was the sepulchre of two ladies of rank, whose effigies are still in existence, though nearly three thousand years may have elapsed since their decease.

The tomb is now reclosed, but its contents are carefully preserved and kept together. Till recently they were in the possession of the Prince of Canino, son of Lucien Bonaparte, but have now passed into the hands of Dr. Emil Braun, Secretary of the Archæological Institute of Rome, where I have often seen them. All have a strong Egyptian or oriental character; but with the exception of those evidently imported from the banks of the Nile, they are Etruscan imitations of Egyptian art, with the native stamp more or less strongly marked. The genuine Egyptian articles consist of six ostrich-eggs,¹ one painted with winged

¹ Imitations of ostrich-eggs, in terra-cotta, have been found in the tombs of Vulci (Micali, *Mon. Ined.* p. 57), which seems to indicate that they were of funereal application, and that the demand was greater than the supply. Yet the eggs of smaller birds, imitated in that material, have also been found in this necropolis. *Ann. Inst.* 1843, p. 351. We know that the eggs of the ostrich were sometimes used as vases by the ancients. *Plin. X. 1.* Hens' eggs are often found in tombs, not only in Etruria, but in Greece and her colonies in Magna Græcia, and are sometimes inclosed in vases. In a tumulus in the territory of Kertch-Emikolski, in the Crimea, on the site of an ancient Greek colony, a silver vase was found, containing two eggs, which fell to pieces on being touched. *Ann. Inst.* 1840, p. 18. They are not always so fragile, for many museums in Italy contain specimens of this singular sepulchral furniture. Whether mere relics of the funeral feast, or intentionally left in the tomb with the wine, honey, milk, &c., as food for the Manes, or for some purely symbolical purpose, it is not easy to determine. The signification of fertility, ordinarily attached to eggs, can hardly apply to a sepulchre. The egg was more probably, in this case, an emblem of resurrection. It was used by both Greeks and Romans in lustrations. (*Lucian. Diog. et Poll.* p. 114, ed. Bourd.; *Juven. Sat. VI.* 518). By the latter people it was sometimes supposed to possess strange efficacy; for Livia Augusta, when pregnant with the Emperor Tiberius, in order

sphinxes, very like that on the walls of the Grotta Campana, at Veii;¹ four carved with figures in very low relief—griffons



EGYPTIAN VASE.



OSTRICH-EGG, PAINTED.

and other chimæras, or wild beasts fighting or devouring their prey; and the sixth with a warrior in his *biga*, attended by another chariot, and four horsemen, carved in the same manner on the shell. The eggs have holes in them, as if for suspension, and bring to mind the great rock's egg of the Arabian Nights; or, rather, recall the fact of ostrich-eggs being suspended in mosques at the present day. No less genuinely Egyptian are five vases of greenish ware, varnished, flat-sided like powder-flasks, and with hieroglyphics round the edge.² But three *alabastra*, terminating above in female busts, with hands on the bosoms, are imitations of Egyptian articles; so also are two unguent-pots, in the shape of small sitting figures of Isis,³ and a vase with many colours, which is unique in Etruscan pottery—

that her child might prove a male, hatched an egg in her own bosom. Plin. X. 76.

¹ See the woodcut above. The painting of these eggs is probably Etruscan, for the Egyptians did not represent the sphinx with wings.

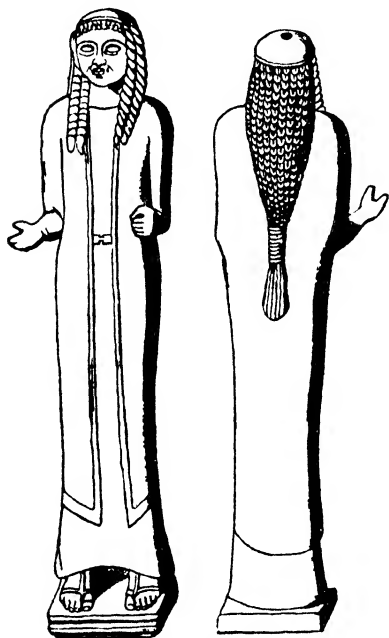
² One of these is shown in the woodcut above. The hieroglyphics have been deciphered. Bull. Inst. 1841, p. 111—Ungarelli. Vases of precisely similar character, found in Egyptian tombs, are to be seen in the British Museum.

³ A woodcut of one of these is given at the end of this chapter. It is about six inches high.

442 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

the ground being dark grey, and the figures black, red, blue, yellow, and white. So Egyptian-like are the chariots, and the procession of females painted on this vase, that the general observer would at once take it for an importation; yet the learned have pronounced it Egyptian only in character, and native in execution, though of most archaic style and early date.¹ Other vases were also found here, of somewhat similar style, but with less variety of colour, and less Egyptian in character.

The effigies of the two ladies differ in material, as well as taste. One is a full-length figure of marble, two feet nine inches high, clad in a long *chiton*, reaching to her feet, and over it a sort of dressing-gown open in front, and clasped



STATUE OF AN ETRUSCAN LADY.

at the waist, sandals on her feet, but no ornaments beyond those with which nature honoured her head—two long tresses being left on each side of her face to fall to her bosom, just such as are cherished now-a-days by misses in their teens; and her “back-hair” being braided into a number of tails, clubbed together at the end. What magic power may have lain in her eyes, we know not, as they have been taken from their sockets, probably being of some precious material. Nor can we compliment her on her form,

¹ Micali, *Mon. Ined.* p. 39, tav. IV. 1. But the myth here represented—Theseus and the Minotaur—is purely Hellenic.

which is stiff and masculine, though such may have passed for elegant among the daughters of Ham, to whom she bears a striking resemblance. The annexed woodcut gives a front and back view of this fair Etruscan.

If we cannot say of this lady, that

“ A very shower
Of beauty was her earthly dower,”

no more can we declare her companion to be—

“ A lovely lady, garmented with light
From her own beauty.”

She had her bust taken in bronze, and being of vainer mood than her fellow, and less modest withal, had it represented bare, taking care to put on her best necklace—and a gorgeous one it must have been, though in wretched taste, stiffening her neck like a warrior's gorget—and to have her hair carefully arranged and curled when she sat to the artist. And she seems to have had a broad gold frontlet, for such an ornament, embossed with figures, was found in the tomb. Then she affected modesty, and with a gilt bird on her hand, thought to make herself more engaging. Yet posterity, whom she intended to enchant, will hardly accord this Etruscan Lesbia credit for great charms; and will be apt to exclaim with Juvenal, denouncing bedizened dowagers—

Intolerabilius nihil est quam femina dives.

The pedestal is in keeping with the bust, being richly adorned with figures of lions, sphinxes, and chariots. The antiquity of this bust is proved, not only by its style, but by its workmanship; not being cast, but formed of thin plates of bronze, hammered into shape, and finished with the chisel—the earliest mode of Etruscan toreutics.¹

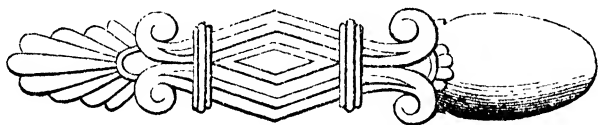
¹ The earliest works of the Greeks in bronze were probably so



BRONZE BUST OF AN
ETRUSCAN LADY.

444 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

In the same tomb were found two oblong bronze cars, on four wheels, and with a horse's fore-quarters springing from each angle. They must have been for fumigation, and may have been dragged about the tomb to dispel the effluvium, on the occasion of the funeral feast, or the annual *parentalia*, and were probably equivalent to the *focolari*, so common in the tombs of Chiusi. There were also found sundry quaint vessels in bronze, with some tripods and a lamp—all of mere funeral use, being too thin and fragile to have served domestic purposes—a spoon of bone, and some plates and vessels of alabaster, which were probably used at the funeral feast, and left as usual in the tomb together with an abundance of the green *paste*, of which the Egyptians made necklaces and bracelets to adorn their mummies.¹



SPOON OF BONE, FOUND IN THE ISIS TOMB.

On the painted pottery, found at Vulci, it were needless to expatiate. Every Museum in Europe proclaims its beauty, and, through it, the name of Vulci, never much noised in classic times, and well nigh forgotten for two thousand years, has become immortal, and acquired a wider renown than it ever possessed during the period of the city's existence. Vulci has none of the tall black ware with figures in relief, which is peculiar to Chiusi and its neighbourhood; but of painted vases there is every variety—from the earliest, quaintest efforts, through every grade of excellence, to the highest triumphs of Hellenic ceramo-

formed, for we know that the most ancient statue in bronze—that of Jupiter on the Acropolis of Sparta—was wrought in separate pieces, nailed together (Pausan. III. 17); and so on the revival of the arts in the 14th century of our era, says Micali (Mon. Ined. p. 52), the earliest statues in this material, as that of Boniface VIII. in Bologna, erected in 1301, were formed of plates.

¹ For an account of the articles in this tomb, see Bull. Inst. 1839, pp. 71-73—Urlichs; Micali, Mon. Ined. pp. 37-71, tav. IV.—VIII.; Ann. Inst. 1843, p. 350, *et seq.*—Braun; Bull. Inst. 1844, p. 105, *et seq.*—Braun.

graphic art. Of the early, so-called Doric, pottery, little is found at Vulci; nor of the Perfect style, which is predominant at Nola, is there so great an abundance here; the great mass of Vulcian vases being of the Attic style—of that severe and archaic design, which is always connected with black figures on a yellow ground.¹ The best vases of Vulci, in the chaste simplicity of their style, closely resemble those of Nola and Sicily; yet there are characteristic shades of difference, in form and design, which can be detected by a practised eye. On this site, more than on any other in Etruria, have been found those singular vases painted with eyes, so common also in Sicily, the meaning of which continues to perplex antiquaries. Specimens of them are given at the head of this and the following chapter—the former, a *kylix*, or drinking-bowl, in the possession of the Marquess of Northampton; the latter, a scene copied from an amphora in the British Museum.

To enter into further details of the vases of Vulci would be here unadvisable; for a description of them would be almost identical with that of the painted pottery of Etruria. It would not be too much to assert that nine-tenths of the Etruscan painted vases, that have been brought to light, are from this site. The extraordinary multitude of these vases,

¹ A comparison of the pottery found at Vulci and Tarquinii is greatly in favour of the former. The subjoined table shows the comparative percentage of each description of vases.

	Tarquinii.	Vulci.
Painted vases, with figures (<i>i. e.</i> the two best classes)	4	45
Painted vases, with animals, (<i>i. e.</i> the Egyptian style)	16	10
Painted vases, with mere ornaments	20	5
Plain, uncoloured ware	10	2
Black ware, with reliefs	1	4
Ditto, varnished	5	—
Ditto, unvarnished	44	34
	100	100

The average produce of excavations on this site is said to be thirty times greater than at Tarquinii. At Vulci virgin-tombs are to the rest as 1 to 90. In eight months of excavation, Fossati found but three intact, containing painted vases, though more than twenty with ordinary black ware. Ann. Inst. 1829, p. 128.

The painted vases of Vulci are considered to belong to a period not earlier than the 74th Olympiad (484 B.C.), nor later than the 124th (284 B.C.), or between the third and fifth centuries of Rome—an opinion founded on the forms of the vases, the subjects represented, and on palæographic evidences. Gerhard, Bull. Inst. 1831, p. 167.

446 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

bearing Greek subjects, of Greek design, and with Greek inscriptions—the names of the potter and painter being also recorded as Greeks—has suggested the idea that Vulci must have been a Greek colony,¹ or that a portion of its inhabitants were of that nation, living in a state of isopolity with the Etruscans.² But these views are opposed by the fact that nothing found on this site, but the painted vases, is Greek; the tombs and all their other contents are unequivocally Etruscan. On this site it is that the very few vases, bearing Etruscan inscriptions and subjects, have been found.³

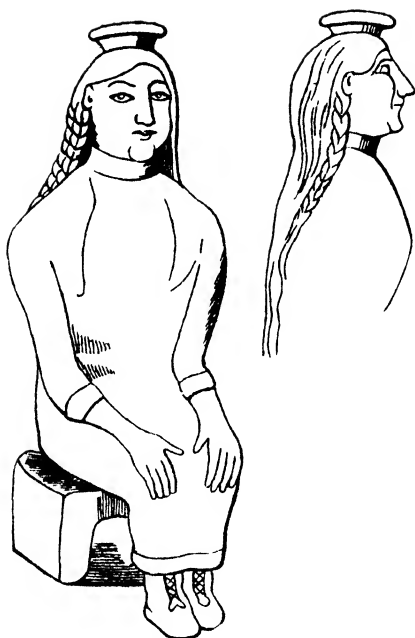
Although thousands on thousands of painted vases have been redeemed from oblivion, this cemetery still yields a richer harvest than any other in Etruria. No site has been so well worked by the excavator—none has so well repaid him; yet it seems far from exhausted. Nor is it rich in vases alone. Bronzes of various descriptions, mirrors with beautiful designs, vessels, tripods, *candelabra*, weapons—are proportionally abundant, and maintain the same relative excellence to the pottery. That exquisite *cista*, or casket, with a relief of a combat between Greeks and Amazons, now in the Gregorian Museum, and which yields not in beauty to any one of those very rare relics of ancient taste and genius, was found at Vulci. No site yields more superb and delicate articles in gold and jewellery—as the Cabinets of the Vatican, and of Cavaliere Campana can testify; none more numerous relics in bone—spoons, needles, dice, to wit—or more beautiful specimens of variegated glass.⁴

¹ Gerhard, *Ann. Inst.* 1831, pp. 106, 107. He subsequently (*Bull. Inst.* 1832, pp. 76, 78) rejected this hypothesis in favour of that of an isopolity of Greeks and Etruscans. Welcker (cited in *Ann. Inst.* 1834, pp. 43, 285) thinks this colony was one of potters, living as a separate body for ages, preserving their peculiarities of religion and rites.

² *Ann. Inst.* 1834, p. 45.

³ The fullest account of the vases of Vulci will be found in Gerhard's "Rapporto Vulcente," *Ann. Inst.* 1831. See also some admirable papers, by Chev. Bunsen, *Ann. Inst.* 1834, pp. 40–86. Opinions of Müller, Boeckh, Panofka, and Gerhard, on various points connected with this subject will also be found in *Bull. Inst.* 1832, pp. 65–104. But every work on ancient vases, that has appeared during the last twenty years, treats more or less of the pottery of Vulci.

⁴ For notices of some of the beautiful works in bronze and jewellery found on this site, see the records of the Institute. *Ann. Inst.* 1834, pp. 243–264; 1842, pp. 62–67; *Bull. Inst.* 1834, p. 10; 1835, p. 120; 1836, p. 145; p. 169; 1837, p. 130; 1839, p. 72; 1840, pp. 49–60; p. 123.



UNGUENT-POT IN THE FORM OF ISIS.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXI

NOTE.—THE PAINTED TOMB AT VULCI.

THIS tomb, when opened, was in a very dilapidated state: much of the surface of the wall had fallen, and the external air speedily affected the remainder. Signor Campanari, who discovered the tomb, made an attempt to detach the fast perishing painting from the damp, crumbling walls; but, at the very commencement of the process, the stucco, rotted by the humidity of twenty centuries, gave way, and the painting fell in pieces at his feet. He had previously, however, had a copy made of it, which is now in the British Museum, in the "Bronze Room," on the right-hand wall; and engravings of the same have been published in *Mon. Ined. Instit.* II. tav. 53, 54. Descriptions have also been written in *Bull. Inst.* 1833, pp. 77-80—Kestner; *Ann. Inst.* 1838, pp. 249-252—Sec. Campanari. From these sources I obtain the following description.

448 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

On the outer wall of the tomb, on one side of the door, stood the figure of Charun, or, as the inscription attached styles him, "CHARU," with hideous visage, leaning on his hammer, and placed there as guardian of the sepulchre. Within, on the inner or opposite wall, sat, on an elegant curule chair or throne, a king in Tyrian purple, with crown on his head, and long sceptre in his hand, tipped by a lotus-flower. Before him stood his queen, in long *chiton* or tunic, mantle, and veil. This pair is, with great probability, supposed to represent the king and queen of Hades, Pluto and Prosperine, or, as the Etruscans called them, "Mantus and Mania." Behind the throne stood three draped male figures, whose venerable aspect seemed to mark them as the three judges of the dead—Minos, Æacus, and Rhadamanthus. On either hand was a procession of figures, of both sexes, going towards the throne, who are supposed to be souls proceeding to judgment; but there was nothing in dress, appearance, or attributes, to mark them as of the lower world. The group on each side the throne was very similar; in fact, it has been considered the same family—in one case going to judgment, in the other entering the abodes of the blessed. But this was not clearly set forth. The figures were as large as life, except Charun, who was but half the size.

The style of art was more modern than in any of the tombs of Tarquinii, not even excepting those of the Cardinal and Pompeys. These figures were quite Roman in character, and could hardly be earlier than the frescoes of Pompeii, which they resembled in freedom of design, truth and nature of the attitudes, and mastery over those difficulties which in every land attend the early stages of art. Yet the Charun who stood sentinel over this tomb was in a very different and far earlier style, with all the conventional quaintness of the Etruscan pencil. So that while he determined the Etruscan and early origin of this sepulchre, the other figures proved it to have been used in the days of Roman domination. Another feature of late date was a massive column of *peperino*, supporting the ceiling in the centre, and with a remarkable capital of the composite order, having heads, male and female, between the volutes. Signor Campanari removed this to Toscanella, where it is still to be seen in his garden, (see the engraving at page 469,) and a copy of it in wood is placed in the British Museum.

This sepulchre seems to represent the lower world,—Charun mounts guard at the entrance, the king of Hades sits on his throne within; but the absence of Furies, or of Genii and Junones, essentially distinguish this from the infernal scenes in the Pompey and Cardinal tombs of Tarquinii. The absence of the characteristic features of the Etruscan mythology, may perhaps be accounted for by regarding these paintings as the sepulchral decorations of some Roman colonist of Vulci—a view favoured by the style of art.



SCENE FROM AN AMPHORA FOUND AT VULCI.

CHAPTER XXII

MUSIGNANO

Magni stat nominis umbra.—LUCAN.

Quicquid sub terrâ est in apricum proferet ætas.—HORAT.

THREE or four days may be pleasantly spent at Vulci, in exploring the neighbourhood and watching the progress of the excavations; returning every evening to Montalto, to secure the two greatest bye-road luxuries in Italy—a decent dinner and a flealess bed. Let no one conceive that he may pernoctate at the Ponte della Badia with impunity. My fellow-traveller, on a previous visit to Vulci, had been induced to take up his quarters for the night in the guard-room of the castle, where the soldiers did their best to accommodate him; but he was presently attacked in his camp by legions of sharp-shooters, sure of aim and swift of foot—who compelled him, sighing for the skin of Achilles, to beat a precipitate retreat and take up a position in the court-yard of the castle—*sub Jove frigido*—for the rest of the night. As the nearest resting-places are Montalto and Canino, both seven or eight miles distant, and as in the latter village the traveller will find but an *hospitium miserabile*, with a slight diminution of the said annoyances, his better plan is to drive back nightly to Montalto, Cesarini, and comfort.

Let the traveller also provide himself at the inn with such cold viands as he may, for the sustenance of his inner man during these day-long excursions. Not a mouthful will he otherwise procure for love or money; and a keen appetite, be it remembered, is the perquisite of hunters of antiquities and the picturesque, in common with their brethren in

450 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

quest of ignobler game. With what relish, when the hour of twelve arrived, were we wont to throw our portfolios aside, and reclining in Etruscan fashion on our elbows, fall to an humble banquet of hard-boiled eggs, cold chicken, or cutlets, basking all the while "in the blue noon divine!" and we would pledge one another in draughts from the Fiora, with as much gusto as ever prince or Lucumo emptied his *patera* of choice Graviscan or Caritan, or as luxurious Roman quaffed

"His wines of Setia, Cales, and Falerne,
Chios or Crete."

The even tenour of our life at Vulci was on one such occasion agreeably diversified. We were stretched on the grass beneath the colossal bridge, when we were surprised by a party of visitors. Any such interruption would have astonished us on this secluded spot, where we had hitherto seen no signs of life beyond the half-dozen *doganieri* on duty, and, very rarely, a drover passing with his herd. A couple of ladies, therefore, in riding-habits—a sight to stare at even in the great cities of Italy—raised our amazement to the utmost. They were escorted by a party of gentlemen in the height of Roman fashion, foremost of whom was a high dignitary of the church, in unmistakable costume, with a pair of footmen in patch-work liveries at his heels. Our interest in the party increased when we learned that the ladies were daughters of Lucien Bonaparte, and we thought to trace in their handsome and mirthful faces the features of their Imperial uncle. They had ridden over from Musignano to do the honours of the bridge—of their bridge—to their friend, the Monsignore, and presently retraced their steps and left the scene to its usual loneliness and silence.

Among the *videnda* of this neighbourhood, Musignano, the villa of the late Prince of Canino, and the residence of his widow, claims a visit from the traveller. An introduction is of course necessary. This our worthy friend Carlo Avvolta of Corneto had supplied us with, in the shape of a note to the Padre Maurizio, the Princess's chaplain, which in case of his absence was to be available for us to the Princess herself.

Our road thither from Vulci lay across the plain, a treeless expanse of pasture or corn-land, till we approached the

hills at whose foot lay the villa, embosomed in dense groves. These hills, called Monti di Canino, rise nearly 1500 feet above the sea, an isolated limestone mass in the midst of the volcanic plain—an inferior and tamer Soracte. As it was late in the day we passed the villa, and continued to Canino two or three miles further. This village, which gives its name to the principality, is of considerable size, the abode chiefly of those employed in the iron-foundries in the neighbourhood. It is built on the verge of a ravine, which bears in its cliffs traces of tombs, leaving little doubt that here stood an Etruscan town, whose name has long been forgotten. The only accommodation for the traveller is in a miserable hovel, assuming the title of “Locanda,” the resort of carriers and iron-smelters, where, in the midst of a thousand discomforts, we were fain to pass the night.¹ In the morning we drove back to Musignano.

The villa is a very plain building, with no pretensions to external magnificence, very unlike the *palazzo* of an Italian prince. It was originally an abbey, giving its name—La Badia—to the famous bridge, and it retains much of a gloomy monastic air ; or, were it in England, it would pass for a mad-house. The ponderous gateway is flanked by Etruscan lions and griffons in stone, and in the quadrangle within are several similar objects of antiquity—relics from the Cucumella. We were disappointed of finding the Padre Maurizio within, but were fortunate enough to meet with a substitute in Signore Valentini, the son-in-law of the Princess, who received us courteously, and showed us what vases and other relics the Princess’s cabinet at that time contained. Few of the treasures of this unrivalled mine of Etruscan wealth are retained on the spot. The finest vases are bought by the Pope for the Gregorian Museum, or find their way into foreign countries, for the Princess has agents in many of the capitals of Europe ; and the richest and rarest articles of gold and jewellery find ready purchasers in the Cavaliere Campana, and a few other kindred collectors

¹ Let me caution the traveller against passing the night at Canino. By leaving Montalto early in the day, he will have ample time to visit Musignano, and return the same night, or to push on to Toscanella—the next site of Etruscan interest. In the latter case, let him, on alighting at Musignano, send his vehicle on to Canino to bait the horses, and he can follow on foot at his leisure. It is a pleasant walk through the grounds.

452 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

of antique treasures. Thus, while the glories of Vulcian art adorn so many of the public and private museums of Europe—scarcely a ray brightens the spot where they arose.

The few vases in the Princess's cabinet were such as could not find a ready sale on account of their imperfect state. Most of this pottery had been found in fragments, and had been cemented together by an artist in the pay of the Princess. Articles thus restored are not unsaleable, nor indeed materially lessened in value, if the paintings themselves be not injured; and even when these are imperfect, if the part deficient be not so large as to destroy the whole beauty and meaning of the subject; or if it be such as may be easily restored by a skilful pencil, the vase will not be greatly depreciated. Articles in a very imperfect state will sometimes fetch enormous prices. The King of Bavaria, it is said, gave several thousands of crowns for a fragment of a *patera*; and has offered as much more for the missing portion, if it be discovered. So skilful are some of these restorers, that they will make imperfect vases pass for perfect, so as almost to deceive the best judges. The fractures are sometimes only to be detected by *aqua fortis*.

Several of these vases had the mysterious eyes painted on them, which are so often found on the pottery of Vulci; and a curious specimen of which is given in the woodcut at the head of this chapter, copied from an amphora in the British Museum.¹

The bronze articles in the cabinet, though not numerous, were in excellent preservation, and some of great beauty; indeed the bronzes of Vulci are inferior to none in elegance of form, and in the design and execution of their adorn-

¹ This scene is remarkable, inasmuch as the eyes are made to represent the winged bodies of monsters, conventionally called Sirens, though here of both sexes. Such Sirens are commonly supposed to be emblems of souls; but Micali (Ant. Pop. Ital. III. p. 129) regards them in this instance to be Bacchus and Libera, or the great infernal deities. Between them stands Apollo playing the lyre, with the hind at his feet; and behind them are Diana with her bow, and Mercury with his *petasus*, *caduceus* and *talaria*. On the other side of the amphora, the pair of human-headed, eye-bodied birds is repeated, but between them is the favourite subject of Peleus and Thetis (see Micali, loc. cit. tav. LXXXIV). Such eyes have been found in the form of panthers' heads. For further remarks on the eyed vases, see the Appendix, Note I.

ments. Here were some choice *candelabra*; figured *specula*, or mirrors, with mythological subjects; elegant

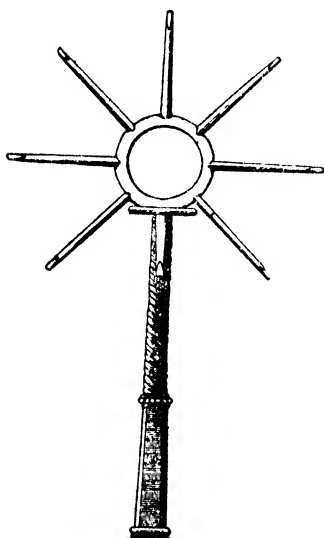


FIG. 1.

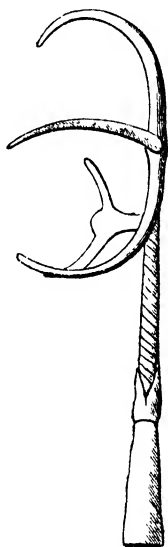


FIG. 2.

CREAGRÆ, OR FLESH-HOOKS.

bronze handles to cauldrons or to wooden furniture, which had long since perished; and several *creagræ*, or flesh-hooks, with six or eight long curved prongs, like grappling-irons, which have long puzzled modern sages.¹

¹ These hooks were at first supposed to be instruments of torture, with which the early Christians had their flesh torn from their bodies. But being frequently found in tombs purely Etruscan, that notion was repudiated; and it remains a question whether they were mere kitchen-utensils, or implements used in sacrifices, either for taking up or turning over the burnt flesh, as such instruments were employed by the Jews (1 Sam. ii. 13)—for offering the entrails to the divinity—or for putting out the fire by pieces of fat at the end of the prongs—or were employed at the funeral pyre for separating from the embers the ashes of the deceased. Bull. Inst. 1840, p. 59. There is no doubt that they are the *creagræ*—ἀπὸ τοῦ τὰ κρέα ἀγρεῦειν—referred to by Aristophanes (Equit. 768-9), and described by the Scholiast (ad locum) as culinary instruments; though also mentioned by the great comedian (Eccles. 994, Vesp. 1150), as serving more general purposes of grappling or

454 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

The cabinet of Egyptian articles, once to be seen at Musignano, has been removed to Rome, and is now in the possession of Dr. Braun.¹

As to the interior of this mansion, I may not satisfy curiosity further than to remark, that it was rather French than Italian, and that the drawing-room was hung with pictures—principally family portraits. There was Lucien himself at full length, the original of the well-known prints—his lady, who still survives him—and their handsome children, in family groups. There was the great Corsican in various periods of his career—the venerable Madame Letitia, whose remains lie at Corneto—her brother, the Cardinal—the beautiful Pauline—and all, or nearly all, the members of this renowned family. This portrait-gallery is alone worthy of a visit to Musignano.

The grounds attached to the villa are laid out in the English style; and the park-like scenery tempts the traveller to linger. Here, among the scattered sarcophagi, whose recumbent figures accord with the repose of the scenery, is one which arrests the attention. It bears a female figure, as large as life, rudely but boldly executed, not reclining as usual on her elbow, but stretched on her back, like the effigies on medieval monuments. The bas-relief below, displays one of those scenes of domestic bereavement, so frequently and touchingly represented on the Etruscan urns of Volterra and Chiusi. Two winged genii, ministers of

holding fast. It has been supposed, from the small ring to which the lower prong is often attached,—not clearly shown in the above woodcut, fig. 1,—that they may have served as torch-holders, especially as the handle proves them to have been generally attached to a pole of wood. But many are without this ring, and have a claw instead, as shown in fig. 2; besides, it would be difficult to account for the prongs at all on this supposition. From the prongs being sometimes blunted, it is argued that they were for mere show, and served no practical purpose. Yet in almost all those I have seen so blunted, it has been clear that this was not their original form, but that the prongs had been broken off. These *creagræ* were called by the Romans *harpagones*; and it must have been a similar instrument on a larger scale which was used for grappling ships, and was sometimes termed an “iron hand”—*ferrea manus*—(Liv. XXVI. 39; cf. XXX. 10. Flor. II. 2. Frontin. Strat. II. 3, 23. Lucan. III. 635. Dion Cass. XLIX. 3; L. 32, 34,) and figuratively “a wolf.” Hesych. *v.* λύκος. They are said to have been an invention of Pericles. Plin. VII. 57, ad fin.

¹ These articles have been described and illustrated in the last chapter, under the head of “Grotta d’Iside.”

death, whose office is betokened by the snakes twisted round their arms, have seized upon a young female¹—the same probably whose effigy reclines on the lid—and are about to lead her away, when a majestic figure, her father it must be, interposes, and with outstretched hands seems imploring them to release her; while her mother, with younger children in her arms and at her side, looks on in motionless woe. On one side of this group, but in a separate compartment, stands a winged Charun, resting on his oar, as if awaiting the coming of the spirit; and at the other side stands a similar figure with hammer uplifted, ready to strike the fatal blow.² At each end of the sarcophagus is a winged griffon—a Bacchic emblem, intended at the same time as a figurative guardian of the sarcophagus.

Two other sarcophagi of singular interest were recently to be seen at Musignano, and are described in the Appendix to this Chapter.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXII

NOTE I.—EYES ON THE PAINTED VASES.

THE meaning of these eyes on the painted vases has not been satisfactorily determined. They are generally termed “mystic,” and they are at least mysterious. They are found not only on vases of undoubted Greek origin, as on those of Nola, Sicily, and Adria, but are also often scratched on the black relieved ware of Chiusi and Sarteano, which has every evidence of a purely Etruscan character. It has been thought that they have a Bacchic import—an opinion which finds support in the figures or subjects with which they are often connected; such as vine or ivy branches—bunches of grapes—the god of wine himself standing, goblet in hand, between the eyes, or his head alone in that position—Fauns and Menades dancing—Silenus on his ass—Gorgons’ heads, which are symbols of the infernal Bacchus—or subjects bearing reference to some one or other of the attributes and character of this great divinity of the ancients. They have been found also in the form of panthers’ heads.

¹ Micali, who has described this sarcophagus (*Mon. Ined.* p. 303), is in error when he represents the two genii as “the good and bad demons, distinguished by their attributes—those of the latter being two serpents;” for the other genius also holds a serpent; as shown in his plate of the monument (*tav. XLVIII. 1*).

² Dr. Braun (*Ann. Inst.* 1843, p. 365) calls both these figures, Charun.

456 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

The Bacchic nature of the scene in the woodcut at page 449, and the relation of Mercury, Apollo, and Diana to Dionysus, are set forth by Micali (Ant. Pop. Ital. III. p. 129). But the subject is sometimes such as cannot easily be interpreted as Bacchic—as, warriors, represented singly or in combat, on horseback or in chariots—the deeds of Hercules, or other Greek myths—chimæras—Pegasi—athletes, or *athletæ* exercising—Furies, or other winged deities, as shown in the woodcut at the head of the last chapter, page 420.

There is some plausibility in the opinion that these eyes were charms against the evil eye, in which the ancients believed as strongly as the modern southrons of Europe. We know that the Gorgonion was supposed to have the power of averting evil (Lucian. Philopatris, p. 1120, ed. Bourdel.), and these eyes may be those of Gorgons, for they are evidently intended to represent a face, the other features being even sometimes introduced. Micali opines that the eyed vases were *δῶρα ὀπτηρία*—presents made by the bridegroom on seeing his bride unveiled (Mon. Ined. p. 268).

The introduction of eyes in such cases may perhaps be more satisfactorily accounted for by the resemblance and relation of vases to boats. The presence of eyes on the bows of ancient vessels, perhaps originating in the fancied analogy with fish, is well known. The names of several sorts of goblets—such as *σκύφος*, *σκάφη*, *κύμβη*, *κύπελλον*, *καρχήσιον*, *ἑκατος*, *ἀκάτιον*—are common to them with vessels; and it is on vases of this description that eyes are most frequently painted. This analogy between boats and cups is greatly confirmed by the fables of Hercules crossing the sea to Spain in a goblet (Apollod. II. p. 100, ed. 1599; Athen. XI. p. 469; Macrob. Saturn. V. 21)—the prototype of St. Raymund.

NOTE II.—SINGULAR SARCOPHAGI.

These two sarcophagi were found at Vulci, in the winter of 1845-6, and thence transported to Musignano. They are about seven feet in length. One is of a material very unusual in this part of Etruria—alabaster—whether from Volterra, or from the Circæan promontory, I cannot say, not having seen the monuments. It bears on its lid not a single figure, but a pair, a wedded pair, clasped in each other's arms—

gremio jacuit nova nupta mariti—

lying half-draped in that loving posture, described in the Canticles—"His left hand is under my head, and his right hand doth embrace me." Satisfactory, doubtless, to their Manes was this petrification of their conjugal fondness, but posterity could have taken it for granted—*ciò s' intende bene*. This most unusual attitude seems to hint at some tragical event that cut down both

at one stroke. The relief below represents, as if for contrast, a combat between Greeks and Amazons ; and at the ends of the monument are lions and griffons devouring cattle.

The other sarcophagus is of *peperino*, and bears a similar pair on its lid. Its relief is in a superior style of art. In the centre is a matronly female, embracing and perhaps taking leave of a youth. Other figures stand on either side. Behind this female is another, bearing a *hydria* on her head, and a *cantharus* in her hand ; a third with a large fan (*πίπτε*—*flabellum*), exactly like the Indian fans of the present day ; and a fourth with lyre and *plectrum*. Behind the youth stands a male with a folding-stool (*ὀκλαδίας*—*plicatilis*) ; another with a *lituus* or augur's wand ; a third with a trumpet ; and a female flute-player with double-pipes and a chaplet. At one end of the monument is a fond couple drawn in a *biga*, and in the act of embracing, which suggests, even more strongly than the recumbent figures on the lid, that the deceased pair were cut off at once ; for the chariot indicates the passage to the other world, while the fatal event is also symbolized by an accompanying Fate or Fury with snakes wound round her arms. At each end of the lid are three female heads, set in flowers.

These sarcophagi, I am told, have just been purchased by the Papal Government for the Gregorian Museum, for about £350.



THE SARCOPHAGUS OF THE NIOBIDS.

CHAPTER XXIII

TOSCANELLA.—*TUSCANIA*

Vedemo Toscanella tanto anticha
 Quanto alcun altra de questo paese.
 FACCIO DEGLI UBERTI.

ABOUT nine or ten miles to the east of Canino lies Toscanella, an Etruscan site of considerable interest. It may be reached in a carriage, either from Viterbo, Corneto, or Canino. This part of the great plain is diversified by oak-woods, which afford a pleasing contrast to the naked sweeps nearer the sea and the Ciminian Mount. Toscanella, with its many lofty towers, is the most conspicuous object in the thinly-peopled plain, and may be descried from a great distance. Yet it stands on no eminence, but as usual on the level of the plain, nearly surrounded by profound ravines. It is a mean, dirty town; and its interest lies in its picturesque situation, its Etruscan remains, and its churches, which are choice specimens of the Lombard style. Here and there in the streets is a rich fragment of medieval architecture. The walls of the town are of the same period; no trace of the ancient fortifications remain, except on the adjoining height of San Pietro.

In such a bye-road town as this, it were folly to expect a good inn. On my first visit to Toscanella, I procured tolerable accommodation in the house of a butcher, where I had the advantage of being next door to the residence of the Campanari, whose names are known throughout Europe, wherever a love of Etruscan antiquities has penetrated. Latterly an inn has been opened near the Viterbo gate, and is kept by Filippo Pandolfini, who will serve the traveller with a clean bed and decent meal.

It may be well to introduce the reader to the brothers Campanari, of whom I have occasion to make frequent mention.

Signor Carlo, the eldest, is well known in England by his collection of Etruscan antiquities which he exhibited in London some ten years since, and great part of which was eventually purchased by the British Museum. For many years he has been the active director of excavations, which he commenced in conjunction with his late father, Signor Vincenzo, also an ardent labourer in Etruscan fields. Signor Carlo still yearly carries forward his researches on one site or other of ancient greatness, and much has the world benefited by his patient and persevering labours, and the light they have thrown on the history, customs, and inner life of the Etruscans. To him must I also take this opportunity of rendering my personal tribute of respect and gratitude for his courtesy, and his kind readiness to impart the results of his long experience. Signor Secondiano does not take so active a part in excavating as his elder brother, but devotes his attention to a critical examination of Etruscan monuments; and many valuable papers has he published, principally in the records of the Archæological Institute. Signor Domenico, the youngest brother, resides in London, and acts as the agent for the Institute in England, as well as for the sale of the articles transmitted by his brothers. Thus, in this fraternal triumvirate, the old adage is verified:

Tre fratelli—
Tre castelli.

Besides their society, which must always render Toscanella a place of interest to the antiquary, these gentlemen have many things rich and rare, the produce of their *scavi*, to offer to the traveller's notice. Their house is a museum

*



CAMPANARI'S GARDEN, TOSCANELLA.

of Etruscan antiquities. The most valuable and portable articles soon pass from their hands ; and I shall therefore confine my description to the more stationary monuments. In the vestibule are several stone sarcophagi with figures reclining on the lids ; and sundry bas-reliefs in *terra-cotta* are imbedded in the walls. The garden is a most singular place. You seem transported to some scene of Arabian romance, where the people are all turned to stone, or lie spell-bound, awaiting the touch of a magician's wand to restore them to life and activity. All round the garden, under the close-embowering shade of trellised vines, beneath the drooping boughs of the weeping willow, the rosy bloom of the oleander, or the golden fruit of the orange and citron, forming in fact the borders to the flower-beds—there they lie—Lucumones of aristocratic dignity—portly matrons, bedecked with jewels—stout youths, and graceful maidens—reclining on the lids of their coffins, or rather on their festive couches—meeting with fixed stony stare the astonishment of the stranger, yet with a distinct individuality of feature and expression, and so life-like withal, that “ like Pygmalion's statue waking ” each seems to be on the point of warming into existence. Lions, sphinxes, and chimæras dire, in stone, stand among them, as guardians of the place ; and many a figure of quaint character and petrified life, looks down on you from the vine-shaded terraces, high above the walls of the garden. It is as strange a place as may well be conceived, and a lonely walk here by moonlight would try weak nerves and lively imaginations.

In the garden wall is a doorway of Etruscan form and moulding, surmounted by a cornice which bears the formula “ ECASUTHINESL ” in Etruscan characters—all taken from some tomb of Signor Campanari's excavation. The door opens into what seems an Etruscan sepulchre, but is really a cavern formed in imitation of the said tomb, and filled with the identical sarcophagi and other articles found therein, and arranged pretty nearly as they were discovered. It is a spacious vaulted chamber, and contains ten sarcophagi—a family group—each individual reclining in effigy on his own coffin. It is a banqueting-hall of the dead ; for they lie here in festive attitude and attire, yet in utter silence and gloom, each with a goblet in his hand, from which he seems to be pledging his fellows. This

462 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

solemn carousal, this mockery of mirth, reminded me of that wild blood-curdling song of Procter's—

“ King Death was a rare old fellow—
He sat where no sun could shine ;
And he lifted his hand so yellow
And poured out his coal-black wine !
Hurrah ! hurrah !
Hurrah for the coal-black wine ! ”

In truth, this frozen banquet is not a little startling at first ; and he must be of stern stuff whose fancy is not stirred by these “ figures that gloomily glare,”

“ As seen by the dying lamp's fitful light,
Lifeless, but life-like, and awful to sight,
They seem, through the dimness, about to come down
From the shadowy wall where their images frown.”

The figures on Etruscan sarcophagi and urns are, with very few exceptions, represented as at a banquet—generally with *patera* in hand,¹ but the females have sometimes an egg, or piece of fruit instead, as on the walls of the painted tombs ; sometimes tablets ; or a fan of leaf-like form, like our own Indian fans ; or it may be a mirror, which with their rich attire and decorations shows the ruling passion strong in death. In a few instances I have seen a bird in the fair one's hand—*passer, deliciæ puellæ*. The men are generally but half-draped,² and have torques about their necks—

Flexilis obtorti per collum it circulus auri—

or the long breast-garlands worked round with wool, which were worn by Greeks and Romans.³ The females have sometimes torques, sometimes necklaces, long earrings of singular form, and bracelets, and both sexes have often many rings on their fingers—*censu opimo digitos onerando*—a custom which Rome, it is said, derived from Etruria.⁴

¹ Inghirami always regarded this *patera* as for libations ; and so also Micali (Mon. Ined. p. 311). It may be so as far as libations were connected with banquets, but the primary meaning of it here is evidently festive.

² Inghirami (Mon. Etrus. II. p. 628) thinks that this nudity is indicative of apotheosis.

³ See Chapter XVIII. page 391.

⁴ Flor. I. 5. Livy (I. 11) and Dionysius (II. p. 105) ascribe the use of rings in very early times to the Sabines. Pliny, however, asserts that

The Etruscans, indeed, seem to have had quite an oriental passion for jewellery—a passion which was shared by the Romans,¹ and has been transmitted to their modern representatives, as a Sunday's walk on the Corso will abundantly testify. These figures all rest on their left elbow, supported by cushions, and the sarcophagi beneath them are often hewn to imitate couches. Thus, as in the painted tombs, they are represented in the height of social enjoyment, to

the custom of wearing rings was derived from the Greeks. He adds, that none of the statues of the early kings, save those of Numa and S. Tullius, were represented with them, not even those of the Tarquins (XXXIII. 4, 6), at which he greatly marvels. It is probable that the custom was introduced into either Greece or Etruria from the East. We learn from these sepulchral statues that rings were usually worn by the Etruscans, as by the Greeks and Romans, on the fourth finger of the left hand (A. Geil. X. 10; Macrob. Saturn. VII. 13; Isidor. Orig. XIX. 32); the reason of which is said to be, that the Egyptians had discovered by dissection, that a certain nerve—Isidore says a vein—led from that finger to the heart; and that digit was singled out for distinction accordingly. Ateius Capito (ap. Macrob. loc. cit.) gives a more plausible reason.

¹ In early times the Romans emulated Spartan severity, and wore iron rings for signets. It was long ere the senators circled their fingers with gold. Iron was emphatically the metal of the stern Romans of old, and it was a sense of the degeneracy induced by luxury that made Pliny (loc. cit.) exclaim:—"His was the greatest crime in life, who first arrayed his fingers in gold." Even Marius in his triumph over Jugurtha, though an Etruscan crown of gold was held over his head from behind, wore a ring of mere iron; and a similar ring, as Pliny remarks, was probably on the hand of the conqueror, and of the slave who held the crown. At first it was disgraceful for a man to wear more than one ring, and women wore none, except what a virgin received from her betrothed, and she might wear two gold ones. Isid. Orig. loc. cit. But, in after times, with the excess of luxury, the Romans used not only to wear a ring on every finger (Mart. V. epig. 6, 5), but many on each joint (Mart. V. epig. 11); and to cover their hands with them, so that Quintilian (XI. 3) was obliged to caution would-be orators on this subject. Martial (XI. epig. 59) speaks of a man who wore six on every finger! and recommends another, who had one of a monstrous size, to wear it on his leg instead of his hand (XI. epig. 37). To such extravagant effeminacy was this habit carried, that even slaves, like Crispinus, had a different set of rings for summer and for winter, those for the latter season being too heavy for hot weather. Juven. Sat. I. 28:—

Ventilet æstivum digitis sudantibus aurum,
Nec sufferre queat majoris pondera gemmæ.

Well might Juvenal add—

Difficile est satiram non scribere.

464 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

symbolize the bliss on which their spirits had entered;¹ or it may be to describe their actual pursuits in another world; and these effigies may image forth not the men but their *manes*, at the revels in which they were believed to indulge.

Pallida lætatur regio, gentesque sepultæ
Luxuriant, epulisque vacant genialibus umbræ.
Grata coronati peragunt convivia Manes.²

These figures are of *nenfro*, coarsely executed, yet bold and full of character, and all are manifestly portraits. The flesh was originally painted a deep red—the hue of beatification—their drapery purple, blue, yellow, or white, and their ornaments yellow, to represent gold; even the differences of complexion were marked, some having the true cerulean hue, and others, like Horace's Lycus,

—nigris oculis nigroque
Crine decori.

This varied colouring, which is said to have been completely preserved at the time of their discovery, is now exchanged, in those which lie in the garden, for an uniform weather-staining of green.³

The principal figure in the tomb is the patriarch of his race, whose name is set forth as “VIPINANAS VELTHUR VELTHURUS AVILS LXV.” which would be Latinized by “Vibenna Voltur Volturius (Veturius?), vixit annos LXV.”⁴ Then there is a matron, some twenty years younger, probably his wife, with features worthy of a Cornelia; and various juniors of the family, among whom notice a foppish youth of twenty, with twisted torque about his neck, his hair bound with a fillet, and the effects of early indulgence visible in his bloated frame; and do not overlook his

¹ This is probably the conventional mode of expressing apotheosis. Thus, Horace (Od. III. 3, 11) represents Augustus, though living, as a demigod, reclining with Pollux and Hercules:—

Quos inter Augustus recumbens
Purpureo bibit ore nectar.

² Claudian. Rapt. Proserp. II. 326.

³ Bull. Inst. 1839, p. 24. One figure is said to have been painted black, and to have negro's features.

⁴ This repetition of the name with an addition is not unique. It is found also on an urn at Perugia—“*Is Varna Varnas Ateial*.” Vermigl. Sepolcro de' Volunni, p. 52. So occasionally in Roman names—*L. Sextius Sextinus*—*Quintus, Quinctius Cincinnatus*.

sister, a pretty girl of fourteen, nor another sweet damsel with Grecian features. Verily, if these be faithful portraits, Italian beauty has not improved in the last three or four and twenty centuries; and the Etruscan fair possessed other charms than such as Tanaquil or Begoë exerted.¹

The walls of the tomb are hung with vases, jugs, goblets, of bronze as well as earthenware, while tall amphoræ, and full-bellied jars of unglazed clay, with a rabble rout of pots and pans, and sundry bronze *candelabra*, strigils, flesh-hooks—lie about in glorious confusion.

In the centre of the chamber is a lidless sarcophagus, with a relief of a human sacrifice—a subject rarely met with on Etruscan monuments. Among the crumbled remains of the corpse were fragments of armour, and the jawbone of a horse.

Though these sarcophagi are so numerous on the Campanari's premises, I was surprised to hear that the greater part came from a single tomb. It was opened in 1839, in a neighbouring olive-ground, called Il Calcarello, and contained no less than twenty-seven of these large sarcophagi; those of the women forming a circle in the centre, and those of their lords arranged in a larger circuit around. The ceiling of the tomb had fallen in, though supported by three columns, which were not able to uphold the weight of a superincumbent pavement of large rectangular blocks. On this pavement lay a flat circular stone, like a solid wheel or thin millstone, with an Etruscan inscription round its edge, showing it to be the *cippus*, or tombstone to the sepulchre. Its singularity has secured it a place in the Campanari's garden.²

¹ The beauty of the Etruscan women is attested by Theopompus (ap. Athen. XII. c. 3). Begoë was an Etruscan nymph, who wrote on the *Ars Fulguritarum*, or art of divination from things struck by lightning, and her books were preserved at Rome, in the Temple of Apollo (Serv. ad *Æn.* VI. 72). Lactantius ad Stat. Theb. IV. 516) speaks of an Etruscan nymph, who performed such feats as would have made Sullivan the Whisperer stare with astonishment. She whispered the dread name of God into the ear of a bull, and he fell dead at her feet. This nymph Müller (Etrusk. III. 4, 2) thinks was no other than Begoë. Gerhard (Gottheiten der Etrusker, p. 44) suggests the same. Tanaquil's powers of divination are well known. Liv. I. 34; Arnob. adv. Nat. V. 18; Claudian. Laus Serenæ, 16. Her magic zone, with its amulet properties, is mentioned by Festus, v. Prædia.

² See the woodcut at page 469. This disc-like *cippus* recalls to mind

466 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

One of these *nenfro* sarcophagi is among the finest I have seen executed in this coarse material.¹ On the lid lies a man of middle age, a true *obesus Etruscus—turgidus epulis*—with “fair round belly with good capon lined,” reclining, half-draped, on the festive couch. His face, as usual with these sepulchral effigies, has so much individuality of character, that none can doubt its being a portrait. A striking face it is, too,—with commanding brow, large aquiline nose, mouth speaking intelligence and decision, though somewhat sensual withal, and an air of dignity about the whole countenance, marking him as an aristocrat—one of the *Patres Conscripti* of Tuscania. No inscription sets forth his name, pedigree or age.

His sarcophagus bears a bas-relief of the slaughter of the Niobids. At each end sits one of the avenging deities, speeding the fatal arrows. In the centre of the group stands a bearded man, in tunic and buskins, perhaps Tantalus the father, but more probably Amphion the husband of Niobe; and at his side stands the fond mother herself, “all tears,” vainly seeking to shelter her children with her garments,—

Totâ veste tegens, Unam, minimamque relinque !
De multis minimam posco, clamavit, et unam !

She is not represented, according to the received version—

Tra sette e sette suoi figliuoli spenti,

for their number is here but six, three of each sex, which is at variance with all the Greek and Latin authors who have recorded the myth;² indeed, it is rarely that the Etruscan the stone laid on the tumulus of Phocus in Ægina, with which Peleus, according to the legend, using it as a *discus*, struck Phocus and slew him. Pausan. II. 29.

The inscription on this *cippus* is ECA. SVthI. LARTHIAL. TAR S. SACNIV. The fourth word, which is the gentilitial name, was most probably “Tarchnas,” or Tarquinius, for there is just space sufficient for the missing letters. This seems to indicate the existence of a branch of the Tarquin family at Tuscania, as well as at Cære, where their tomb has recently been discovered. See Bull. Inst. 1847, pp. 55–60.

¹ An illustration of it is given in the woodcut at the head of this chapter; but the bas-relief is in a much better style of art than is there exhibited. The monument is about 7 feet in length.

² Lasus (ap. Ælian. V. H. XII. c. 36), Apollodorus (III. 5, 6), Ovid (Met. VI. 182), and Hyginus (Fab. IX. XI.), give her seven children

monumental versions of well-known traditions agree in every particular with those recorded by classic writers. At one end of the sarcophagus is a Centaur contending with two Lapithæ, and at the other, Achilles is dragging the corpse of Hector round the walls of Troy ; but instead of the body being attached to the chariot by the heels, as Homer represents it, it is here fastened by the neck—a further instance of discrepancy between Greek and Etruscan traditions.¹ The style of art marks this sarcophagus as of no very early date. It is probably of the time of Roman domination, perhaps even as late as the Empire.²

There is good reason for believing that the sarcophagi were not in general made expressly for the individual whose remains they inclose, as the lids must have been. From the symbolical or mythological character of the subjects in the bas-reliefs, which rarely bear any apparent reference to the individual interred, and from the frequent recurrence of the same scenes, it seems probable that the sarcophagi were manufactured wholesale by the Etruscan undertakers, and when selected by the friends of the deceased, they were fitted with effigied lids to order ; or the recumbent figures were rudely struck out, and finished into likenesses of the

of each sex. The same is implied by Euripides (Phœn. 162). Homer (Il. XXIV. 604) says they were twelve in number—

*Εξ μὲν θυγατέρες, ἕξ δ' υἱέες ἡβώνοντες.

Eustathius (ad. locum) and Propertius (II. eleg. 20, 7) follow his version. Sappho (ap. A. Gell. XX. 7) increases them to eighteen ; Hesiod (ap. Apollod. loc. cit.) to twenty, in which he is followed by Pindar, Mimnermus, and Bacchylides (ap. Ælian. loc. cit. A. Gell. loc. cit.). Alcman (ap. Ælian. l. c.) reduces the number to half. Herodorus (ap. Apollod. l. c.) alone, makes the number less than is represented on this sarcophagus—two sons and three daughters. This discrepancy is cited by A. Gellius as an instance of the strange and ridiculous diversity in Greek poetic fables. He adds, that some say there were only three children in all.

¹ On an Etruscan *amphora*, once in Campanari's possession, was a still more singular version of Achilles' triumph. His chariot dragging the corpse was driven by his *auriga* round the tomb of Patroclus ; while he, though completely armed, and though the steeds were at full gallop, was giving proof of his "swift-footed" powers, by *running* at its side, looking back on the mangled corpse of his foe. Bull. Inst. 1841, p. 134—Braun.

² From coins of Augustus and other Roman remains found in the tomb, this sarcophagus has been considered as late as that Emperor. Bull. Inst. 1839, p. 40.—Abeken. See also 1839, p. 25 (Jahn), for an account of this monument.

468 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

departed.¹ This will account for the not uncommon incongruity between the two parts, which are sometimes even of a different stone. The likeness may have been taken after death, or from those small *terra-cotta* heads so often found in the tombs, and which were probably moulded from the life. Sarcophagi and urns of *terra-cotta* are frequently found at Toscanella, but are generally very inferior in style of art to those of stone, displaying much uncouthness and exaggerated attenuation—caricatures of the human form; yet some have been found of great beauty, as that of the wounded youth, commonly called Adonis, in the Gregorian Museum.² These earthenware coffins are often found with those of *nenfro*, whence it would appear that the difference was a matter of choice or expense rather than of antiquity.³ The former were used principally by females. It is clear that interment was much more general at Tuscania than combustion; yet large jars containing the ashes of the dead are often found in the same tomb with sarcophagi.

In this garden is a singular capital of a composite column, taken from the painted tomb of Vulci.⁴ It is of *peperino*, and between each pair of volutes is a head, male and female alternately. From the Phrygian cap of the men, the relic has received the name of “the column of Paris and Helen.” Such capitals cannot be of very early date.⁵ There is a finish and freedom about this which will not allow us to claim for it an origin prior to the Roman conquest of Etruria. The other fragments shown in the annexed woodcut are the disc-like *cippus* found above the tomb in the Calcarello, and a portion of the masonry which encircled a tumulus, interesting as a specimen of Etruscan moulding.⁶

¹ Micali, *Ant. Pop. Ital.* II. p. 246.

² This beautiful urn is shown in *Mus. Gregor.* I. tav. 93, 1.

³ Pliny (XXXV. 46) remarks that many people preferred being interred in coffins of earthenware—*ficilibus solis*.

⁴ See p. 448. The column on which the capital rests in the annexed cut does not belong to it. Several capitals of similar character have been found in various parts of Italy—one at Salerno, another at Cora, a third, without volutes, is in the Museum of Berlin (*Bull. Inst.* 1830, p. 136; *Mon. Ined. Inst.* II. tav. 20), and a fourth has been recently discovered by Mr. Ainsley, at Sovana (see Chapter XXVI.); and fragments of others have been found at Rome and Pompeii.

⁵ See an article on this subject by Cav. Canina, *Ann. Inst.* 1835, pp. 187–194.

⁶ For further accounts of the sarcophagi and other antiquities in the possession of the Campanari, see *Bull. Inst.* 1834, p. 177; 1839, pp. 23–28—Jahn; 1841, pp. 129–136—Braun.

Signor Valerj, the *speziale* or apothecary of Toscanella, has generally a collection of Etruscan antiquities, which, like those of the Signori Campanari, are for sale. As a man of experience and research, his acquaintance would be valuable to the visitor curious in Etruscan matters.

Several Etruscan sarcophagi of interest are to be seen at the Spedale, near the Viterbo Gate.



ETRUSCAN CAPITAL, CIPPUS, AND MOULDING.

Of the origin and history of Tuscania we have no record. The only mention of it in ancient writers is found in Pliny, who classes it among the inland colonies in Etruria;¹ and in the Peutingerian Table, which shows it to have been on the Via Clodia, between Blera and Saturnia.² It is from its

¹ Plin. III. 8.

² See pp. 311, 479. Vestiges of this road are to be seen in the glen beneath S. Pietro towards the Marta.

470 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

tombs alone that we know it to have existed in Etruscan times;¹ yet it must have been a place of inferior importance, and was probably dependent on Tarquinii.

Of the original town there is no vestige beyond some substructions and rock-hewn sewers, on the height of San Pietro. Here, too, are traces of the Roman colony, in fragments of reticulated walling; and remains of a circus were discovered, a few years since, in the ravine beneath.² The ancient town must have been larger than the modern, for it comprehended the height of San Pietro, which is without the modern walls, and which, being rather more elevated than the rest of the town, and at the extremity of the tongue of land, was evidently the *Arx* of Tuscania. That it was continued as a fortress during the middle ages, is proved by the tall, square towers of that period, which encircle, like a diadem, the brow of the hill. Eight are still standing, more or less impaired. They are double, like certain of the Round Towers of Ireland—a tall, slender tower being encased, with no intervening space, in an outer shell of masonry. Lest some should be led away by this analogy to cherish the idea that they are of very ancient construction, or, by a bold leap, should arrive at the conclusion that the Etruscans and Irish had a common origin, I must repeat that the masonry of these towers stamps them indubitably as of the middle ages.³

The richest jewel on this tiaraed height is the church of San Pietro, one of the most interesting ecclesiastical structures of Central Italy. Its style is Italian Gothic, sister to the Byzantine, and elder cousin to the Norman. This

¹ Yet Micali (*Ant. Pop. Ital.* III. p. 97), without any apparent authority, doubts if "Tuscania can pretend to the primitive antiquity of Etruria." But Müller (*Etrusk. einl.* 2, 11), an authority of greater weight, assigns it an origin in the earliest times of the Etruscan state. It would seem impossible to doubt the identity of Tuscania with Toscanella. Yet Sarzana in 1783 wrote a thick quarto to prove that Viterbo is the true Tuscania, in answer to a work entitled "*Memorie Istoriche della città Tuscania, che ora volgarmente dicesi Toscanella.*"

² Bull. Inst. 1839, p. 28.

³ They have already been taken for Etruscan, and supposed to have been built over Etruscan graves, and to "have formed the centre of some immense sepulchral mound, similar to the Cucumella at Vulci."—*Sepulchres of Etruria*, p. 326. Nothing, however, is more improbable. This height, from its relative position, its local character, and the ancient walling and sewers, was obviously a portion of the Etruscan town—most probably the citadel.

church cannot compete in grandeur or richness with the celebrated Duomi in the same style, at Pisa, Siena, and Orvieto; yet, in the small and snug way, it is a gem, and will repay the lover of art for an express visit to Toscanella. Its charms lie chiefly in its façade, which though so rich in its general effect, is most grotesque in detail. Beasts, birds, and reptiles move in stone about the marigold window, the round-arched doorways, and the arcaded galleries—here stepping forth from the masonry, there chasing one another up and down the façade. Scarcely a square foot but displays some grotesquery in high or low relief, some grinning head, some uncouth form, some fantastic chimæra. The whole façade is teeming with life. This is not in harmony with the repose of architecture, still less with the solemnity and dignity of ecclesiastical edifices. Perhaps it was to qualify this profane character that a sprinkling is introduced of angels, saints, men, and devils. But what can we say of trifacial heads—grim caricatures of the Trinity—more than once seen on this façade?—or of artisans and tradesmen at their respective avocations, all in caricature? Yet such in a band of reliefs surround the porch of San Pietro.

The aisles of the church are divided by two rows of massive columns of Roman antiquity, probably from some temple which stood on this height. Beneath the choir is a crypt, supported by twenty-eight slender columns of no uniformity. It is called a Roman bath; but looks more like a mosque, or the subterranean bath-rooms of the Alhambra. In the aisle of this church, till lately, stood an Etruscan sarcophagus, with a bas-relief of interest, and an inscription of unusual length.¹

Of the same style as S. Pietro, inferior in richness of decoration, yet still more outrageously grotesque, is the church of Santa Maria, in the hollow at the back of San Pietro.

The necropolis lay in the broad, deep ravines round Toscanella, and on the opposite heights. There are many tombs in the cliffs, not with architectural façades, as at Castel d'Asso or Norchia, but with simple doorways, and interiors presenting little variety—unadorned chambers

¹ A description of this sarcophagus has been published by the elder Campanari. "*Dell' urna con basso-relievo ed epigrafe di Arunte, figlio di Lare, trionfatore Etrusco.* Roma, 1825."

472 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

surrounded by rock-hewn benches. The most remarkable tomb on this site is in the cliffs below the Madonna dell' Olivo, about half a mile from the town. Here, a long sewer-like passage leads into a spacious chamber of irregular form, with two massive columns supporting its ceiling, and a rude pilaster on the wall behind. But the peculiarity of the tomb lies in a *cuniculus* or passage cut in the rock, just large enough for a man to creep through on all-fours, which, entering the wall on one side, after a long gyration, and sundry branchings now blocked with earth, opens in the opposite wall of the tomb. Till lately, this was the only instance known of anything like a subterranean labyrinth in an Etruscan sepulchre, but it is now quite eclipsed by that in the singular Poggio di Gajella of Chiusi. Be it remembered that the only Etruscan tomb described by the ancients is said to have contained a labyrinth.¹ Let the traveller inquire for the Grotta della Regina, and let him provide himself, at Toscanella, with tapers and lucifers, or his excursion will be in vain.²

In the cliffs round the town are several instances of *columbaria*, such as exist at Veii and Sutri. They are large chambers in the rock, filled from floor to ceiling with small niches, like pigeon-holes, capable of holding an urn or pot, but differing from the niches in Roman *columbaria*, in the absence of the *olla* hole. One of these tombs, in the cliff above the Viterbo road, is remarkable for its size, and its division into three chambers, with a massive pillar of rock supporting its roof. As the Romans seem to have taken the idea of their *columbaria* from the Etruscans, it is difficult, in the absence of all sepulchral furniture, to pronounce on the origin of these and similar tombs; yet I think it probable that these niched sepulchres were—in type at least—Etruscan.³

Most of the tombs of Toscanella, however, are sunk

¹ Plin. Nat. Hist. XXXVI. 19, 4.

² The tomb receives its name from the figure of a female found painted on the wall, when it was opened ages since, but now utterly obliterated. A plan and plate of this tomb are given by Micali, Ant. Pop. Ital. tav. LXIII.

³ *Ut supra*, p. 112. Abeken, while holding the same opinion, regards these Toscanella *columbaria* as Roman, about the fourth century of the City. Mittelitalien, p. 258. Similar *columbaria* have been discovered beneath the surface at Toscanella, but without inscriptions to determine their antiquity—nothing beyond small cinerary pots.

beneath the surface of the ground, as at Vulci. Campanari's excavations have been principally in the table-land on the west of the town. Here it was that the tomb with the Niobe sarcophagus, and twenty-six others, were discovered; and here I found Signor Carlo at work on an adjoining sepulchre, which he hoped might yield an equally rich harvest. He was disappointed, however: all was here ruin and disorder. Sarcophagi of stone and *terra-cotta* broken and inverted—fragments of pottery and bronzes scattered at various depths,—everything was worthless. It was plain that the tomb had been previously rifled, and its contents, not being of value, were wantonly destroyed, and reburied carelessly with the loose earth.

Signor Carlo was at the same time superintending excavations in the neighbouring *tenuta* of his relative, the Marchese Persiani. Here, in a shallow pit, was found a chest of stone, in size and form like a large dog-kennel, yet an imitation of a house or temple; for it had a door moulded at one end, and a gable roof, with beams beneath the eaves. It lay so little below the surface, that it was surprising it had not been brought to light by the plough. The form of this urn is not uncommon. What was most remarkable was, that it did not contain the ashes of the dead; for they lay on the ground hard by, covered by a *tazza*. It was merely a monumental stone.

After witnessing at Vulci the ruthless destruction of every article which bore no pecuniary value, it was pleasing to observe the different spirit in which the excavations at Toscanella were conducted. Here, every article, every fragment, was carefully laid aside by the workmen, to be submitted to Signor Carlo's inspection.

The Etruscan pottery found at Toscanella is of very inferior quality. It is strange that the beautiful, painted vases, unearthed in thousands at Vulci, are never found in this necropolis. Yet the distance is but fourteen or fifteen miles. Are we to suppose that the Tuscanienses could not afford to purchase such valuable furniture? Yet that Tuscania was not poverty-stricken, is clear from the rich bronzes, gold ornaments, and jewellery, found in its subterranean chambers. We must rather regard such differences in sepulchral matters as the result of fashion, prejudice, or caprice.

474 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

Some years since, Signor Campanari, wishing to carry on his excavations on a larger scale, set about forming a society or company for the purpose, when the Government, which was suspicious of all associations or leagues whatsoever, stepped forward and at once opposed and furthered his design by offering itself as his coadjutor. In Italy as in Spain—

Allà van leyes
Do quieren reyes—

“Laws go where sovereigns please.” So he accepted the offer,—and on these terms. Expenses and returns to be shared equally; but Campanari to receive a stated annual sum for his personal superintendence and direction. In the partition of the spoil one party was to make the division, the other the selection; and as Campanari knew the value of such articles better than most men, the Government left the division to him, and reserved to itself the choice. Thus he laboured for some time in the *Tenuta di Camposcala* at Vulci; and the result was—the Gregorian Museum. The Government used to exchange with him the least valuable articles which had fallen to its share for others of greater beauty and rarity; for its aim was to form a perfect museum, which, while comprehending specimens of the various objects found in Etruscan tombs, should contain articles of first-rate excellence as works of art, or of superior interest as illustrative of the manners, customs, and creed of the ancients. The Prussian and Bavarian Governments have acted on the same principle; but with the English, says Campanari, it was “the most for our money.” Our Government sought number rather than excellence, and rejected some of his most beautiful articles, contenting itself with a large number of inferior value.

The collection in the British Museum, though rich in vases, is far from comprehensive. It needs small experience in Etruscan antiquities to perceive that it contains the sepulchral furniture, not of Etruria at large, but of one circumscribed district. It may well represent the *ager Tarquiniensis* and *Vulcentanus*—but beyond that, how deficient! You look in vain for the tall cock-crowned jars, and the black relieved ware of Chiusi and Sarteano—for the square altars or *cippi*, and the fantastic *canopi* of the same district, all most peculiarly Etruscan in character—

Where are the large, archaic jars of Cære and Veii, or their head-handled urns?—where the more modern pottery of Arezzo and Volterra?—where the alabaster urns of the latter place, or the sandstone and travertine ones of Chiusi and Perugia?—These are represented either not at all, or by solitary and inferior articles. In Etruscan bronzes also the Museum is still deficient; and till the very recent acquisition of those from Monte Falterona, it was difficult to gather from it a confirmation of the Tyrrhene renown in toreutics. And yet such superb specimens of Etruscan skill as the lamp of Cortona are within reach. Of mirrors there is scarcely one of extraordinary excellence or interest, such as that of Bacchus and Semele which forms the frontispiece to this volume—though such ought to be possessed by a Museum like the British. But the truth is, that our national trustees are rarely aware of the existence of such relics, till long after their discovery, when they have already passed into other Museums. Since Mr. Millingen's death we have had no agent in Italy, for the purchase of antiquities—and that venerable antiquary was incapable of active research. Many European Governments send competent men from time to time, or maintain them in the country to search for these relics; but we are content to wait till they are brought to us, whereby we lose many an opportunity of obtaining objects of great merit and interest. Our reputation for wealth may secure us the offer of articles on which an extraordinary value is set; but those of inferior price, not always of inferior merit, pass into the hands of more energetic collectors. Why should we not, like some of the German Powers, have travelling-fellows of the Museum, who might yearly visit these classic lands in the season of the relic-harvest, and make acquisitions for the national benefit? This system ought to be applied not to Etruria only, but to Magna Græcia, Sicily, Greece, Egypt, and other countries of the ancient world.

The sarcophagi, which are so abundant at Toscanella, are not so saleable as the more portable articles; yet the best will fetch high prices. For that of the Niobids, for example, the Papal Government has offered 70*l.* or 80*l.*, which is not sufficient to tempt Campanari to part with it; and the matter is still in abeyance. A market for these sarcophagi might, perhaps, be found in England, for, from

476 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

their picturesque character and durability, they would be admirably adapted to the adornment of pleasure-grounds.

“Imperial Cæsar, dead, and turned to clay,
Might stop a hole to keep the wind away!”

Conceive the illustrious dead of Etruria, the priestly princes before whom Rome used to tremble, reclining in effigy on the close-shorn turf or the prim walks of some Strawberry Hill—the gaping-stock of bumpkins and the recording tablet of cockney insignificance! Yet better thus, where by some at least they would be appreciated and respected, than to remain in Italy, where, unless they chance to gain admission into a museum, or fall into the hands of some philarchæist, they would be applied to the basest purposes, like the so-called “Juliet’s Tomb” at Verona. The expense of freight to England, together with land-carriage in Italy, would be under 10*l.* each sarcophagus, according to Signor Carlo’s computation, who has shipped a whole museum to this country; and unless of extraordinary beauty, the total cost of each would average less than 20*l.*

The man of antiquarian tastes might spend a week or two of winter pleasantly enough at Toscanella, watching the progress of the excavations, exploring the sepulchres and the picturesque ravines, examining or sketching San Pietro and Sta. Maria, and the singular relics in Campanari’s garden; and such quiet pursuits might be diversified by excursions to places in the neighbourhood, or by an occasional boar-hunt, in company with the squirearchy of Toscanella.

A ride of fifteen or sixteen miles will take him to Montefiascone, by a road too rugged for carriages, yet abounding in beautiful scenery—of which the wild open plain, with its belt of mountains, robed in purple or snow, groves of picturesque cork-trees, a medieval castle in ruins, and the lovely lake of Bolsena, with its fairy islets, are the principal features. Viterbo is somewhat nearer, and the road is carriageable, though very inferior in beauty;¹ Vetralla is

¹ At a spot called Cippolara, about half-way between Toscanella and Viterbo, are many tombs; and here Buonarroti, in 1694 (p. 99, ap. Dempst. de Etr. Reg. II.), found urns and *cippi* with inscriptions. See Santi Bartoli, *Sepolcri Antichi*, tav. XCVII.

about eighteen miles distant, but the road is a mere bridle-path. Castel d'Asso, Norchia and Bieda, are also within an easy distance, but not of easy access, owing to the numerous, perplexing ravines which intersect the plain ; and a guide is indispensable. To Vulci it is fourteen or fifteen miles ; and to Corneto about seventeen—both carriage-roads. So that within a morning's ride or drive you have all the most interesting sites of the great Etruscan plain.

CHAPTER XXIV

STATONIA

Urbes constituit ætas, hora dissolvit.—SENECA.

A thousand years scarce serve to form a state,
An hour may lay it in the dust.—BYRON.

NORTH of Toscanella lies a large group of Etruscan sites. The road, which is scarcely carriageable, passes through the villages of Arlena, Tessenano, and Celere, none of which betray an antiquity higher than Roman times, and at the distance of twelve or fourteen miles reaches Ischia, whose position on a tongue of land between profound ravines, full of tombs, marks it as an Etruscan site. There is nothing of interest, however; the tombs are utterly defaced by their application to the uses of the inhabitants. The ancient name of the place is quite unknown. It was a small town, probably dependent on Tarquinii or Vulci. Its Etruscan character is not generally recognized; yet Campanari made excavations here a few years since.

As Ischia is on the way to Pitigliano and Sovana, it may be well to state that accommodation is to be had at the house of Sabetta Farolfi—tolerable enough considering the intense squalor of the town;

—quis enim non vicus abundat
Tristibus obscœnis?—

for here you meet with clean sheets, foul tables and tongues, unbounded civility and scanty comfort, wretched meals and good society. The house is patronized by the aristocracy of Ischia, and is the evening resort of the arch-priest, the *medico*, the *speziale*, and other conscript fathers of the town, who showed their politeness by urging me, though *impransus* and way-worn, to a rubber of whist.

Two or three miles west of Ischia lies Farnese, a village in a similar, though less imposing, situation, and bearing the same evidences of Etruscan antiquity. As general on ancient sites where population has continued to exist, the sepulchres here in the cliffs have had their original character

destroyed by their conversion to cattle-stalls and hog-sties. Campanari has made slight excavations in the plain around Farnese. The village is more decent in appearance than Ischia, yet its *osteria* loses in comparison even with that of La Farolfi. The Chigi palace here was occupied, at the time of my visit, by Maréchal Bourmont, the hero of Algiers. Exiled from his country for the part he played in "the three great days of July," he fixed his residence at Farnese, exchanging the stirring life of the camp, and the brilliant saloons of the Tuileries, for the seclusion, monotony, and death-like tranquillity of an Italian village.

The antiquity of Farnese has long been acknowledged. Mannert takes it to be Maternum, a station on the Via Clodia, or Statonia;¹ but Cluver inclines to think it Sudertum,² a town only incidentally mentioned by ancient writers, without any hint as to its locality.³ This is mere conjecture, for no remains which throw light on the subject have been discovered on the spot.

Two or three miles west of Farnese lies Castro, another Etruscan site. The path to it runs through a ravine, and at one point passes over a hill, whose entire slope from base to summit is strewn with huge masses of lava,—

"Craggs, knolls, and mounds confusedly hurl'd,
The fragments of an earlier world."

Castro lies in a wilderness—it is a city of desolation.

¹ Mannert, *Geog.* pp. 384, 388. Cramer (*Ancient Italy*, I. p. 245) thinks it was Maternum; which is thus marked in the *Peutingarian Table*:—

Foro Clodo		Materno	XII.
Blera	XVI.	Saturnia	XVIII.
Tuscana	VIII.	Succosa	VIII.

² Cluver. *Ital. Ant.* II. p. 517. Cluver is at least satisfied that Maternum is Farnese, but is not so sure that it is identical with Sudertum. Holstenius (*Annot. ad Cluver.* p. 41) thinks Madernum the same as Sudernum, and says the site is now called "Maderni," on the left side of the Fiora, a few miles below Castro, and has many remains.

³ Liv. XXVI. 23. Pliny (*III.* 8) calls its inhabitants "Subertani," though some editions have it "Sudertani." Ptolemy (*Geog.* p. 72, ed. Bert.) writes it *Σούδερον*; its position, according to his reckoning, taking it relatively to other sites—the only mode of interpretation that can fairly be applied to him—would be nearer to Tarquinii than to any other city of Etruria.

480 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

You mount from the ravine to the plain, and see before you a dense wood, covering a narrow ridge between steep precipices. You enter the wood, not to thread your way over smooth turf or fallen leaves, but to scramble over heaps of ruins, broken columns, capitals, and rich cornices, mingled with coarser *débris*; through all which vegetation has forced its way, and is striving in turn to conceal the wrecks of art which had displaced it. A truer picture of the place can hardly be given than that Byron has drawn of the Palatine.

All this devastation is but of modern date. Two hundred years since Castro was a flourishing city; the capital of a Duchy, which comprised the greater part of the Etruscan plain, and which still gives a title to the king of Naples; but in 1647, Pope Innocent X. razed it to the ground, because the bishop of the see had been murdered—it was supposed by the Duke Farnese, lord of Castro—and the bishopric was transferred to Acquapendente.

Castro, as usual, stands on a tongue of land between two glens. Descend into them, and here, if a lover of nature, you will be charmed with the bold forms and rich colouring of the ilex-hung cliffs—with the varied covering of the slopes—with the picturesque windings of the sheep-tracks, the only signs of life in these wilds—with the meanderings of the rivulet, which “singeth its quiet tune,” now to the darkling canopy of foliage, now to the bright blue sky. Or if a lover of antiquity, you will find interest in tombs hollowed in the rock—some of several chambers, some full of pigeon-holes, as at Toscanella, others mere niches, or long shelf-like recesses, one over the other, as are seen in the necropolis of Falerii—in fragments of rock-cut cornices—in the ruins of two bridges—and in vestiges of an ancient road.

High in the cliff, opposite the extremity of the town, a hundred feet or more above the stream, is a curious circular hole, inaccessible from below, which seems to be a window to a tomb sunk in the plain above. Such a feature I have observed on no other site.

The *columbaria* are generally in the cliffs immediately beneath the city-walls. Of the ancient fortifications I perceived no fragments, but considerable remains of medieval date are extant on the south side, in small cemented

masonry cut from the yellow tufo cliffs on which they stand. In these walls are sundry apertures like tall arched doorways, which, from their position, can only be the mouths of sewers. More ancient drains also are not wanting, of the usual upright form, cut in the cliff itself, and determining the antiquity of the town.

I left Castro with something like disappointment. Not that it is not worthy of a visit; but my expectations had been too highly raised, and I looked for more numerous and curious relics of Etruscan antiquity. Yet the only verbal reports of it that had reached my ears were from the peasantry of the neighbouring villages, since I had never met with any antiquary, native or foreign, who had visited the spot; and as to written descriptions, the most recent I know is more than two hundred years old, from the pen of Cluver, which is but a translation of that by Leandro Alberti, who wrote nearly a century earlier. "Castro," says the latter, "is so encompassed about with rocks and caverns, that it seemeth to them that behold it, rather a dark den of wild beasts, than the abode of domesticated man."¹ To this Cluver adds, that similar caverns and marvellous fissures are to be seen at Farnese.² Now the truth is that there are comparatively few rock-sepulchres around Castro—not half so many as around Norchia, Bieda, Toscanella, Pitigliano, Sovana, and other Etruscan towns, similarly situated; and such as are found here are rude, and roughly hewn, and in no way remarkable. Yet the description is so far true, that Castro is a most gloomy site—one of the gloomiest I remember in Etruria. It is not its desolation alone,—Capena, Norchia, Férento, Tarquinii, Cosa, and other sites, are also uninhabited and deserted. It is not its overgrowth of wood,—Rusellæ and part of Veii are similarly covered. It is its general aspect. Nowhere is the wood more dark and dense—nowhere are the cliffs blacker and more frowning—nowhere are the ravines more solemn and apparently endless, more impressively lonesome and silent—nowhere is there a more utter absence of habitation within ken—on no site does

¹ *Descrittione d'Italia*, p. 58, ed. 1551. It must be remembered that in Alberti's and even in Cluver's time, Castro was inhabited. It was perhaps the only similar Etruscan site Alberti had seen.

² Cluver. *Ital. Ant.* II. p. 518.

482 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

Nature more completely regain her dominion over Art—or the Past becloud the spirit with a deeper awe.

To the Etruscan name of this town we have no clue. Its present appellation seems to indicate its importance as a fortress in Roman times. Cluver regards it as the site of the ancient Statonia, but gives no satisfactory reasons for his opinion;¹ and until we have some more definite evidence, I fear we must be content to remain in the dark as to the ancient name of Castro.²

If not on this site, where shall we place the ancient Statonia? It is a question not to be answered definitely. Pliny indeed indicates a site not far from the sea,³ though not actually on the coast.⁴ From his and other notices of

¹ Cluver. loc. cit. p. 517. His opinion rests principally on the vicinity of Castro to the Lago Mezzano, which he says is without doubt the Lacus Statoniensis of antiquity. Supposing he is correct in this particular, Castro is not so near that lake as Ischia, Farnese, Pitigliano, Sorano, and Grotte San Lorenzo, all Etruscan sites, any one of which has on this score a stronger claim to be considered the representative of Statonia. Then he says that ancient inscriptions have been discovered at Castro, which prove its antiquity; but he does not tell us that one of these bears reference to Statonia. An additional reason urged by him is that here, as well as at Farnese, are quarries of white rock, which he identifies with the *lapidicina* of silex, of which Vitruvius (II. 7) and Pliny (XXXVI. 49) speak as existing in the territory of Statonia. This stone, as already mentioned (Chap. XIII. p. 255), was proof against the action of fire and frost, peculiarly adapted to moulds for metal-casting, and of such hardness and durability as to render it invaluable for statues and architectural adornments. Now it is true that there are cliffs of a whitish rock to the east of Castro; but they prove nothing as to the identity of that town with Statonia; first, because the rock described by Vitruvius was not white, but a greenish grey, like the Alban stone, or *peperino*, though Pliny or his transcribers seem to have blundered in copying *albi* for *Albani*; and next, because the rocks at Castro are of a soft, volcanic character, with none of the properties of the *silex*—a term usually applied by the Romans to the lava or basalt of their paved roads (Liv. XLI. 27. Tibul. I. 7, 60), and occasionally to hard limestone, as in the well-known inscription on the walls of Ferentinum. It would not seem that the—*viridis silex nusquam copiosus, et ubi invenitur lapis non saxum*—mentioned by Pliny in the same chapter with these quarries, was also in the neighbourhood of Statonia. These quarries, again, are not said to have been at the town of Statonia, but merely in its *ager*, just as those round the Volsinian lake were in the *ager* of Tarquinii.

² Mannert (Geog. p. 388) thinks Statonia was at Castro or Farnese; Cramer (Ancient Italy, I. p. 223) and Abeken (Mittelitalien, p. 34), following Cluver, recognize it in Castro.

³ Plin. XIV. 8, 5. He records the renown of its wine.

⁴ Plin. III. 8; cf. Strab. V. p. 226.

it in connection with Tarquinii, it seems highly probable that it stood close to, if not actually within the territory of that city, as Vitruvius appears to intimate.¹ There is every reason to believe that Statonia stood somewhere in this northern district of the Etruscan plain, but to which of the ancient sites in this quarter, of undetermined name, to assign it, we have yet no means of deciding.

Four or five miles west of Ischia lies Valentano, on a hill of black ashes, part of the lip of the great crater-lake of Bolsena. It is larger than Ischia or Farnese, but can offer no better accommodation to the traveller. From a terrace outside the walls a magnificent view of the lake is to be had, but I saw it in lowering weather, when the clouds lay like a grey pall on its waters, and only when they occasionally broke could I catch a glimpse of its broad, leaden surface, with its two islets of fabulous renown, and the headland of Capo di Monte appearing like a third.

This town is supposed by Cluver to be the representative of Verentum, a place of which no express mention is made, but which he conjectures to have existed, from the persuasion of a corruption in the text of Pliny. But I cannot think he has adequate ground for this opinion.² I perceived no traces of ancient habitation on this site, Etruscan or Roman, nor could I learn that such exist. The walls

¹ Vitruv. II. 7; Plin. XXXVI. 49; Varro, de Re Rust. III. 12. The last-named writer says there were immense preserves of hares, stags, and wild sheep, in the *ager* of Statonia. Cluver thinks that Statonia could not have stood in the direct line between Tarquinii and the lake of Volsinii, because the *ager* Tarquiniensis extended up to that lake. Dempster offers no opinion of his own.

² Cluver. II. p. 516. He thinks that in Pliny's catalogue of Roman colonies in Etruria (III. 8), the "Veientani" of the ordinary version should be "Verentani," as some readings have it, both because it comes next in the list to Vesentini--Vesentum being the island Bisentino, in the lake of Bolsena--and because Veii had ceased to exist before Pliny's time. But I must venture here to differ entirely from Cluver: Pliny's list is clearly alphabetical, and has no reference to topographical relations; and Veii, a century before Pliny's day, had been recolonized by the Romans (*ut supra*, p. 98, and was then existing as a *municipium*. The balance is also greatly in favour of "Veientani," inasmuch as Pliny in his catalogue would surely not omit all mention of that colony, which was the nearest of all, almost within sight of the Seven Hills, and whose past history was so intimately interwoven with that of Rome. If this be the correct reading, there is no proof of the existence of such a town as Verentum. Cramer (I. p. 223) follows Cluver's opinion.

484 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

are wholly medieval, and tombs there are none ; in truth, the volcanic ashes and scorix of which the hill is composed would render it impracticable to construct tombs here in the usual manner of the Etruscans.

From Valentano there is a track, a mere bridle-path, to Pitigliano, within the Tuscan frontier, about twelve miles distant. About midway it passes the Lake of Mezzano, a small piece of water embosomed among wooded hills, which is pronounced by Cluver to be the *Lacus Statoniensis*.¹ That lake, however, is said by Pliny and Seneca to have contained an island, which this of Mezzano does not, so that we must either reject Cluver's conclusion, or suppose that the island has since disappeared. As there is no other lake in central Etruria which can answer to the Statonian, we must take the alternative, and consider the island to have floated, as it is described,² and to have become eventually attached to the shores of the lake. Such seems to have been the case with the Vadimonian lake, which is now almost choked by the encroachment of its banks on the water ; and a similar process is going forward in the *Lacus Cutiliæ*, in Sabina, and in the sulphureous lakes below Tivoli ; where masses of vegetable matter, floating on the water, assume the appearance of islands, and having had their cruise awhile, become entangled at length by some prominent rock or tree on the shore, attach themselves permanently to it, and settle down into respectable portions of *terra-firma*.³

¹ Cluver. II. p. 517. He speaks of it as undoubted—*haud dubium est*. Mannert (Geog. p. 388) and Cramer (*loc. cit.*) agree with him.

² Plin. II. 96 ; Seneca, *Nat. Quæst.* III. 25. There are only four other lakes in Etruria which contain, or are said to have contained, islands—the Volsinian, the Vadimonian, the Thrasymene, and the *Lacus Aprilis* or *Prelus*. The first two are mentioned by Pliny, and the second by Seneca, in addition to the Lake of Statonia, so that it cannot be confounded with them. The Thrasymene is too much inland, seeing that Statonia was not far from the coast. And of the *Lacus Prilis*, now Lago Castiglione, may be said, what will apply with equal force to the Thrasymene, that it is much too remote from Tarquinii ; for Statonia, as already shown, was either close to or within the *ager* of that city.

³ See Chapter IX. p. 222.

CHAPTER XXV

PITIGLIANO AND SORANO

Nihil privatum, nihil publice stabile est ; tam hominum, quam urbium, fata voluntur. SENECA.

Ay, now am I in Arden : when I was at home I was in a better place ;
but travellers must be content. AS YOU LIKE IT.

THE places described in the last chapter lie within the Roman State. On the other side of the frontier is Pitigliano, an Etruscan site, and now the principal town in this part of Tuscany. The road to it from Valentano has already been mentioned. With a competent guide it may be reached also from Castro or Farnese, twelve miles distant ; but woe to the traveller who would "take the track into his own hands." Before leaving the Roman State, it would be well to have passports *en règle*, though he may never be questioned, "Whence or Whither?" Certain it is he will meet no *doganiere* at the frontier, which he will cross at a brook in a lonely wood. More likely would he be to encounter an unlicensed collector of taxes, for border-districts are proverbially unsafe, and this in particular is *said* to be the resort of outlaws from both States. Yet for the traveller's comfort, let me add that these are Will-o'-the-Wisp perils, ever distant when approached. The country here, however, is not suggestive of security, as it is peculiarly wild,—dense, gloomy woods, or open moors on every hand, and not a house by the wayside, save a farm on a green spot, about half-way to Pitigliano.

This town stands on the northern limits of the great Etruscan plain, which is here bounded by a range of mountains, among which the snowy peak of Monte Amiata towers supreme in the north, and the nearer heights sink gradually in the east to the long-drawn ridge round the Lake of Bolsena. In the west, a line of mist marks the course of the deep-sunk Fiora, and leads the eye southwards across the plain to the bare crests of the Monti di Canino, which rise like an island from a sea of foliage, with the blue

486 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

Mediterranean gleaming beyond on one hand, and the grey mass of the Ciminian bounding the horizon on the other.

At a little distance, Pitigliano seems to stand on the unbroken level of the plain, but as usual occupies a tongue of land, surrounded by ravines; so that when you seem just at its gates, a deep chasm yawns at your feet, which must be traversed to its lowest depths ere you can reach the town. When you have surmounted the long steep, and passed the line of fortifications, which, as at Nepi, cross the root of the tongue—nature on every other side affording sufficient protection—seek incontinently for Il Bimbo. This “Baby” is no sign-post—no painted effigy of sucking humanity, rocked by the breezes—nor even a living specimen of that “best philosopher, mighty prophet, seer blest,” whom Wordsworth apostrophizes—though to ordinary mortals he appears “mewling and puking in his nurse’s arms,”—but is represented by the mature and portly person of that respectable townsman, Giuseppe Bertocci.

Pitigliano is a place of considerable importance, with some 3000 inhabitants, of whom more than a tithe are Jews, led to congregate here, as at Gibraltar, by the annoyances and persecutions they are subjected to in the neighbouring State. In spite of the wealth thus created, Pitigliano is a mean and dirty town, without any interest inside its gates. A glance beyond them will convince you that it is an Etruscan site; though being never visited by antiquaries, it has not been recognized as such.¹ Its ancient name, even under the Romans, is quite unknown;² and its very existence is

¹ Even Repetti, who in his admirable “Dizionario della Toscana,” gives a detailed account of the place, is at a loss to determine its origin; but he rests on literary, not on monumental evidence.

² Bertius in his edition of Ptolemy (Geog. p. 72) marks it as the site of “Hβa—a colony mentioned by that geographer as in the neighbourhood of Saturnia and Suana. But may it not be Caletra, which must have been in this district? Saturnia is said by Livy (XXXIX. 55) to have been—in agro Caletrano; and Pitigliano is but ten miles from Saturnia, as the crow flies, and is by nature the most important Etruscan site in this vicinity. Cluver (II. p. 515) suggests Monte Pò, near Scansano, as the site of Eba. Cramer (I. p. 222) follows him. Neither offer anything on the site of Caletra. Or may not Pitigliano be Statonia?—for it is but a few miles from the Lago Mezzano, and its wine is celebrated in this district of Italy. It is singular, that it is the only recognized Etruscan site, whose modern name possesses all the elements of the ancient and long-lost Vetulonia—P. t. l. n. = V. t. l. n.—but this analogy can be but accidental, as the position of Pitigliano is

unrecorded before the eleventh century, when it is mentioned in a Papal bull as Pitilianum.

If you leave the town by the Porta di Sotto, you have, immediately on your right, a fine fragment of *emplecton* masonry of tufo blocks, eight courses high—precisely similar to the walls of Sutri, Nepi, Falleri, and Bieda.¹ As you descend the steep road you have tombs on every hand—from the brow of the town-crested height, down to the banks of the stream, and again up the opposite side of the ravine—slope, cliff, and ledge, are honeycombed with sepulchres. Here too are portions of the ancient road, sunk in the tufo, with water-channel at its side, and niches in its walls. The tombs here, beyond the *columbaria*, which are unusually numerous, are not now worthy of particular notice. Whatever may have been their external or internal decorations, nearly two thousand years of profanation have well nigh effaced their original character, and left them as problems to be solved only by the antiquary. Thus it always happens where population has most flourished and longest endured. It is at the long-deserted sites of Castel d'Asso and Norchia that the sepulchres are best preserved. Man is ever the worst foe to the works of man.

The table-lands around Pitigliano are full of tombs, especially on the west, where, for miles, the plain is undermined with them. No excavations have been made; but accident, from time to time, brings sepulchres to light.²

Though there is little to interest the antiquary at Pitigliano, there is food enough for the artist. Few towns in volcanic Etruria are more imposingly situated, and in the midst of finer scenery. The spot that produced and inspired a Zuccherelli should have some claims to beauty. Its ravines, though darkly, damply profound³—grand as are their tall impending cliffs—stern and solemn as are their

much too remote from the sea to answer to the site of that early and maritime city of Etruria.

¹ There is another fragment of the ancient walls on the northern side of the town.

² At Ponte di S. Pietro on the Fiora, between Pitigliano and Manciano, Campanari has recently made slight but promising excavations. On the heights on the opposite side of the river I observed unequivocal traces of an Etruscan town, with rock-hewn sepulchres and niches around it.

³ Repetti says they are 180 *braccia*, or nearly 350 feet deep.

488 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

silent recesses—are at all seasons highly picturesque, at some even truly beautiful. In what rich and harmonious colouring were they decked when I beheld them! The many-tinted rocks had their blended warmth cooled and shadowed by the drapery of foliage—the tender green of the budding vegetation, the darker verdure of the ilex and ivy, the pale blue of the aloe; while, like silver bands on a mantle of green velvet, the streamlets flowed through the wooded hollows, here spanned by a rustic mill, there by a ruined bridge. One of these rivulets leaps at one bound from the plain to the depths of the ravine. Omit not to visit this “Cascatella;” it is worthy a place in your sketch-book, and cascades do not often adorn the plains of Etruria. Though little more than a brook, the stream makes the most of itself in its plunge, and roars, raves, and foams in very decent imitation of its betters, which make more noise in the world. At some distance, however, you perceive not this assumption, but have an elegant waving sheet of foam, murmuring on a dark wall of rock.

On this height, called the Poggio Strozzi, once stood the villa of the Counts Orsini, for more than three centuries the feudal lords of Pitigliano; but not one stone of their mansion now remains on another. Vestiges of former magnificence, however, mark the spot, in two colossal recumbent figures hewn from the living rock. The popular voice calls them “Orlano (Orlando) and his wife,”—the Roland of chivalry and of song—he whose brand “was worth a hundred of Death’s scythes,”—he who

“With many a Paladin and Peer,
In Roncesvalles died—”

a hero whose name is attached to many a marvel of nature and of art, by the peasantry of Italy. These are not chivalresque but allegorical figures, of the *cinque cento* times. “Orlano” has not Durindana but a *cornucopia* by his side, and spills nothing but fruit and flowers. There are bas-reliefs of the same date on the rocks hard by. Tradition thus accounts for the ruin of the villa:—

The last count kept a mistress at Sorano, yet was extremely jealous of his wife. She, fond and faithful, viewed his visits to the neighbouring town with great suspicion. On his return one day, finding her from home, he went to

Pitigliano to seek her, and met her on the bridge which crosses the stream, just above the cascade. "What have they been doing at Pitigliano to-day?" asked he. "Much the same as at Sorano, I suppose," was the innocent reply. A guilty conscience and his jealous disposition caused him to misinterpret this answer, and regarding it as a confession, he seized her in his wrath, and hurled her into the headlong torrent. He fled, and was never heard of more; and his villa fell into utter ruin. So says tradition—history may tell another tale.¹

Pitigliano, like Toscanella, is an excellent *point d'appui*, whence to make radiating excursions to the neighbouring sites of interest—Saturnia, Sovano, Sorano, Castro, to wit;² and is fortunate in having a decent *hospitium*. "The Baby" belies his name, for he is a stout fellow, equally removed from first and second childhood; and his wife, Lisa, is one of the most buxom, lively, obliging landladies that ever welcomed traveller, or ruled the frying-pan—

Che donna fu di più gaia sembianza?

Their house is no inn—such a convenience exists not at Pitigliano; it is a *casa particolare*, where you may be entertained for a consideration, moderate enough.

The traveller will not fare so well at Sorano, another Etruscan site, four or five miles to the north-east of Pitigliano. Inn, of course, there is none—for who visits this secluded spot?—but there is its usual substitute, where shelter may be had for the night. Ask for the house of La Farfanti, *detta* La Livornesa. Here, one large smoke-dried room serves for kitchen and *salle à manger*; and on the upper floor a single chamber, crowded with beds, accommodates the family and guests. I turned from the door to seek more comfort elsewhere, but in vain; the rain was descending in torrents, and I was fain to return, stipulating for the sole possession of one of the beds—an unheard-of, fantastic demand, which excited great ridicule at my expense, and was not granted without much hesitation. But with a proverb I carried my point—*Le ortiche non fan buona salsa*

¹ For an historical sketch of this quarrelsome, tyrannical family and their doings in this part of Italy, see Repetti *v.* Pitigliano.

² Pitigliano is $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Sovana, 10 from Manciano, 16 from Saturnia by the high road, 30 from Orbetello, 35 from Grosseto, 18 from Acquapendente.

490 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

e due piedi non istan bene in una scarpa—"Nettles don't make good sauce, nor can two feet stand well in one shoe." Here accordingly I passed the night, in company with eight men and two women—the former being knights of the spade and plough, who, reeking from their labours, shuffled off their habiliments, and kept up a tuneful chorus of such *tibiae pares* as nature had furnished them with, till daylight recalled them to the field. Travelling, like "poverty, makes us acquainted with strange bed-fellows."

Let me however do La Farfanti justice, as I did the supper she provided, which would have done credit to the *cuisine* of the first hotel of Livorno, her native town, and went far to atone for other discomforts. "God never strikes with both hands," says the Spanish proverb. Rarely indeed does the bye-way traveller in Italy meet with such

Mundæ sub lare pauperum
Cœnæ,

as fell to my lot at Sorano.

Sorano stands on a tongue of land at the extreme verge of the Etruscan plain. Cross the deep ravines around it, and you are at once among the mountains. On this side you have volcanic formation—on that, aqueous deposit. Its elevation preserves Sorano from the pestiferous atmosphere, which has depopulated the neighbouring Sovana. The town is small, mean, and filthy, with streets steep, narrow, and tortuous. In the centre rises a precipitous mass of rock, whose summit commands one of the most romantic scenes in this part of Italy. The town clustering round the base of the height—the grand old feudal castle, with its hoary battlements, crowning the cliffs behind—the fearful precipices and profound chasms at your feet—and the ranges of mountains in front, rising in grades of altitude and majesty, to the sublime icy crest of Monte Amiata.

But the romantic and picturesque beauties of Sorano are not less when seen from below; especially from the road leading to Castel Ottieri, whence the view of the town and castle-crowned cliffs can hardly be rivalled in Italy—that land of rock, ruin, and ravine.

Of antiquities, Sorano has little or nothing to show. There are some traces of an ancient road sunk in the rock beneath the town, which has been supplanted by a modern

corkscrew gallery. There are vestiges also of a Roman road in the hollow, in blocks of lava, which lie in the stream. Tombs are not abundant, and with the exception of *columbaria*, which are unusually numerous, often at great and now inaccessible elevations in the cliffs, they are of no interest, beyond serving to establish the Etruscan antiquity of the site. Most of them are so defaced as to be hardly distinguishable from natural caverns. In the ravine to the west is a narrow ridge of rock, perforated, as at Norchia, so as to assume somewhat of the appearance of a bridge; whence its vulgar name of Il Pontone.

What may have been the ancient name of Sorano, we have no means of determining. Cramer conjectures it may have been Sudertum;¹ but Cluver places that town at Farnese,² with equal probability.

The attractions of Sorano to the traveller lie in its scenery alone. At no ancient site in the volcanic district of Etruria are the cliffs so lofty, the ravines so profound, the scenery so diversified, romantic, and imposing; and it may be safely affirmed that among Etruscan sites in general, though few have so little antiquarian interest, none has greater claims on the artist and lover of the picturesque.³

¹ Cramer, *Ancient Italy*, I. p. 223.

² Cluver. *Ital. Ant.* II. p. 517.

³ About two miles or more from Sorano, to the east, is a ruined town, called Vitozzo. I saw it only from the opposite site of a wide ravine, and can say nothing as to its antiquity; except that the abundance of ruins on the site seems to mark it as chiefly of mediæval or later times. The peasants tell you it is very ancient, but they know no more of comparative antiquity than of comparative anatomy.



ROCK-HEWN TOMB CALLED "LA FONTANA," AT SOVANA.

CHAPTER XXVI

SOVANA.—*SUANA*

Novella dall' Etruria porto.

FILICAJA.

La gente che per li sepolcri giace
Potrebbe si veder?—già son levati
Tutti i coperchj, e nessun guardia face.

DANTE.

WE are apt to regard Italy as a country so thoroughly beaten by travellers, that little new can be said about it; still less do we imagine that relics of the olden time can exist in the open air, and remain unknown to the world. Yet the truth is, that vast districts of the Peninsula, especially in the Tuscan, Roman, and Neapolitan States,

are to the archæologist a *terra incognita*. Every monument on the high-roads is familiar, even to the fireside traveller ; but how little is known of the bye-ways ! Of the swarms of foreigners who yearly traverse the country between Florence and Rome, not one in a hundred leaves the beaten track to visit objects of antiquity ; still fewer make a journey into the intervening districts expressly for such a purpose. Now and then an excursion is made to Chiusi ; or a few may run from Civita Vecchia to Corneto to visit the painted tombs, but not a tithe of that small number continue their route to Vulci or Toscanella—still fewer to Cosa. Parties occasionally make a picnic to the site of Veii ; but considering the proximity to Rome, the convenience of transit, and the intense interest of the spot, the number is very limited. That wide district on the frontiers of the Tuscan and Roman States, which has been the subject of the last two chapters, is so rarely trodden by the foot of a traveller, even of an antiquary, that it can be no matter of surprise that relics of ancient art should exist there, and be utterly unknown to the world—gazed at only with stupid astonishment by the peasantry, or else more stupidly unheeded. In a country almost depopulated by malaria, inhabited only by shepherds and husbandmen, and never traversed by the educated and intelligent, the most striking monuments may remain for ages unnoticed. So it was with the magnificent temples of Pæstum. Though they had reared their mighty columns to the sunbeams for at least three and twenty centuries, isolated in an open plain where they were visible for many a league, and standing on the sea-shore, where they must have served for ages as a landmark to the mariner ; yet their very existence had been forgotten by the world, till in the middle of the last century a Neapolitan painter discovered them afresh, rescuing them from an oblivion of fifteen hundred years.¹ So in Etruria, the interesting cemeteries of Norchia and Castel d'Asso were brought to light not forty years ago by some sportsmen of Viterbo. I am now about to describe

¹ I give the current story, which I believe, however, to have been disproved as regards the discoverer,—a description of the temples having been published at Naples, by Antonini, in his work on Lucania, ten years before the date assigned to the painter's discovery, which was 1755. See Delagardette, *Ruines de Pæstum*, p. 15. It is at least established that those marvels of Greek art have only been known to Europe for about a century.

494 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

some other remarkable relics of Etruscan antiquity, which owe their rediscovery to the intelligent enterprise of an Englishman.

In the spring of 1843, Mr. Ainsley, my former fellow-traveller in Etruria, was making a third tour through this interesting land, and, not content with beaten tracks, he penetrated to Pitigliano, and thence made an excursion to Sovana, in quest of antiquities. Being aware that that place was known only as the site of the Roman Suana, he had no reason to expect relics of Etruscan times; yet, having established such an antiquity for Pitigliano, he shrewdly suspected the same for the neighbouring site. Here he inquired for antiquities. Antiquities!—" *che roba è?*" Nobody had ever heard of such "stuff" at Sovana. From the provost to the hind, all were alike ignorant. But his curiosity was excited by some *columbaria* and rock-hewn tombs of familiar character, and he proceeded to explore the surrounding ravines.

His suspicions were soon confirmed. Here were tombs with rock-hewn façades as at Norchia and Castel d'Asso,—and, following the range of cliffs, he came to a monument in the form of a temple, in a style both unique and beautiful. His surprise and delight at this discovery explained to the villagers who accompanied him the nature of the objects he was seeking. They were no less astonished to find a stranger display such interest in what to their simple mind was meaningless, or was regarded as a mere "*scherzo*"—a freak of Nature imitating Art, or a fanciful work carved in an idle or wanton mood by the "rude forefathers of the hamlet." "*Scherzi, scherzi!*"—is that the *roba* you want? there are plenty of such *whims!*" cried they; and they led him on from one rock-hewn monument to another, which excited his surprise and admiration more and more by their multitude, variety, and novel character, and afforded him convincing evidence of the Etruscan origin of Sovana. He returned day after day to the spot, and in defiance of a midsummer sun, and its noxious influences, persevered till he had made finished drawings of the most remarkable monuments, and taken their dimensions with the fullest detail. He forthwith sent a description of this necropolis to the Archæological Institute of Rome, together with drawings, plans, and sections of the principal tombs for

publication. In truth, he has left little to be done by future visitors to Sovana, so detailed and accurate are his notices and drawings, and such the zeal with which he prosecuted his researches for the benefit of antiquarian science.

The discovery is of the highest importance, for these sepulchres, while in general character resembling those of Norchia, Castel d'Asso, and Bieda, have novel and striking features peculiar to the site. Mr. Ainsley justly observes, that after "having visited nearly all the antiquities of this kind known to exist in Etruria, I can truly say that I have seen no place which contains so great a variety of sculptured tombs as Sovana."¹

Sovana is but two miles and a half from Pitigliano, and appears to the eye still nearer, but in these glen-furrowed plains distances are deceptive. You ascend from the ravine of Pitigliano by an ancient rock-sunk road, fringed with aloes. On the surface of the plain above, you may trace the road by ruts in the tufo, partly formed perhaps in more recent times.² This is elevated somewhat above the general level of the great Etruscan plain, and commands a wide sweep of it to the south; but on every other hand the horizon is bounded by heights, here clothed with wood or verdure, there towering into Alpine peaks, for half the year diademed with snow.

Sovana stands on a tongue of land, scarcely half a mile in length; at one end rises the square tower of the Duomo, and at the other the medieval castle, which, with its tall masses of yellow ruin, and crumbling machicolated battlements, forms the most prominent and picturesque feature in the scenery of the spot.

It is obvious from the strength of these fortifications that

¹ Bull. Inst. 1843, p. 159. Gentleman's Mag., Oct. 1843, p. 419.

² Similar traces of ancient roads in Greece are supposed to have been formed purposely, the ruts or furrows being channelled in the rock to facilitate the passage of vehicles, on the principle of tram-roads—forming, in fact, a sort of stone railway. Mure's Tour in Greece, II. p. 251. How far they may be of intentional construction, and how far the result of reiterated transit, in any particular case, can only be determined by careful examination. The softer character of the rock in Etruria renders it still more difficult to form a satisfactory opinion; but ancient roads indicated by parallel ruts, cut or worn in the tufo, are of very common occurrence.

496 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

Sovana was a place of importance in the middle ages. This city—for such it is in name—“this city, which governed itself by its own laws, even after the arrival of the Lombards, which for a long period was the residence of bishops and of a powerful race of Counts; this city, which in 1240 was able to make head against Frederic II., and to sustain a siege, is now reduced to such a miserable state, that in 1833 its population was not more than sixty-four souls;”¹ and is now still further diminished. It is the see of a bishop, but for six centuries past this dignitary has not resided there, delegating his duties to a *proposto*, or provost. Such is the summer scourge of “*ariaccia*,” that even the wretched hamlet to which the city has dwindled is well nigh depopulated, and most of its houses are ruined and tenantless. It may well be called, as Repetti observes, “The city of Jeremiah.” It is but the skeleton, though a still living skeleton, of its former greatness. Pestilence, year after year, stalks through its long, silent street.² I visited it in the healthy season, when its population had not forsaken it, and on a fête-day, when every one was at home; yet hardly a soul did I perceive, and those few seemed to have scarcely energy enough left for wonderment. The visit of a stranger, however, is an epoch in the annals of the hamlet. I learned from the provost, Don Francesco Bulgherini, that the monotonous, death-like calm of Sovana had not been disturbed by a single visitor since Mr. Ainsley left it nearly a year previous.

Nothing is known of the ancient history of Sovana. Till now it was not supposed to have had an Etruscan origin. The Roman colony of Suana is mentioned in the catalogues of Pliny and Ptolemy;³ and that it occupied this site is proved by the preservation of the ancient name, which has remained almost unchanged—being called indifferently

¹ Repetti *z.* Soana.

² It would be interesting to trace the cause of its unhealthiness. It cannot be entirely owing to its situation in the plain, for it is raised about 960 feet above the level of the sea; yet Pitigliano, which stands some 150 feet higher, is comparatively free from malaria, and Sorano, on still loftier ground, is always healthy. The evil would seem to be in its peculiar locality, for other sites on much lower ground, and nearer the sea, are only “suspected” of, not infected by, malaria.

³ Pliny (III. 8) mentions the Suanenses. Ptol. Geog. p. 72, ed. Bert.

Soana or Sovana.¹ The only historical interest it possesses lies in its being the birth-place of Hildebrand, Gregory VII., the great ecclesiastical reformer of the eleventh century, the founder of the Papal supremacy over all secular power. Of Roman remains I observed only three *cippi* in the Piazza, with inscriptions of no general interest. Below the Duomo, on the descent to the western gate, are portions of the ancient wall, of *emplecton*, as at Sutri and Falleri. The Etruscan town must have been of very small size, little more than a mile in circumference. Yet the multitude and character of its sepulchres would indicate considerable importance, though this test is often fallacious. Suana can never have been of much weight in the Etruscan State; and must have been dependent on some larger city, probably on Volsinii.

Should any one be tempted to follow me to this desolate site, which, during the winter months, may be done with perfect impunity, let him leave Sovana by the western gate. As he descends into the ravine he will observe the opposite cliffs hewn into a long series of architectural façades, among which one with a recessed arch stands conspicuous. At this distance, indeed, he might take it for a new stone building; but let him force his way through the thick copse on the slope, and he finds its whiteness is but the hoariness of antiquity. This monument is called

LA FONTANA,

from some fancied resemblance to a fountain.² It is hewn from the tufo cliff, and in general size and form resembles the tombs of Norchia and Castel d'Asso, but instead of Etruscan cornices has a Doric-like frieze, surmounted by a pediment with singular reliefs; and in place of the door-moulding on the façade, it has an arched recess, with an inscription carved on the inner wall,³ and a couple of steps

¹ Repetti always speaks of it as Soana; but in the country it is generally called Sovana—which is more consistent with the Italian mode of corrupting Latin names, as exemplified in Mantova, Padova, Genova—and with the vulgar tendency to insert v.—Pávolo for Paolo.

² The hole in the rock at the top of the recess, shown in the woodcut at the head of this chapter, has given rise to this name, but it is evidently the result of mere accident.

³ The inscription is in letters ten inches high. Though much defaced, it appears to be a proper name, and in Roman letters would be

NULI . . IA. VELU
VELUS.

498 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

below it, which give it some resemblance to a modern way-side shrine. The general features of the monument, even without the open tomb beneath,¹ would prove it to be sepulchral.

The projecting *fascia* bears much resemblance to a Doric frieze,² but the pediment is very un-Hellenic in character. In the centre is an Etruscan mermaid, or marine deity—

Prima hominis facies, et pulchro pectore virgo
Pube tenus ; postrema immani corpore pistrix
Delphinum caudas utero commissa —

Her face has been utterly destroyed ; her body is naked, but over her head float her robes inflated by the breeze, and she is striving to confine them with her hands.³ The huge coils of her fishes' tails roll away on each side almost to the very extremity of the pediment. On either hand, flying from her with wings outspread, is a male genius ; the one on her left bears a shield on his arm, and has some traces of a helmet on his head.

These figures, from the prominence of their relief, have sustained much injury, and are by no means distinct. They have further suffered from a huge beech, which has taken root on the summit of the rocky mass, springing from above the head of the female, which it has almost destroyed, and riving the monument to its very base. The antiquary may complain, but the artist must rejoice ; for the tree overshadowing the monument renders it eminently picturesque.⁴

¹ The sepulchral chamber to which this monument is the tombstone, is entered by a passage opening in the hill-side, at an unusual depth below the façade. It is spacious, but empty, and in no way remarkable.

² It is divided into metopes, and what resemble triglyphs in outline, but not being channelled, are not entitled to the name ; there are no *guttae*.

³ Mr. Ainsley took her robes to be wings, and in truth the resemblance is not slight, and the analogy of similar figures on Etruscan urns, leads you to expect wings ; but here, the folds of the drapery are distinctly seen covering the left arm. She holds no instrument in her hand, as usual in such figures.

⁴ Mr. Ainsley's descriptions of this monument will be found in Bull. Inst. 1843, p. 157. Gentleman's Mag., Oct. 1843, p. 418. Ann. Inst. 1843, pp. 227–229. His drawing, plan, and section of the same, are published in the Mon. Ined. Inst. III. tav. LVI. What difference exists between his observations on this monument and mine (Ann. Inst. 1843, p. 234) is explained by the seasons in which we respectively visited the spot. The shade of the summer foliage must have greatly

I agree with Mr. Ainsley in regarding this monument as of a late period in Etruscan art. "There is a freedom of design, a certain flow of outline in the figures, together with a boldness of execution in the whole composition, which differ widely from the primitive style of Etruscan art." The subject is one which is not to be seen elsewhere in Etruria, on the façade of a tomb, though frequent on the cinerary urns of Volterra, Chiusi, and Perugia. These marine deities are of either sex, and are often represented with wings outspread, and with a small pair at their temples, which are bound with snakes. Sometimes they are brandishing harpoons or anchors, sometimes oars, swords, or even snakes, like the Furies. They are commonly called Glaucus or Scylla, according to their sex; but these terms are merely conventional, and it is possible that they may have no relation to those beings of the Greek mythology. Mysterious symbols of a long-forgotten creed, thus prominently displayed, they cannot fail to stir the imagination of the beholder.

In the same line of cliff, called Poggio Prisca, is a long range of sepulchral monuments, in general form, size, and character, like those of Norchia and Castel d'Asso, but in their details differing from any others yet discovered in Etruria. For, besides the Egyptian character of the outline and of the horizontal mouldings, which these tombs have in common with those of the sites mentioned, here we find cornices not receding but projecting, and actually taking the concave form, with the prominent *torus* beneath, so common on the banks of the Nile; and this not in a solitary

impeded his investigation; while I found the tomb exposed to the full glare of a vernal sun.

The dimensions of La Fontana are:—Width at the base 17 feet. Height to the apex of the pediment about 17 feet—the height to the frieze being 10 feet, and that of the pediment 7 feet. Height of frieze 18 inches; its projection 8 inches. The recess is 8 feet 9 inches in height; 7 feet 5 inches in width at the bottom; and varying in depth from 3 feet 8 inches below, to 2 feet 8 inches above. There is a sort of buttress of rock on each side of the arch, now much defaced; which Mr. Ainsley suggests may have supported figures of lions, or some other decorative sculpture. There are similar buttresses attached to a tomb at Castel d'Asso. See Chapter XV. p. 280. Steps anciently cut in the rock by the side of the monument lead to the summit of the cliff; as shown in the woodcut at page 492.

500 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

monument, but repeated again and again, so as to remove all suspicion that this striking resemblance to Egyptian architecture was the result of accident. The Etruscan character is seen in the moulded door on the façade, and in the inscription within it; but the dentilled fillet below the *torus*, and the rock-hewn pedestal which often surmounts the monument, are rather Greek and Roman features.

The upper chamber, so common at Norchia and Castel d'Asso, is unknown at Sovana, but there is some analogy to it in a recess hollowed in the façade of a monument, and having a bench at the back; either for a sarcophagus, for the *cippus*, or for the accommodation of mourning friends. This is a feature not uncommon on this site; it is seen, in fact, in the Fontana.¹

These façades are separated as usual by flights of steps, hewn in the rock, and leading from the base of the cliff to the level of the plain.² In front of each monument is a long pit, the deep narrow passage to the tomb, which lies at an unusual depth, and has a moulded door precisely like that on the façade. Even where the roofs of these passages have not fallen in, there is a large oblong pit at the base of the monument, the mouth of a vertical shaft, like those at Falleri and Civita Castellana. The sepulchres are in general spacious, surrounded by benches of rock, but with no internal decoration, as far as I could perceive.

Following the range of cliffs northward, I came upon another group of tombs of similar character, and many with inscriptions, more or less legible. This part of the necropolis is called Sopraripa.

It were vain to attempt a visit to these tombs unarmed with a hatchet, so dense are the tangled thickets; and all care must be had in crossing the yawning pits with which the slopes are furrowed; for the ground is kept moist and

¹ In the Sopraripa is a monument with a recessed arch, as in the Fontana, but without inscription or sculptured pediment; and in the cliffs on the opposite side of the glen, such an arch contains a sepulchral column or *cippus*, hewn out of the rock; and it is probable that all these arched recesses held *cippi*, portable in some cases, fixtures in others.

² An instance is shown in the woodcut at the head of this chapter. Such steps as these are regarded by Orioli (ap. Inghir. Mon. Etrus. IV. p. 181) as a proof that the Etruscans had an external staircase, leading from one story to another of their houses. But it would be fairer to infer that such staircases led to the roofs of their abodes.

slippery by the overhanging foliage, and a false step on the brink would, in every sense, be a step into the grave. Mr. Ainsley was obliged to get the peasants to pioneer him a way from one monument to another with their wood-bills, and to clear the foliage from the façades; and I also reaped unequivocal benefit from their labours.

From the Sopraripa I perceived the cliffs on the opposite side of the wide ravine to be full of tombs, and crossing the stream by a bridge of some antiquity, I reached the

GROTTA POLA,

one of the most singular monuments in this necropolis, and the only one of the sepulchres of Etruria which bears any resemblance to the celebrated temple-tombs of Norchia. Here is Mr. Ainsley's description of it:—

“It has the form of the portico of a temple, cut out of the solid tufo. One column only remains, supporting a corner of the pediment, and behind it is a square pilaster, attached to the surface of the rock, representing the body of the temple. Both column and pilaster are fluted, and adorned with corresponding capitals, which seem to have been very similar to one that I have seen in Signor Campanari's museum at Toscanella, having foliage running round its base, and springing boldly up to the corners, somewhat in the manner of the Corinthian, but with large human heads placed in the middle of each face of the capital, between the foliage. The effects of time are too great to allow one to judge of the character of these heads. It is apparent that the column, the pilaster, and the face of the rock have been covered with stucco and coloured; and this is most manifest in the latter, where a broad *fascia* of the usual deep red colour has run along the bottom. The portico seems to have consisted of four columns, but not equally distant from one another, being coupled at the two ends, so as to leave a wider space between the two pairs than between each column and its fellow. The pediment is too much injured to allow one to judge if there has been sculpture in it; but the soffit of that part which remains is decorated with medallions. The whole monument is elevated on a base, without any traces of steps, and must have had an imposing appearance when perfect; whilst in its

502 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

ruin, decorated as it is with the trees which grow out of the crevices, and have partly occasioned its destruction, it presents one of the most picturesque objects which my portfolio contains."¹

The style of this monument marks it as of no very early date, and it is probably of the time of Roman domination in Etruria. No tomb is seen below it, because the passage to it is not cleared out; yet there can be no doubt of its sepulchral character. This portico seems but a small portion of a much mightier monument; in truth it is highly probable, from the traces of art on the adjoining rocks, that there has been on this spot, as Mr. Ainsley observes, "an union of objects of architectural grandeur, not to be seen in any other part of Etruria."²

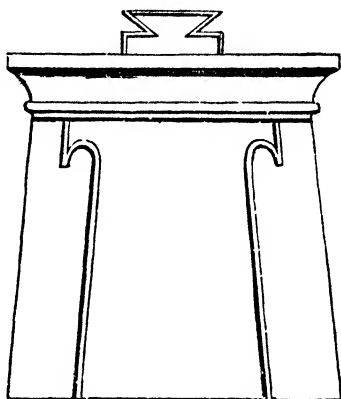
The height in which the Grotta Pola lies is called Poggio Stanziale. In the same line of cliffs are many tombs in

¹ Bull. Inst. 1843, p. 155; and Gentleman's Mag., Oct. 1843, p. 418. I can add little to this accurate description; yet as I am the only traveller who, beside Mr. Ainsley, has visited the spot, it may be well to remark, that I am by no means certain that the decorations of the column and pilaster represent human heads. The surface of the tufo, out of which the entire monument is hewn, is so decayed, that it is difficult to determine the point, but to my eye there was some resemblance to large pine-cones, a common sepulchral emblem among the Etruscans; yet analogy would rather favour the heads. See Bull. Inst. 1830, p. 136. Mon. Ined. Inst. II. tav. XX. No volutes are now remaining in these capitals, and it can only be from analogy that Mr. Ainsley deems them to have existed. Mr. Ainsley's accurate plans and sections of this monument will be found in the Mon. Ined. Inst. III. tav. LV., and a further description in Ann. Inst. 1843, pp. 224-7.

The dimensions of the portico, according to my measurement, are:—Height of the column and pilaster 15 feet 6 inches; of the capitals, 2 feet 6 inches; of the head, 1 foot 4 inches. Diameter of the column nearly 3 feet. Breadth of the pilaster, the same; its relief, 1 foot 6 inches. Distance between the capitals at the *hypotrachelium* 3 feet 1 inch. The height of the *podium*, or base, varies from 7 to 8 feet. The portico is 7 feet deep; but its width is not easy to determine, owing to the injured state of the monument. Mr. Ainsley thinks it about 26 feet wide. Of the second column but a stump now exists; the intercolumniation is 2 feet 8 inches.

² The rocks adjoining retain traces of the chisel and of stucco, and there is a wide artificial passage behind the monument, as shown in Mr. Ainsley's plan. Mon. Ined. Inst. III. tav. LV. fig. 6. One cornice is very distinct. I have little doubt that there has been a second portico adjoining, for I remarked traces of four columns, somewhat in advance of the Grotta Pola. This must have given the monument, in its original state, a very close analogy to the temple-tombs of Norchia.

curious variety. Some are purely Egyptian in outline and mouldings, as shown in the annexed woodcut. Some are surmounted by two long masses of rock, as a pedestal for a figure or *cippus*, but in most it is of more artificial form. In some of the façades are two or three long body-niches, recessed one above the other; which must be of subsequent formation to the monuments, and may be of Christian date.



FAÇADE OF A TOMB AT SOVANA.

But the most remarkable sepulchres in this part of the necropolis are what may be termed house-tombs, as they are detached masses of rock hewn into the form of houses. They have a sort of portico *in antis*, in one instance flanked by pilasters with simple capitals, and surmounted by pediments, with a cornice below, and the beam-end of the roof above, in obvious imitation of wood-work. The house-character is seen also more clearly in the roof, which in one instance is rounded, and ribbed with parallel ridges, like joint-tiles, apparently in representation of a hut arched over with hoops, and covered with skins;¹ indeed, there is much primitive character in these tombs, and they recall the singular hut-urns of the Alban Mount. In this instance, there is a moulded door within the portico, indicating the entrance to the abode.

One of these house-tombs has its pediment decorated with a colossal head, in high relief, of very bold and imposing character. It represents the Etruscan Typhon, or

¹ There are traces also of *antefixe* at the extremities of these ridges, just as on many Etruscan urns and sarcophagi—that from Bomarzo, now in the British Museum, for instance, described at page 271. Orioli speaks of a tomb at Norchia roofed with cylindrical beams (*Ann. Inst.* 1833, p. 42), which must have much resembled this at Sovana; but I did not observe it.

504 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

Principle of Destruction, and has long serpent-locks, one of his usual attributes.¹ The soffit of the portico is coffered with a diamond pattern.

As types of Etruscan domestic architecture, these tombs of Sovana have a peculiar interest. That most of the other monuments on this and kindred sites, which have moulded doors in their façades, represent dwellings there can be little doubt; but these few in question are too palpably imitations to admit of a moment's scepticism. I know no other instances of gabled tombs in Etruria, save one at Bieda, which does not bear so close an analogy to a house, except in having the sepulchral chamber within the body of the monument, instead of beneath it, as in those just described. No Etruscan *necropolis* more truly merits that name, or has the character of a "city of the dead" more strongly expressed in its monuments, than this of Sovana.²

In the cliff below the town opposite the Fontana, is a singular tomb with a vaulted roof, with something like a large Maltese cross in relief. The inner wall is recessed like the apsis of a church, and there are niches around the chamber.

The tombs described are the most remarkable among the countless numbers around Sovana. The glens on the east of the town are also full of sepulchres, but of more ordinary character—simple chambers surrounded by rock-hewn benches, without decoration, inside or out. It might be inferred that there was some separation of classes in this necropolis—that in these glens lay the *commune vulgus*,

¹ Mr. Ainsley took these snake-locks for "flowing hair." I think he is mistaken. Nor could I perceive any signs of wings on the brows, which he fancied he perceived. The angles of the *tympanum* are filled with foliage, whose flowing and elegant character, as he remarks, seems to mark the monument as of a late epoch. He has given an elevation and section of this tomb in Mon. Ined. Inst. III. tav. LVII. 1, 2. In size it is rather inferior to La Fontana, but the recess of the portico is much more spacious.

² Orioli (Ann. Inst. 1833, p. 41) conceived that the similar cemeteries of Norchia and Castel d'Asso represented cities in the mountains—each row of monuments imaging a street, and each sepulchre a dwelling—the whole, at the same time, having a symbolical reference, as the city of Mantus, Mania (the Pluto and Proserpine of the Etruscans), and the Manes. The tombs he further regarded as so many temples, where the deified spirits of the deceased—*dii Manes*—took up their abode, and received divine honours.

while at the west-end were interred the patrician and sacerdotal dead of Sovana.

I agree with Mr. Ainsley in considering the monuments in this necropolis to be generally less archaic in character than those of Castel d'Asso and Norchia, saving the temple-tombs on the latter site, though there is by no means an appearance of uniform antiquity. At the same time there is here a much larger number of cliff-hewn sepulchres than on any other Etruscan site; and a far greater variety of architectural decoration. Nowhere are the mouldings so singular and so varied; for they show the characteristics of widely remote countries, and of very different ages. Egypt, Greece, Etruria, and Rome, have all their stamp here expressed.¹ In the general character of its sepulchres there is the same variety; for to its own peculiar features Sovana unites the characteristics of other Etruscan cemeteries widely distant from it, and from one another. Norchia, Bieda, Castel d'Asso, Falleri, Sutri, Cervetri—all find here their representatives. Yet I did not perceive one tumulus like those of Tarquinii, Vulci, and Cervetri. Nowhere are sepulchral niches in greater abundance and variety.² There are niches for urns, and niches for bodies—the large conical niches, surmounted by small ones, so common at Civita Castellana—shelf-niches in double or triple tiers—port-hole niches, and loop-hole niches—and of *columbaria* there are as many as on any other site, except Sorano. Nowhere, moreover, are inscriptions on the exterior of the monuments so abundant; and of the Poggio Prisca and Sopraripa it may almost be said—

nullum est sine nomine saxum.

Nearly every rock here speaks Etruscan.³

The neighbourhood of Sovana abounds in ancient road cut through the tufo. The most remarkable of these are to the west, behind the Madonna del Sebastiano, where two ways are cut through the rock up to the level of the plain. They are not more than eight or ten feet wide, though about seventy or eighty feet deep, and the thin strip of sky over-

¹ See the Appendix, Note I.

² These niches have generally grooves in front for the upright slab which anciently closed them.

³ The inscriptions that are legible are given in the Appendix to this Chapter, Note II.

506 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

head is almost shut out by overshadowing trees. Traces of a few tombs, and water-channels, indicate the Etruscan origin of these clefts. The profound perpetual gloom of these mediterranean roads has invested them with a superstitious awe, and no Sovanese ventures to enter the Cave di San Sebastiano without signing the cross and committing himself to the care of the Virgin and his favourite saint. The Virgin is within hearing, for her shrine stands at the foot of the slope ; and she is reminded of her tutelary duties by a prayer inscribed on the portico. "*Santa Maria ! proteggete Sovana, à te devota !*"

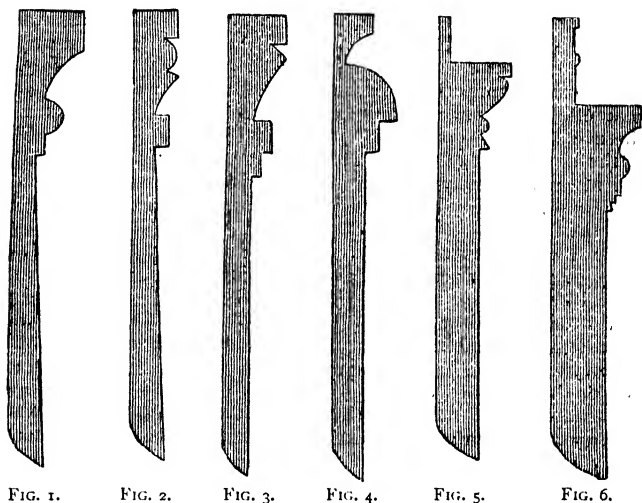
Sovana presents a new field to the excavator. The tombs in the cliffs have been rifled ages since ; but the plain above must also be full of sepulchres, to which the spade and mattock are the only keys. The richness of architectural decoration in this necropolis seems to augur a corresponding wealth of sepulchral furniture ; but this remains to be proved by Campanari, François, and Co.

Such is the necropolis of Sovana, such the treasures it offers to the antiquary. Let no one who feels interest in the past, enter this district of Etruria without paying it a visit. It is better worth a pilgrimage than one half of known Etruscan sites. In point of sepulchres, what is there at Falleri—what at Castel d'Asso—what at Toscanella—what at Bieda—to rival its interest ? In exterior attractions, its tombs will bear comparison with those of any other necropolis in Southern Etruria ; even Norchia cannot surpass it. Everything, however, be it remembered, yields in interest to the "shadow-peopled caves" of Tarquinii and Chiusi.

Sovana may be reached from three sides ; from the east, leaving the high-road to Siena at Acquapendente, or San Lorenzo ; from the west by the road leading from Orbetello through Manciano ; and from the south, from Montalto or Toscanella, through Farnese, Ischia or Valentano ; and it should always be borne in mind that Pitigliano, not Sovana, is the point directly to be aimed at, as the latter is utterly destitute of accommodation, and at the former "the Baby" welcomes the traveller with open arms.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXVI.

NOTE I.—MOULDINGS OF TOMBS AT SOVANA



IT must be understood that these mouldings are those of the façades of tombs, seen in profile, varying from 12 to 20 or 25 feet in height. The upper part recessed in figs. 5 and 6, is the pedestal of the *cippus* or statue which surmounted the tomb; it is shown in the woodcut at page 503. The lower member of the cornices in figs. 1, 3, 5, 6, is dentilled. These mouldings are unlike those on any other Etruscan site; and probably have their counterparts in no other land; though certain of them have a strong Egyptian character. The most singular is that of fig. 4; and next, perhaps, fig. 2. But further comment from an unprofessional man is uncalled for. I give these mouldings rather in the hope of exciting curiosity in the unstudied subject of Etruscan architecture, than with any expectation of satisfying it.

NOTE II.—ETRUSCAN INSCRIPTIONS.

The inscriptions at Sovana, though unusually numerous, are in many cases quite illegible, owing to the decay of the surface of the monument on which they are carved. The tufo here is

508 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

of a deep red hue, which indurates better perhaps than the lighter sorts, but it is filled with large lumps of carbon, which, decaying sooner than the earthy matter by exposure to the weather, leaves holes in the surface of the rock. There are other difficulties in the way of making correct transcripts of these inscriptions. Unless the sun fall on the façade, it is often impossible to read from below, and the inscription must be *felt*—in all cases the surest means of arriving at accuracy; for the finger can distinguish the indentation formed by the chisel from that effected by accidental causes, and thus will often correct the eye. But to reach with the hand letters which are generally at the upper part of the façade of a smooth-faced monument, is not always an easy matter. Often have I reclined on the top of a tomb, with my body hanging half over its face, clinging for support to some projection of the rock, or some friendly bough, while I endeavoured, too frequently in vain, to feel my way through an inscription or bas-relief; and often, as at Sovana, have I been forced to assume a more perilous position, standing on tip-toe, spread-eagled against the front of the monument, with nothing to save me from the yawning pit at my feet, some thirty or forty feet deep, but the ledge of rock on which I stood, only two or three inches wide, and ever slippery with moisture, and the grasp of one hand on the angle of the façade, or in some shallow hole in the smooth-hewn tufo. Yet thus have I hung many a while,

“Spelling out scrolls of dread antiquity.”

The inscriptions instead of being, as at Castel d'Asso, on the principal *fascia* of the cornice, are here invariably within the moulded doorway, which is always immediately under the cornice, as shown at page 503.

The inscription within the arch of La Fontana has already been given at page 497, and in its Etruscan form is seen in the illustration of that monument at the head of this chapter.

On a tomb, in the same line of cliffs, I read “THPNSEHVRIE,” which is but a fragment.

On the next tomb is—

ANVOLEF:AIYEO
NEA

Or, in Roman letters, “THESTIA: VELTHURNA . . . NECNA.” The first letter in the lower line is doubtful; the former part of it may be a natural indentation in the rock, and the rest may have been an L. The inscription is the epitaph of a female, Thestia. Her gentilitial name Velthurna is equivalent to Vol-

turna, or Voltumna, the great goddess of the Etruscans. Lecna is the Etruscan form of Licinia.

On another tomb, hard by, is—

✱
IOAJIOVMA)E
AIVJIDJA

or “ECASUTHILATHI ALCILNIA,” which I would divide thus, “Eca Suthi Lathial (for Larthial) Cilnia.” The latter word is the great Etruscan *gens*, so celebrated in the annals of Arretium, and to which Mæcenus belonged; though it is not generally so written in Etruscan, but is metamorphosed into Cvelne, Cvenle, or Cvenles—

MƏJNƏJ)

See the Chapter on Siena. The strange star above this inscription has been conjectured by an antiquary of celebrity to be a numeral.

In the Sopraripa is a tomb with “SA RANTHA,” which is probably but a fragment. Rantha or Ramtha is an Etruscan female name.

Of one inscription I could only trace the letters . . “THRA” . . and of another of two lines, only “LARTHA” was distinguishable.

In the Poggio Stanziale, near the house-tombs, I read this fragment, “TRIAS . P . .” On an adjoining monument is the simple word “CAL,” which formed the entire inscription.

In the same line of cliff is this epigraph—“CETC EVEL . NES.” The letters, however, are by no means distinct. If, as Mr. Ainsley reads it, there be no stop before the last syllable, we have CEVELNES, which betrays a strong affinity to the Cvelnes, or Cvenles, mentioned above, and strengthens the probability of the great Cilnian *gens* having been located at Suana, as well as at Arretium.

CHAPTER XXVII

BOLSENA.—*VOLSINII*

—positis nemorosa inter juga Volsiniis.—JUVENAL.

Vedeva Troja in cenere e 'n caverne :
O Ilión, come te basso e vile
Mostrava 'l segno che lì si discerne !— DANTE.

FROM Pitigliano and its interesting neighbourhood I proceeded to Bolsena, entering the Papal State at Ornano, a wretched village seven or eight miles from Sorano. Passport and baggage in this case proved no *impedimenta* ; in truth, save at Civita Vecchia, the grand portal to Rome, I have never experienced any inconvenience on entering the State, and have found the *doganieri* uniformly civil, often courteous, and in no way forward to exert their authority. It were ungracious to attribute their forbearance to the venality of which they are accused.

From Ornano a road runs to Acquapendente, on the highway from Florence to Rome. This has been supposed to be the Acula of Ptolemy, and the colony of the Aquenses mentioned by Pliny¹—an opinion founded merely on the similarity of its name, which is evidently derived from the physical peculiarities of the site. Acquapendente appears to be wholly of the middle ages—no traces of the Romans, still less of the Etruscans, could I perceive on this spot.

At Ornano I chose the more direct route to Bolsena,

¹ Ptolem. Geog. p. 72, ed. Bert. ; Plin. N. H. III. 8—Aquenses, cognomine Taurini. Dempster (de Etruria Regali, II. p. 342) held this opinion. But Cluver (Ital. Ant. II. p. 570) shows that the Acula of Ptolemy was no other than the Ad Aquileia of the Peutingerian Table, the first stage from Florentia on the road to Clusium. And the Aquæ Tauri of Pliny were in the mountains, three miles from Centumcellæ, or Civita Vecchia, as says Rutilius (I. 249),—

Nosse juvat Tauri dictas de nomine thermas,
Nec mora difficilis millibus ire tribus.

They are now called Bagni di Ferrata.

which I had soon cause to repent, for here, as usual, the proverb was verified—

*No hay atajo
Sin trabajo—*

There is no short cut
Without many a rut.

The lanes through which it lay were so many beds of stiff clay, saturated with the recent rains, so that the beasts sank knee-deep at every step, and sometimes threatened to become as permanently stationary as “my uncle Toby’s Hobby-horse.” Thus—

“I long in miry ways was foiled
And sore discomfited, from slough to slough
Plunging, and half despairing to escape,”—

till I found *terra-firma* again at Le Grotte di San Lorenzo. This is evidently an Etruscan site; the surrounding ravines contain sepulchral caves, though hardly in such numbers as to entitle the village to the name, *par excellence*, of Le Grotte. The red wine to which it gives its name is known at Rome as among the best the State produces.¹

A couple of miles further carried me to San Lorenzo Nuovo, on the highway from Florence to Rome, where “the great Volsinian mere” bursts upon the view. The road thence to Bolsena is well known, but I may mention, what cannot be learned from the guide-books, that the picturesque and deserted village of San Lorenzo Vecchio, about a mile distant—*un miglio grasso*—“a fat mile,” as the natives say—occupies an Etruscan site.²

It was a glorious day when I approached Bolsena. The sky was without a cloud—the lake, its islets, and every object on its shores, were in a summer blaze of light and warmth—the olive-groves were full of half-clad labourers, gathering the unctuous harvest—myriads of water-fowl darkened the sailless waters—my eye roved round the wide amphitheatre which forms the ancient crater, and on every hand beheld the hills from base to summit dark with

¹ If the Lago Mezzano be the Lacus Statoniensis, this may be the very wine famed of old as the Statonian (Plin. N. H. XIV. 8. 5), for the lake is but six or seven miles distant.

² In the cliffs around and beneath the walls are many caves, originally sepulchres. This cannot have been anciently a town. Its circumscribed area, not larger than that of a small castle, rather indicates it as one of the strongholds—*castella*—which Volsinii possessed. Liv. IX. 41.

512 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

variegated foliage. How then discredit the evidence of my eyes—of every sense, and admit it to be the depth of winter, ere vegetation had put forth a single bud or blossom? Yet so it was,—but it was the winter of Southern climes.

Bolsena is the representative of the ancient Volsinii,¹ one of the most ancient,² most wealthy, and most powerful cities of Etruria,³ and without doubt one of the Twelve of the Confederation.⁴

The first mention we find of Volsinii in ancient writers is in the year of Rome 362 (B.C. 392), shortly after the fall of Veii, when in conjunction with Salpinum, a neighbouring town, it took the occasion of a famine and pestilence that

¹ Volsinii must have been called Velsina by the Etruscans, or perhaps Velsuna, as it would appear from coins. If the first, it had anciently the same appellation as Bologna—Felsina. Velsi, or Velsina, was a common family name, often found on sepulchral inscriptions. The change of the Etruscan *e* into the Latin *o* was frequent—Volumnius for Velimnas in the celebrated tomb of Perugia, for instance. The two letters, indeed, were interchangeable among the Romans, who had originally *benus* for *bonus*, *delor* for *dolor*, &c., which holds also among their Iberian descendants, who have *bueno*, *duelo*, &c. The original name of Volsinii may well have been Velsuna, as we find “Volsonianus” in an inscription found near Viterbo, referring to places in the neighbourhood. Ann. Inst. 1829, p. 175. Propertius (IV. eleg. 2, 4) has Volsanus, though in some editions written Volsinius. But the name of Vulsine has also been found; and at Bolsena itself (Lanzi, II. p. 406); and Vuisina, or Vusina, occurs several times in the Lecne Tomb, near Siena. Lanzi, II. p. 361. There is a gold coin, with the type of a woman’s head and a dog, and the legend “VELSU” in Etruscan letters, which Sestini has assigned to Velia or Felsina (Bologna), but which Müller (Etrusk. I. p. 334) attributes to Volsinii (Velsine or Velsune); and he thinks that many copper coins that have been referred to Volterra, or Bettona, more properly belong to Volsinii. Chev. Bunsen (Bull. Inst. 1833, p. 97) considers this conjecture of Müller’s, as to the gold coin, to be most happy. Passeri (de Etrus. Funere, p. 102, ap. Gori Mus. Etrus. III.) accounts for the absence of coins of Volsinii, by a passage of Livy (X. 37), which states that the Romans exacted a large tribute from the city. It is difficult to believe him to be serious.

² Zonar. Annal. VIII. 7.

³ Plin. N. H. II. 53; Val. Max. IX. 1; Flor. I. 21; Liv. X. 37; cf. Plin. XXXIV. 16.

⁴ Livy (loc. cit.) ranks it with Arretium and Perugia, as among the “capita Etruriæ;” and Valerius Maximus also (loc. cit.) so designates it. Pliny (II. 54), however, speaks of Porsenna as king of Volsinii, which might be interpreted into a dependence on Chiusi, but perhaps indicates merely a connection. Müller (Etrusk. einl. 2, 17) is of opinion that after the fall of Tarquinii, Volsinii was probably the mightiest state of Etruria.

had desolated the Roman territory, to make hostile incursions. But these were soon checked ; the Volsinienses were beaten, Livy says, with great ease, and 8,000 men laid down their arms, and were glad to purchase a truce of twenty years on humiliating terms.¹

Volsinii, with the rest of the Etruscan States, took part in the war which broke out in the year 443 (B.C. 311), commencing with the siege of Sutrium,² and after the fatal overthrow on the Vadimonian Lake,³ which must have been in the territory of Volsinii, we find it stated that Publius Decius Mus, the Roman Consul in the year 446, took several strongholds belonging to this city.⁴

In the year 460 (B.C. 294) L. Postumius Megellus, the consul, laid waste the territory of the Volsinienses, and routed their army not far from their city, leaving 2,800 of them dead on the field. In consequence of this, with Perugia and Arretium, they sought for peace, which was granted for forty years on the payment of a heavy fine.⁵

After this, just before the war with Pyrrhus, the Volsinienses again took up arms against Rome,⁶ but were defeated, together with their allies, the Vulciantes, in the year 474 (B.C. 280);⁷ and it would seem that they were

¹ Liv. V. 31, 32 ; Diod. XIV. p. 319, ed Rhod. The latter writer states that the battle was fought at Gurasium, which Cluver (II. p. 557) regards as a corruption of some better known name. Niebuhr (III. p. 274) says it is clear, from the feeble way in which the war of 368 was carried on, that it was the enterprise of Volsinii alone. But this city is not mentioned by Livy (VI. 9, 10), who records the events of that war.

Müller (Etrusk. einl. 2. 15. n. 124) thinks that the Solonium mentioned by Dionysius (II. p. 104) as an Etruscan city, whence a Lucumo, probably Cæles Vibenna, came to the assistance of Romulus, was Volsinii. Cluver (II. pp. 454, 473), however, thinks Vetulonium is here the true reading ; while others would have it Populonium.

² Liv. IX. 32.

³ Liv. IX. 39.

⁴ Liv. IX. 41 ; Diodorus (XX. p. 781) merely says that the Romans took a castle called Caprium, or as some readings have it, Cærium.

⁵ Liv. X. 37.

⁶ Epitome of Liv. XI.

⁷ See the Fasti Consulares in the Capitol—

..... VNCANIVS . TI . F . TI . N . COS . ANN . CDLXXIII .
 .. VLSINIENSIBVS . ET . VVLCIENTIB . K . FEBR .

Pliny (N. H. XXXIV. 16) states that Metrodorus Scepsius, a Greek writer greatly prejudiced against the Romans, had asserted that Volsinii was attacked for the sake of two thousand statues it contained.

514 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

then finally subdued.¹ Yet it is difficult to reconcile their energy and love of independence shown in their being among the last people of Etruria to resist the Roman yoke, with the abject state of degradation into which, but a few years after, they had fallen, when they besought the aid of Rome to regulate their internal affairs. It seems that they had sunk into such an abyss of luxury and effeminacy, as to find the government of their state too irksome a task for their hands, and—unparalleled degradation!—they committed it in part to their slaves. These soon usurped the supreme power, rode rough-shod over their masters, driving them into exile, or treating them as slaves, forbidding them to assemble even at the banquet, compelling them to draw up wills as they were commanded, uniting themselves by marriage with the first families, and committing other acts of unbridled license. The Romans sent an army to the assistance of the masters, and soon restored to them the dominion they had so pitifully renounced.²

¹ The conquest which the *Fasti Consulares* record, in the year 489, must refer to the subjugation of the revolted slaves—

M . FVLVIVS . Q . F . M . N . FLACCVS . AN . CDXXCIX .
COS . DE . VVLSINIENSIBVS . K . NOV .

Aurelius Victor (de Viris Illust. XXXVII.)—"App. Claudius Caudex, victis Vulsiniensibus"—must refer to the same event; for Zonaras expressly asserts that the Volsinienses on that occasion called in the Romans, as being already their allies—*ἑσπονοῦδοι γὰρ ἦσαν αὐτῶν*; which seems most consistent with probability; for it is only the sense of security consequent on an alliance with, or dependence on Rome, that can explain their sudden fall into such depths of luxury. Therefore, the reduction of this people to the Roman yoke must have been earlier; and as there is no mention of any intervening contest, it is most probable that that of 474 was the final one.

² So the story is related by Valerius Maximus, IX. 1; Florus, I. 21; Zonaras, Ann. VIII. 7; Orosius, IV. 5; A. Victor, in Decio Mure. This event was just before the first Punic war, according to Zonaras and Florus; and as the latter states that the Romans on this occasion were commanded by Q. Fabius Gurgus, it probably occurred in 489, when he was consul. Zonaras says that Q. Fabius and Æmilius were consuls, but this must be an error for Mamilius—L. Mamilius Vitulus, who shared the consulate with Gurgus. It must be this event which is referred to in the Epitome of the XVI. book of Livy—*res contra Pœnos et Vulsinios prospere gestas continet*. Aurelius Victor erroneously states that the Volsinian slaves were subdued by Decius Mus, but he, that is the third of his name, was slain in 475, in the Tarentine War (Cic. Tusc. Quæst. I. 37; De Fin. II. 19); and Victor seems to have confounded this subjugation of the slaves with the war of conquest

We hear little more of Volsinii in ancient times. It was the birthplace of Sejanus, the favourite of Tiberius.¹ Pliny—

Quel savio gentil che tutto seppe—

asserts that it was once consumed and utterly destroyed by a thunderbolt,² and also that lightning was once drawn from heaven by certain sacred rites and prayers, to destroy a monster, called Volta, which was ravaging the land.³ He further states that hand-mills were invented at Volsinii, and that some turned of their own accord; ⁴ whence it would appear that “that shrewd and knavish sprite, called Robin Goodfellow,” was of Etruscan origin—a fact worthy of the attention of all Etrusco-Celtic theorists.

That Volsinii continued to exist under the Empire is evident from the mention made of it by ancient writers,⁵ as well as from remains discovered on the spot.

To a practised eye it is evident at a glance that the Etruscan city did not occupy the site of Bolsena. The low rock on which the medieval castle stands, is only large enough for a small fortress; and if that were the acropolis,

against Volsinii, fifteen years previous. Cluver (II. p. 558) falls into a similar error.

In all the above-cited accounts, the insurgents at Volsinii are called slaves—*servi*, *οἰκέται*—but Niebuhr pronounces them to have been not domestic slaves, but serfs—the governed class in the feudal system of Etruria. On this view, the mystery of the reported sudden fall into luxury vanishes; for it was by the aid of the serfs that Volsinii had previously been enabled to maintain, almost single-handed, so long and obstinate a struggle with Rome, and “for the defenders of their common home,” as Niebuhr remarks, “to become citizens was a matter of course.” The great historian of Rome considers the fact to amount to no more than that the serfs obtained, by force, physical or moral, the franchise, seats in the senate, and the rights of intermarriage and inheritance; and that all colouring superadded must be attributed to party hatred, or to the foolish exaggerations of Greek writers. Hist. Rome, I. p. 124; III. p. 546.

¹ Tacit. Ann. IV. 1; VI. 8.

² Plin. II. 53. cf. Tertul. Apolog. XL.; de Pallio, II.

³ Plin. II. 54.

⁴ Plin. XXXVI. 29.

⁵ Niebuhr (III. p. 547) says that it disappeared from the number of Etruscan towns, because it is not found among those which supported the undertaking of Scipio. Liv. XXVIII. 45. But it is subsequently mentioned by Tacitus (loc. cit.), Strabo (V. p. 226), who refers to it as one of the principal cities of Etruria in his day, Ptolemy (Geog. p. 72, ed. Bert.), and Pliny (III. 8).

516 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

the city must have stood on the shore of the lake, and on the slope of the long-drawn hill, which rises behind it—a position of no natural strength, and such as belonged to no city of Etruria, save those of Pelasgic origin on the coast ; and which, moreover, is at variance with that of Volsinii, which was remarkable for its strength. In fact it is on record that on the conquest of that city by the Romans, it was razed to the ground, and its inhabitants were compelled to settle on another and probably less defensible site ;¹ as was the case with Falerii. This then was the origin of Bolsena, which, as is confirmed by extant remains, occupies the site of Roman, not of Etruscan, Volsinii. The latter must be sought on more elevated ground.

Some have thought that Etruscan Volsinii occupied the site of Orvieto—*Urbs Vetus*—"the old city," *par excellence* ;² others place it at Monte Fiascone,³ but there is no reason to believe it eight or nine miles from its Roman representative. More probably it stood in the neighbourhood of Bolsena ; in which case it must have occupied one of the cliff-girt heights to the south-east, which are full of sepulchral caves, or the crest of the hill which overhangs the ruined amphitheatre. Chevalier Bunsen, some years since, asserted that "on a rock of difficult access, on whose slopes lies Bolsena, considerable remains of the original city were to be seen ;"⁴ but that description is vague enough to apply to any of the heights just mentioned. The uncertainty attaching to the site led me to revisit Bolsena in the summer of 1846, when I had the satisfaction of determining that the Etruscan city must have occupied the summit of the hill above the amphitheatre, the loftiest height on this side of the lake, where the ground spreads out into a table-land, extensive enough to hold a city of first-rate importance. The spot is commonly called *Il Piazzano*, and is the property of the Count Corza Capusavia. If this be the site referred to by Chevalier Bunsen, it has now no considerable remains to show, or they were lost to my sight in the corn and underwood ; but the soil, wherever visible, was strewn with broken pottery, with-

¹ Zonaras, *Annal.* VIII. 7.

² Müller, *Etrusk. I.* p. 451 ; Orioli, *Nouv. Ann. Inst.* 1836, p. 50.

³ Abeken, *Mittelitalien*, p. 34.

⁴ *Bull. Inst.* 1833, p. 96. He strenuously combats Müller's notion of Volsinii being at Orvieto.

out any admixture of marbles or more precious materials, such as commonly mark the sites of Roman cities—thus bearing testimony to its early habitation. Towards the lake the ground breaks into cliffs, which, together with its great elevation, must have rendered the height difficult of access.¹

The vestiges of the Etruscan greatness of Volsinii are few indeed. Her walls, so mighty and strong,² are level with the dust; not a relic of her temples and palaces—not a *torso* of the multitude of statues which once adorned the city—is now to be seen. Beyond the broken pottery, and a few caves in the cliffs below, now hardly to be recognized as tombs,³ nothing is left to indicate the existence of this once powerful and opulent city of Etruria,—

“ High towers, faire temples, goodly theaters,
Strong walls, rich porches, princelie pallaces,
Large streetes, brave houses, sacred sepulchres,
Sure gates, sweete gardens, stately galleries,
Wrought with faire pillours and fine imageries ;
All those (O pitie !) now are turn'd to dust,
And overgrowne with black oblivion's rust.”

In Roman remains Bolsena is not deficient. Just without the Florence gate stand the ruins of a temple, vulgarly called Tempio di Norzia, but on no other authority than that Nortia, the Fortune of Etruscan mythology, is known to have had a shrine at Volsinii.⁴ The temple of this

¹ These cliffs, from below, look in parts extremely like masonry. Can it be these that the Chevalier mistook for the city-walls?

² Zonar. Ann. VIII. 7—*τείχος ὀχυρώτατον*.

³ These sepulchres are not such as to tax the traveller's time or attention, being formless, defaced, and tenanted by hogs or mendicants. A few are *columbaria*, as at Toscanella, Sorano, Pitigliano.

⁴ Liv. VII. 3; Tertull. Apologet. 24; ad Nationes, II. 8; Juvenal (X. 74) implies the same, by supposing Nursia, as he calls this goddess, to favour Sejanus, who was born at Volsinii. She is also mentioned as the goddess of this city, in a Latin votive inscription, given by Fabretti (X. p. 742)—

Nortia te veneror lare cretus Volsiniensi;

who gives a second inscription—

Magnæ Deæ Nortiæ.

cf. Gori, Mus. Etrus. II. pp. 17, 303. Gerhard (Gottheiten der Etrusker) regards Nortia as nearly allied to Minerva. Gori thinks that a marble statue of a female with a child, and an Etruscan inscription on her left arm, which appears to be votive, found at Volterra, and

518 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

goddess seems to have been of peculiar sanctity, for it was made the national calendar—a nail being driven into it every year, as into the temple of Jove on the Capitol of Rome.¹ That temple being Etruscan, most probably stood on the site of the ancient city. The ruins in question are undoubtedly Roman, being of *opus incertum* alternating in layers with brickwork. Roman also are the sepulchral tablets and *cippi*, arranged in front of the said gate, though among them may be recognized the Etruscan names of Cæcina and Vibenna. But a bas-relief of a sacrifice seems to belong to an earlier period and style of art.²

From the ruined temple a Roman road of basaltic

now in the museum of that city, represents Nortia. Gerhard, however (Gottheiten der Etrusker, pp. 39, 60), regards this statue as that of Ilithyia, the goddess of Pyrgi.

¹ Liv. loc. cit. Livy does not state it from his own knowledge, but on the assertion of one Cincius, a cautious authority for such monuments. This custom was, without doubt, introduced into Rome from Etruria, for it had existed from the time of the kings—a nail being annually driven into the wall of the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus—and falling at length into disuse, was revived in the year of Rome 391 (B.C. 363), for the sake of staying a pestilence; when, strange enough, a dictator was chosen simply for the sake of driving the nail! This was the case also on subsequent occasions. Liv. VIII. 18; IX. 28. The custom, as Livy confesses, savoured of a semi-barbarous age—*quia raræ per ea tempora literæ erant*—yet was preserved, from some superstitious notion of its efficacy—not merely as a curious relic of the olden time, as the Lord Mayor of London counts hobnails on the Exchequer-table on the day of his installation. The nail evidently had a symbolic meaning with the Etruscans, implying the fixed decree of fate; for on a well-known mirror, found at Perugia, it is represented in the hand of the Etruscan winged Fate—ATHRPA, or Atropos—who is about to drive a nail with a hammer, to indicate the predetermined death of Meleager—MELIACR—and of Adonis. Inghir. Mon. Etrus. II. tav. 62, p. 550. Vermiglioli, Inscriz. Perug. I. p. 49. Gerhard, Etrusk. Spiegel, taf. CLXXVI. Müller (Etrusk. IV. 7, 6) shows that “Athrpa” is but the Nortia of the Etruscans, with a Hellenized appellation. The same symbolical idea of the nail was adopted by the Romans; and *clavo trabali fixum* was a proverbial saying, signifying what was unalterably fixed by Fate or Fortune. Cic. in Verr. VI. 21; Petron. Satyr. 75. Horace’s (Od. I. 35, 17) picture of Necessity, the companion of Fortune, bearing such nails in her hand, which he also terms adamantine (Od. III. 24), is well known.

² It is illustrated by Micali (Ant. Pop. Ital. III. p. 88, tav. LVIII. 5) but better by Adami (Storia di Volseno, p. 133), who calls it “the sacrifice of the Arvales.” Adami describes and delineates many other remains of temples, palaces, baths, sepulchres—all Roman—existing in his day—about a century since—in the neighbourhood of Bolsena.

pavement leads in a direct line up the hill. It probably ran to the ancient town on the site of Orvieto, and is still the path to the amphitheatre, or as the natives term it, La Piazza del Mercatello,—a small structure, in utter ruin and of little interest. The construction is so palpably Roman, that it is difficult to understand how it could have been taken for Etruscan. It occupies an elevated site about a mile from the town, and is surrounded by vineyards and chestnut-groves. In fact Juvenal's picture of Volsinii, "placed among wooded hills," is as applicable as ever, for all the slopes behind Bolsena are densely clothed—olives below, and chestnuts above. Another Roman road, running eastward, and probably leading to Balneum Regis, now Bagnaréa, may be traced on the heights above the Franciscan Convent, near the new road to Orvieto.¹

Though the vestiges of the city and of the amphitheatre may not tempt him, let not the traveller neglect to ascend these heights, for the sake of the magnificent view they command. The lake, broad and bright as an archangel's shield—its islets, once ever changing place and form at the breath of Æolus or the caprice of popular tradition, but now two fixed spots of beauty on its fair surface—Valentano glittering on the dusky heights opposite,—

"Like a rich jewel in an Ethiop's ear"—

Marta nestling beneath its bold headland—the broad *cestus* of verdure girdling the lake,—all these and more distant features of beauty are seen over the slopes of olives and vines, of figs and chestnuts, and over the caverned cliffs which rise around the castled-crag of Bolsena.

Other Roman remains have been discovered at Bolsena ;² and in front of the church of Santa Cristina are sundry

¹ On this road, just above the convent, are some singular sections of earth, showing Roman masonry and *opus incertum*, with a layer of broken pottery above it, eight or ten feet below the present surface ; the superincumbent earth having been washed down from the hill above. This shows how much caution is necessary in determining ancient sites from extant remains, when the ground, as in this case, is commanded by higher, contiguous land. The surface may present no vestige of former habitation.

² Baths, with leaden pipes, stamped with "Neronis Cæsaris Aug. ;" and a chamber frescoed in the style of Pompeii. Bull. Inst. 1837, p. 188 ; 1838, p. 6.

520 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

column-shafts of blue and red granite, and an oval marble sarcophagus with reliefs of the triumph of Bacchus. Altars, *cippi*, votive and sepulchral tablets here and there meet the eye in the streets.

Though so little is to be seen of the Etruscan age of Volsinii, at the call of the pickaxe and shovel the earth yields her hidden treasures. The site has been too much neglected by the excavator, for though some attempts have been made of late years, they have not been to that extent which a place so renowned for antiquity, wealth, and luxury demands.¹

A chapter on Bolsena would not be complete without a word on its miracles. The Santa Cristina, to whom the church is dedicated, was a virgin-martyr, who was cast into the lake by "the bewildered Pagans of old time," and though she touched the bottom, as is proved by the prints of her feet on the rocks, which remain to this day to confound the unbeliever, she would not drown, but came safe to land. Her body was preserved in her church till some pilgrims committed a pious fraud and smuggled it off to Palermo. But this is not the celebrated "Miracle of Bolsena," which has made the name of this petty town known from Chili to Japan, wherever the Roman Pontiff has power or advocates, or the genius of Raffaele worshippers. That event occurred in this same church of Santa Cristina, some six centuries since, when a priest, performing the mass, entertained doubts of the real presence—doubts not even expressed—but blood forthwith burst from the wafer, and left its stains on the altar and marble floor, where they may be seen at this day—screened, however, from heretical scrutiny.

It remains to be said that the modern representative of this ancient greatness is a poverty-stricken town of some 1700 souls. Being on the high-road to Rome, and a post-station, it has an inn—the Aquila d'Oro—which trumpets its own praises as to the convenience it can afford in the matters of apartments, stabling &c., and promises the traveller "most excellent entertainment." *Le parole son*

¹ The most recent excavations were made, a few years since, by a lady, whose name and nation I could not learn. She did not confine her operations to the mainland, but made *scavi* also in the island of Martana. I could not ascertain the result; but the speedy discontinuance implied no great success.

femine, i fatti maschi—"words are feminine, deeds masculine," saith the proverb ; or as the Spaniards express it—

Del dicho al hecho
Hay gran trecho,—

therefore put not your faith in the Boniface of Bolsena.¹

¹ The notice put forth from this inn for the attraction of travellers, was thus ludicrously translated in the handbill, for the benefit of Englishmen :—"Inn of the Gold's Eagle. Noble travellers who shall pass by this way, or in stage-coach, or by post-chaise, they shall find in this inn of the very well-arranged rooms, stables, coach-houses, and horses for making the mountain of. At length they shall be very well contented of all they shall desire."

CHAPTER XXVIII

MONTE FIASCONE.—*FANUM VOLTUMNÆ*?

Temple and tower went down, nor left a site.—BYRON.

Quale per incertam lunam, sub luce malignâ,
Est iter in silvis, ubi cœlum condidit umbrâ
Jupiter, et rebus nox abstulit atra colorem.—VIRGIL.

IT is a distance of nine miles from Bolsena to Monte Fiascone, and the road on the long ascent commands superb views of the lake and its richly-wooded shores. That the lake, notwithstanding its vast size, was once the crater of a volcano, seems proved by the character of its encircling hills; and in one spot, about a mile from Bolsena, there is strong evidence in a cliff of basaltic columns, of irregular pentagons, hexagons, and heptagons, piled up horizontally. The quarries, for which these shores were anciently renowned, have not yet been recognized.¹

Though the lake anciently took its name from Volsinii, the principal city on its shores, yet, as the *ager Tarquiniensis* stretched up to its waters on the west, it was sometimes called the Tarquinian Lake.² In all ages something of the marvellous seems to have attached to it. The blood-flowing wafer, and the foot-prints of the virgin-martyr, have already been mentioned. Its islands are described as floating groves, blown by the wind, now into triangular, now into circular forms, but never into squares.³ Shall we not rather refer this unsteady, changeful character to the eyes of the beholders, and conclude that the propagators of the miracle had been making too deep potations in the rich wine of its shores? Now, at least, the islands have lost their erratic and Protean propensities, and, though still capt with wood, have taken determinate and beautiful forms, no longer plastic beneath the touch of Æolus.⁴ As early as the

¹ See Chapter XIII. p. 255; and Chapter XXIV. p. 482.

² Plin. II. 96.

³ Plin. loc. cit.

⁴ The Isola Martana is said to retain vestiges of antiquity. The other, called Bisentino, must have received its name from the Vesentum

Second Punic War, this lake was the subject of a miracle—its waters were changed into blood¹—not merely, it may be, a portent of the pestilence that ensued, but a symbol, perhaps, of the pestiferous atmosphere which must even then have brooded over it. If miracles have ceased, malaria has not, but summerly visits the spot, and makes these beautiful and fertile shores, which might be a paradise, a desolation and a curse. Man has well nigh deserted them, and the fish and wild-fowl, which abounded here of old, have still undisturbed possession of its waters.²

Monte Fiascone stands on the very summit of its hill, the loftiest ground on the shores of the lake. It is a town of some importance, with a neat, new cathedral, on the plan of the Pantheon, and with a decent inn outside the walls. Beyond this, and its wine, the far-famed, prelate-snaring, prelate-slaying "*Est, est, est*,"³ which, if it be not Latin for "good," as the natives tell you, is understood to represent that quality in the modern vernacular, seeing it fetches the enormous price of three *paoli* (fifteen pence) the flask—there is nothing of interest in Monte Fiascone.

The origin and antiquity of Monte Fiascone are involved in obscurity. The fortifications are wholly of the middle ages; but a number of Latin inscriptions, found in the neighbourhood, seem to indicate an existence under the Romans; while some tombs in the surrounding slopes give evidence of still higher antiquity. These sepulchres are greatly defaced, partly owing to the friability of the tufo in which they are hewn, partly from serving as abodes to the labouring population, who are content to dwell in caves and

or Vesentium mentioned in Pliny's catalogue—"Vesentini" (III. 8)—the site of which town, I know not with what truth, has been placed on the western shore of the lake, between Marta and Valentano.

¹ Liv. XXVII. 23.

² Strabo, V. p. 226. Columella, de Re Rust. VIII. 16. Strabo errs in saying that the reeds and rushes of this lake were borne by the Tiber to Rome, for the lake has but one emissary, the Marta, which falls into the sea below Corneto.

³ The family of the Rev. John Fugger bequeathed a sum of money for masses to be said for his soul on the anniversary of his death, and for a barrel of the fatal wine to be poured upon his grave. The first part of the bequest is religiously attended to, but the people now dispense with the heathenish libation, and pour the wine, which Sancho would have pronounced "very Catholic," down their own throats instead.

524 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

holes in the rock, in the most abject squalor and wretchedness. Of them may it verily be said, "They remain among the graves, and lodge in the monuments; and the broth of abominable things is in their vessels." The natural position of the town is so strong, that it is difficult to believe the Etruscans could have neglected to avail themselves of it. It resembles that of Volterra, Fiesole, and some other cities in the northern part of the land, but has no counterpart in this southern district.¹

The antiquity of Monte Fiascone has been almost universally admitted, and its original name has been sought in its modern appellation, which has been variously converted into Mons Phiscon—Mons Falconis—Mons Faliscorum, or the site of Falerii;² though it seems clearly to be derived from the wine for which the Mount has for ages been celebrated—Fiascone signifying "a large flask." By one it has been regarded as the site of the Etruscan Volsinii;³ by another of Trossulum,⁴ a town which was taken by some Roman knights without the aid of foot-soldiers, and which is said to have lain nine miles on this side of Volsinii.⁵ Trossulum, however, is more likely to have

¹ It may be objected that had a city existed on this spot it would have left some traces of its walls, seeing that cities in similar situations, as Volaterræ, Fæsulæ, Cortona, Perugia, have preserved so much of their ancient fortifications; but the walls of a city on this height must have been of tufo, and therefore much more liable to destruction than those of the cities to the north, composed, as they are, of enormous masses of limestone or hard sandstone. Again it may be urged that a city in so commanding a position as this must have been of great importance, and it is hardly credible that its very name would have perished. Yet Veii, the rival of Rome in size, power, and magnificence, and within a few miles of her gates, was lost for ages, and its site has been only rediscovered by the researches of modern antiquaries.

² Annio called it "Mons Phiscon, quæ est arx Iti." Raffaëlle Maffei, Il Biondo, and Alberti, took it for Falerii. Dempster (II. p. 417) seems to be the only writer who has not considered the site ancient, and his reason is merely that he finds no mention of it in ancient writers.

³ Abeken, Mittelitalien, p. 35.

⁴ Cluver. Ital. Antiq. II. p. 562.

⁵ Plin. XXXIII. 9. Festus ap. Paul. Diac. v. Trossuli. Schol. in Pers. Sat. I. 82. This exploit long conferred on the Roman *equites*, the name of Trossuli. It is not so singular a feat as was performed by a body of French cavalry in 1795, when they captured some Dutch ships of war, stuck fast in the ice. Trossulus from being an honourable appellation became one of reproach, equivalent to a luxurious, effeminate fellow. Seneca, Epist. 87, 8. Livy (X. 46) mentions a town of

stood in the plain, at a spot called Vado di Trosso, or Vado Trossano, two miles from Monte Fiascone towards Férento, which was recognized some ages since,¹ though at the present day both name and site are utterly unknown.² Monte Fiascone is hardly the sort of place to be taken at a gallop.

There are two places spoken of by ancient writers, either of which is more likely, than any of those yet mentioned, to have occupied this site. One is Ænarea, a city of Etruria, which submitted to be governed by its manumitted slaves, and is described as "extraordinarily strong, for in the midst of it was a hill rising thirty furlongs in height, and having at its base a forest of all sorts of trees, and abundance of water."³ Though the usurpation of the slaves evidently refers to the events at Volsinii, already recorded, it is possible that the writer erred chiefly in assigning them to another site in the Volsinian territory, the situation of which, even to the ascent of the hill, four miles in length, accords closely with that of Monte Fiascone.⁴ The name, which given by

Etruria, called Troilium, taken by the Romans in the year 461 (B.C. 293) which Cluver (loc. cit.) thinks identical with Trossulum. This can hardly be the case, because Troilium was not taken by a sudden assault, but before it was attacked, 470 of its inhabitants, men of great wealth, purchased immunity of Carvilius the Consul, and were allowed to leave the town. And after the capture, the same Roman force took five castles, all in strong natural positions. Cluver also suggests the possible identity of the Gurasium, mentioned by Diodorus (XIV. p. 319), with Trossulum.

¹ Mariani, de Etruriâ Metrop. p. 46; and before him, Holsten. Annot. ad Cluver. p. 67, and Alberti, Descript. d' Italia, p. 64.

² I have on several occasions made inquiries at Monte Fiascone, Viterbo, and Bolsena, and have never been able to learn that any spot in this neighbourhood has now the name of Trosso. In the time of Holstenius and Mariani it was probably a mere "*luoghetaccio*," and now is so utterly desolate that its very name has perished.

³ De Mirab. Auscult. cap. 96, commonly ascribed to Aristotle, and printed with his works, but written by an unknown Greek about the 130 Olympiad, (260 B.C.). He is quoted by Stephanus of Byzantium, who calls the town *Olva* (*sub voce*). Niebuhr (I. p. 124. n. 382) considers this undoubtedly to mean Vulsinii, and that *Olvapéa* was a distortion of the name committed by the author or transcribers. So also Arnold (History of Rome, II. p. 530); and Müller (Etrusk. II. 2, 10), who amends Ænarea into Olsanea, remarking that Propertius (IV. eleg. 2, 4) has "Volsanus," and that Volci was called by the Greeks *Ὀλκιον*. Cluver (II. p. 513) takes this city for Volaterræ.

⁴ It is scarcely necessary to observe that the text must not be taken literally as regards the hill rising in the midst of the city; it is either

526 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

a foreigner, may be merely an epithet descriptive of the place—Winy or Viny—may be cited in corroboration of this view. Indeed it is nearly equivalent to the actual appellation—Fiascone. The light volcanic soil of these slopes must have been in all ages well adapted to the cultivation of the vine; which still flourishes on most sites in Italy, where Bacchus was of old most renowned.

But I think it more probable that this was the site of the Fanum Voltumnæ, the shrine at which “the princes of Etruria” were wont to meet in council on the general affairs of the Confederation.¹ We have no record or intimation of the precise locality of this celebrated shrine, but we know it must have been north of the Ciminian, for after the conquest by the Romans of the whole of the Etruscan plain to the south, we find it still mentioned as the grand seat of council.² Then where so likely as in the great plain of

corrupt, or a distortion of the fact, which resolves itself into this, that the city stood on a hill, not of such a height perpendicularly, but the ascent to which was of such a length.

¹ Liv. IV. 23, 25, 61; V. 17; VI. 2.

² Liv. VI. 2. It is elsewhere strongly intimated by Livy (V. 17) that the Fanum Voltumnæ was in this district of Etruria, for when Capena and Falerii sought assistance in behalf of Veii from the confederate princes of the land there sitting in council, they received for reply that no succour could be afforded—that it was vain to look for it, “especially in that part of Etruria,” on account of the unexpected invasion of the Gauls; who must then have been besieging Clusium, which lies in the valley of the Clanis, the natural entrance to the great Etruscan plain from the north. Something may perhaps be deduced from the fact that the statue of Vertumnus, an Etruscan deity nearly allied to Voltumna, which was set up in the Tuscus Vicus at Rome, was captured from this part of Etruria, as Propertius (IV. eleg. 2) states—

Tuscus ego, et Tuscis orior; nec pœnitet inter
Prælia Volsanos deseruisse focos.

Vertumnus seems to have been an Etruscan Bacchus, a god of wine and fruits. He it is, thinks Gerhard (Gottheiten der Etrusker, p. 31), who is represented in the Grotta delle Iscrizioni at Corneto, as having a fish offered to him. See Chapter XVIII. p. 372. He is called Vortumnus by Varro (L. L. V. 8; VI. 3); and probably also Volturnus, by Festus (ap. Paul. Diac. v. Volturnalia), as well as by Varro (L. L. VII. 45); though neither recognize the relation in this case. See Müller's views on Vertumnus (Etrusk. III. 3, 3). Voltumna was probably his wife, equivalent, thinks Gerhard (loc. cit. p. 8), to Pomona. Voltumna or Volturna was also an Etruscan family-name, found in sepulchral inscriptions at Perugia, and also at Sovana. See Chapter XXVI. p. 508, where it is given in its Etruscan form—VELTHURNA.

Etruria, which was originally in the very centre of the land, and contained the metropolis of the Confederation—Tarquinii—the spot hallowed as the source of the civil and religious polity of the Etruscans?¹ That the shrine stood on an eminence we may conclude from analogy. The temple of Jupiter Latialis, the common shrine of the Latin cities, as this was of the Etruscan, stood on the summit of the Alban Mount.² We also know that the Etruscans were wont to “make high places” to their gods³—a custom they

¹ Antiquaries have universally agreed in placing it in this region, though differing as to its precise locality. The general opinion, from the time of Annio, has favoured Viterbo (see Chapter XII. p. 244), from the existence of a church there called S. Maria in Volturna. A few would place it at Castel d'Asso. Müller (Etrusk. II. 1, 4) inclines to place it near the Vadimonian Lake. Lanzi (Saggio II. p. 108) thinks it must have occupied a central and convenient situation, as the similar shrines of Delphi and of the Alban Mount. The site of the latter is said by Dionysius (IV. p. 250) to have been chosen for its central advantages. The traces of the name preserved at Viterbo, even were it ascertained that the said church occupies the site of a temple to Voltumna, do not prove this to be the celebrated Fanum. It is not to be supposed that the goddess had only one shrine, any more than that Apollo was worshipped only at Delphi, Diana at Ephesus, or Juno at Argos. It was merely the Fanum of Voltumna *par excellence*, just as St. Peter has his chosen temple at the Vatican, St. James at Compostela, or the Virgin at Loreto.

² Dion. Hal. loc. cit. The shrine of Apollo was on the summit of Soracte; and that of Feronia, common to the Sabines, Latins, and Etruscans, has been shown to have occupied in all probability the elevated shoulder of the same mountain (see Chapter X. pp. 231–232).

³ The temple of Juno was on the Acropolis of Veii (Liv. V. 21, Plut. v. Camill. 5), and at Falerii it stood on the summit of a steep and lofty height. Ovid. Amor. III. eleg. 13, 6. The Aræ Mutiæ, another Etruscan shrine, most probably occupied the summit of Monte Musino. See Chapter IV. pp. 147–149. It was an Etruscan custom to raise in every city a triple temple to the three great divinities, Jove, Juno, and Minerva (Serv. ad Virg. Æn. I. 422), and from the analogy of the Romans, who, borrowing the custom from the Etruscans, raised the same triple shrine on the Capitol, we may conclude it was upon the Acropolis or highest part of the city. On the Roman Capitol, indeed, were images of all the Gods. Serv. ad Æn. II. 319. It seems to have been a very ancient and general Italian custom to raise temples on the Arces of cities. Thus, Orvinium in Sabina, a town of the Aborigines, had a very ancient shrine of Minerva on its Acropolis. Dion. Hal. l. p. 12. Virgil (Æn. III. 531) describes a temple to the same goddess on such a site on the Calabrian coast—*templumque apparet in arce Minervæ*. The word *Arx* seems sometimes to be used as equivalent to temple, as in Liv. I. 18.

528 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

had in common with the Greeks and oriental nations,¹ and one conformable to the natural feelings of humanity; just as kneeling or prostration are by all men, but Quakers, acknowledged to be the natural attitudes of adoration and humility. Analogy leads us to the conclusion that the Fanum Voltumnæ, the shrine of the great goddess of the Etruscans, whither the sacerdotal rulers of the land were wont to resort in times of difficulty and danger, for the sake of propitiating the goddess, or of consulting the will of heaven by augury, must have stood on an eminence rather than on the low site which has generally been assigned to it. And if on a height, and in the great Etruscan plain, where so probably as on the crest of Monte Fiascone, which rises in the centre of the expanse, and from its remotest corner still meets the eye—a city on a hill which cannot be hid? To *prove* the fact with the *data* we have is impossible; but it is strongly favoured by probability.

It is not to be supposed that the temple stood wholly apart from habitations. The priests must have dwelt on the spot, and accommodation must have been found for “the princes of Etruria” and their retinues, as well as for those who flocked thither to attend the solemn festivals and games,² and for the traders who availed themselves of such

¹ In Greece, temples to the great gods were generally on the Acropolis—as that of Minerva at Athens, and at Megara (Pausan. I. 42)—of Jove and Minerva at Argos (Paus. II. 24)—of several deities at Corinth (Paus. II. 4)—and of Apollo at Delphi (Paus. X. 8). Besides which the most important shrines were generally on eminences,—as the temple of Panhellenic Jove in the island of Ægina (Paus. II. 30),—as the Heræum at Argos (Paus. II. 17), rediscovered of late years by General Gordon (Mure’s Greece, II. p. 177, *et seq.*)—and as the celebrated temple of Venus on the summit of Mount Eryx, the highest mountain in Sicily after Ætna. Polyb. I. 55; Tacit. Ann. IV. 43. The shrines of Apollo were usually on mountain-tops. Hom. Hymn. Apol. 144. Lofty places were dedicated to Saturn; whence Olympus was called the Saturnian height. Lycoph. Cass. 42. Mountains, says Lucian (de Sacrif. p. 185, ed Bourd.), are dedicated to the gods by the universal consent of mankind. Similar instances might be multiplied extensively. So in the East, Jupiter (Hom. II. XXII. 170) and Cybele (Virg. Æn. IX. 86) had shrines on Mount Ida. The ancient Persians also, though they raised no statues or altars to the gods, sacrificed to them on elevated sites. Strabo, XV. p. 732. The examples of other oriental nations that might be taken from Sacred Writ are too numerous to quote, and will recur to the memory of the reader.

² That such festivals were held at these national conventions, we learn from Liv. V. 1. Similar solemnities were celebrated at the temple of Jupiter Latialis on the Alban Mount. Dion. Hal. IV. p. 250.

opportunities to dispose of their wares;¹ so that, as in the case of Feronia, there must have been a permanent population on the spot, attracted by the temple and the wants of the worshippers. This would explain the tombs found on the slopes of the hill.

Well may this height have been chosen as the site of the national temple! It commands a magnificent and truly Etruscan panorama. The lake shines beneath in all its breadth and beauty—truly meriting the title of “the great lake of Italy”²—and though the towers and palaces of Volsinii have long ceased to sparkle on its bosom, it still mirrors the white cliffs of its twin islets, and the distant snow-peaks of Amiata and Cetona. In every other direction is one “intermingled pomp of vale and hill.” In the east rise the dark mountains of Umbria; and the long line of mist at their foot marks the course of “the Etruscan stream”—

“the noble river
That rolls by the towers of Rome.”

The giant Apennines of Sabina loom afar off, dim through the hazy noon; and the nearer Ciminian, dark with its once dread forests, stretches its triple-crested mass across the southern horizon. Fertile and populous was the country, numerous and potent the cities, that lay beneath the confederate princes as they sat here in council; and many an eye in the wide plain would turn hitherward as to the ark of national safety. The warriors gathering at the sacred lake in defence of their children’s homes and fathers’ sepulchres, would look to the great goddess for succour—the augur on the distant arx of Tarquinii or Cosa, would turn to her shrine for a propitious omen—the husbandman would lift his eye from the furrow, and invoke her blessing on his labours—and the mariner on the bosom of the far-off Tyrrhene, would catch the white gleam of her temple, and breathe a prayer for safety and success.

¹ This might be presumed from the analogy of the *Lucus Feroniæ*, where large fairs were held at these religious gatherings (Dion. Hal. III. p. 173. Liv. I. 30); but it is also strongly implied by Livy (VI. 2) when he says that merchants brought to Rome the news of the Etruscan council at the *Fanum Voltumnæ*. Fairs were held at the similar annual meetings of the *Ætolian League* at *Thermum*. Polyb. V. 1.

² Plin. N. H. II. 96.

CHAPTER XXIX

ORVIETO

Poco portai in là volta la testa,
Che mi parve veder molte alte torri,
Ond' io : Maestro, di', che terra è questa ?—DANTE.

La città de Orvieto è alta e strana.
Questa da' Roman vechi el nome prese
Che andavan lì, perchè laer era sana.

FACCIO DEGLI UBERTI.

THE last Etruscan site in the great central plain that I have to describe is Orvieto, which lies on the extreme verge of the plain to the north-east. From Bolsena it is distant eight or nine miles ; from Monte Fiascone, nearly eighteen. Both roads are "carriageable."¹ I took the latter ; and in default of a better mode of conveyance was fain to journey on an ass, with another for my luggage.

This mode of transit is pleasant enough in a fine country and fair weather ; and in Italy one sacrifices no dignity by such a *monture*. But when *nebulae malusque Jupiter* rule the heavens, or the road is to be travelled with all speed—preserve me from the pack-saddle ! I cannot then exclaim—*delicium est asinus* !—be he as excellent as any of sacred or profane renown, from the days of Balaam to those of Apuleius or Joan of Arc, or even as Dapple himself of immortal memory. Asses, like men, are creatures of habit. *Ognuno al suo modo, ed il sommario all' antico*—"Every one to his own way, and the ass to the old way," says one proverb,—*Trotto d'asino non dura troppo*—"An ass's trot never lasts too long," says another—both of which I verified to my cost on this journey ; for though the rain burst from the sky in torrents, my beasts were not to be coaxed out of their wonted deliberate pace, consistent with the transport of charcoal, flour, and firewood, by any arguments *ad lumbos* I could offer ; and I had no alternative but to

¹ A so-called *diligence* leaves Viterbo for Orvieto two or three times in the week, passing by Monte Fiascone.

follow their example, and take it coolly for the rest of the journey.

Between Montefiascone and Orvieto, but considerably to the right of the road, lies Bagnaréa, the ancient *Balneum Regis*, which I believe to be also an Etruscan site, but I had no opportunity of visiting it.¹

The first view of Orvieto from this side is one of the most imposing in Italy. The road, which is level for the greater part of the way, leads unexpectedly to the verge of a cliff where a scene magnificent enough to compensate for any discomfort, bursts on the view. From the midst of the wide and deep valley at my feet, rose, about two miles distant, an isolated height, like a truncated cone, crowned with the towers of Orvieto. The sky was overcast, the atmosphere dense and misty, and the brilliant hues of sunshine were wanting; yet the grand features of the scene were visible as in an engraving. There were the picturesque convent-towers embosomed in groves on the slopes in the fore-ground—the luxuriant cultivation of the valley beneath—the Paglia snaking through it, spanned by its bridges—there was the wide stretch of the city, bristling from its broad cliff-bound rock, in the centre of the scene—the back-ground of mountains, which looming through vapour and cloud, lost nothing of altitude or sublimity—and the whole was set in a frame-work of tall precipices, hung with woods, and with many a cataract streaking their steep—

“A pillar of white light upon the wall
Of purple cliffs, aloof descried.”

The rock on which Orvieto stands is of red tufo, scarped naturally beneath the walls, but then sinking in a steep slope into the valley on every side. This is the extreme verge of the tufo district, and the nature of the ground resembles that of the northern division of Etruria. The site in its perfect isolation differs from that of any of the towns in the

¹ It lies about 6 miles from Montefiascone, on a cliff-bound hill; and more than a mile beyond is another similar height, with ruins on it, called *Civita*—a sure clue to the existence of an ancient city. Dempster (II. p. 413) says that some have taken Bagnaréa for the Novempagi of Pliny (III. 8). But Holstenius (Annot. ad Cluv. p. 47) and Westphal (*Römische Kampagne*, p. 157) with more probability suggest Viano, Ischia, Agliola, Bassano, and other places north of the Lake of Bracciano, as the sites of the Novempagi.

532 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

volcanic district, Horta excepted, but resembles that of Rusellæ, Saturnia, or Cosa; and the traveller who approaches it from the north, will hail the rock of Orvieto as just the site for an Etruscan city.

The antiquity of Orvieto is implied in its name, a corruption of *Urbs Vetus*.¹ But to its original appellation we have no clue. The general opinion of antiquaries, from Raphael of Volterra downwards, has marked it as the site of *Herbanum*.² Müller broaches the opinion that this *Urbs Vetus* was no other than the "old city" of *Volsinii*, which was destroyed by the Romans on its capture.³ But the distance of eight or nine miles from the new town is too great to favour this opinion. Niebuhr⁴ suggests, with more probability that it may be the site of *Salpinum*, which in the year 362 (B.C. 392) assisted *Volsinii* in her war with Rome.⁵

Unlike most Etruscan sites, Orvieto does not retain a vestige of its ancient walls. It has even been asserted, on

¹ It was so called by Paul. Diaconus, cited by Dempster II. p. 409. *Annio* forged for it an ancient name—*Oropitæ*, or *Orbitum*.

² A town mentioned by Pliny (III. 8) in his catalogue of colonies in Etruria. The similarity of the first syllable can alone have suggested an identity with Orvieto. Even Cluver (II. p. 553) held this notion. But Dempster (II. p. 409) ridiculed it.

³ Etrusk. I. p. 451. Orioli (*Nouv. Ann. Instit.* 1836, p. 50) holds the same opinion; which is refuted by the Chev. Bunsen, *Bull. Instit.* 1833, p. 96.

⁴ Nieb. Hist. Rome, II. p. 493. This opinion was also held by some of the early Italian antiquaries.

⁵ Liv. V. 31, 32. That this city was more remote than *Volsinii* seems evident from the fact that the Romans in this campaign first encountered the forces of the latter city. That *Salpinum* was of considerable power and importance is shown by its association with *Volsinii*, one of the Twelve. Niebuhr does not think it improbable that *Salpinum* itself was one of the sovereign states of Etruria (*loc. cit.*; cf. I. p. 120). And that it was strongly fortified by nature or by art would appear from the security its citizens felt within their walls—*mœnibus armati se tutabantur*—and from the fact that the Romans, though they ravaged its territory, did not venture to attack the city. Cramer (*Ancient Italy*, I. p. 225) thinks that the name *Salpinum* may be traced in an old church, called S. Giovanni in Selina, a few miles to the north-east of Viterbo. But, according to this mode of investigation, a more probable site may be found in the Torre Alfina, a fortress on a lofty height, 10 or 12 miles north of Bolsena, and 3 east of Acquapendente. "Alphia," "Alphnis," "Alphna" and "Althpna" are names of Etruscan families, corresponding to the Latin *Alfius*. Lanzi, II. pp. 368, 450, 455, 527. A bilingual inscription to this effect is given in the *Suppl. Bull. Inst.* 1833. No. IV.

authority, that the city was not originally fortified.¹ It is now, however, girt by walls of the middle ages, and has a strong fortress to boot.

That Orvieto occupies an Etruscan site is abundantly proved by the many tombs opened of late years in the slopes around the city, some containing masonry, others Etruscan inscriptions both on the outer and inner walls—together with painted pottery, both of the archaic and pure

¹ It seems never to have been doubted that it is Orvieto, which is spoken of by Procopius (de Bell. Goth. II. 20) in the sixth century after Christ, under the name of Urbiventus—*Οὐρβιβεντὸς*—an apparent corruption of Urbs Vetus—as being besieged, and captured from the Goths, by Belisarius. Yet the picture he draws of the place is so far from accurate as to render it certain, either that he wrote from incorrect information, or that he did not refer to Orvieto. He says:—"A certain height rises alone from the hollow, smooth and level above, precipitous below. This height is surrounded by rocks of equal altitude, not quite close, but about a stone's throw distant. On this height the ancients built the city, not girdling it with walls or any other defences, for the place seemed to them to be naturally impregnable. For there happens to be but one entrance to it from the (neighbouring) heights, which approach being guarded, the inhabitants thereof feared no hostile attack from any other quarter. For save in the spot where nature formed the approach to the city, as has been stated, a river ever great and impassable lies between the height of the city and the rocks, just mentioned." Cluver (II. p. 553) pronounces this to be a most accurate description of Orvieto, and Mannert (Geog. p. 406) thinks it answers completely to that city. It is evident that neither had visited the spot. It would be impossible to give a truer description—except as regards the size of the river—of Nepi, Civita Castellana, Pitigliano, Sovana, and many other Etruscan sites in the volcanic district; but it is not at all characteristic of Orvieto, whose complete isolation, caused by the absence of the usual isthmus, is its distinctive feature, and from which the nearest of the surrounding heights can hardly be less than a mile distant. The description seems to be written by one familiar with the spot; and this confirms me in the opinion that it is not Orvieto to which it refers.

The fact stated by Procopius that the founders of this city, whatever it might be, raised no fortifications, being satisfied with the natural protection of the steep cliffs on which it stood—

Excelsæ rupi impositum sine mœnibus ullis—

is particularly worthy of notice. For, if true, it will explain the absence of all vestiges of ancient walling around certain Etruscan sites—Sorano, for instance, and Nepi, where the narrow isthmus alone seems to have been fortified; and also opens room for speculation on the extent of the ancient walls on Etruscan sites in general. Yet we find remains of ancient fortifications on heights utterly inaccessible, as at Civita Castellana, and must conclude that in such instances at least, the cities, however strong by nature, were completely girt with walls.

534 Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria

Greek style—black ware with figures in relief, as at Chiusi and Sarteano,—ash-chests of stone—statues of terra-cotta—bas-reliefs, painted in the Etruscan style—*cippi*, both cones and discs, with Etruscan inscriptions—bronze figures, vases, and sundry domestic implements—coins—*scarabei*—and the thousand and one articles which compose the furniture of Etruscan tombs. One *tazza* found here had been placed in the tomb in a mended state, the fragments being riveted together by metal wire.¹ All these things are now matters of history or tradition, for no sepulchres remain open in the slopes around the town, nor are there any Etruscan relics preserved there, as far as I could learn.²

Orvieto is a city of six or seven thousand inhabitants, and is neater and cleaner than most towns in this part of the Papal State. The inn, called L' Aquila Bianca, has tolerable pretensions to comfort. The two great lions are the Duomo, and the Well of San Patrizio. Of the latter with its strange corkscrew descent, I have nothing to say; but how can I be silent on the Duomo?

It is foreign to the purpose of this work, or I could expatiate on the glories of this Cathedral. Willingly would I descant on its matchless façade, similar in style, but more chaste and elegant than that of Siena—on the graces of its Lombard architecture—on its fretted arches and open galleries—its columns varied in hue and form—its aspiring

¹ Two vases similarly mended by the ancients are preserved in the Gregorian Museum at Rome; and such have often been found at Vulci, says Lucien Bonaparte, *Mus. Etrusque*. pp. 78, 108, 111. For notices of the excavations and discoveries made on this site, see *Bull. Instit.* 1829, p. 11; 1830, p. 244; 1831, pp. 33-37; 1832, p. 216; 1833, p. 93, *et seq.*—Bunsen; *Ann. Instit.* 1834, p. 83.—Bunsen.

² Similar evidences of Etruscan antiquity were discovered ages since on this site. Monaldo Monaldeschi of Cervara, who in 1584 wrote *Historical Commentaries on Orvieto*, states that “on the rock of the city there are quarries of sand and *porzolana*, and likewise subterranean roads hewn in the rock in ancient times, which lead from one part of the city to another. Caves also, running under ground, where wine is preserved most fresh” (lib. II. p. 15). By these roads he evidently means the rock-hewn sewers, which existed here, as usual on Etruscan sites in the volcanic district, though none are now to be seen, opening in the cliffs. The caves were probably tombs in the slopes beneath the walls. For he elsewhere (lib. I. p. 3) states that “many sepulchres are found continually, of pagans and Greeks (*i. e.* Etruscans), with vases of black earth fashioned in sundry ways, and with divers figures, and other beautiful things, whereof many are to be seen in the Archivio of the city.”

pediments—its marigold window with the circling guard of saints and angels—its quaint bas-reliefs—its many-hued marbles—its mosaics gilding, warming and enriching the whole, yet imparting no meretricious gaudiness,—the entire façade being the petrification of an illuminated missal—a triumphant blaze of beauty obtained by the union and tasteful combination of the three Sister Graces of Art. I could say much of the interior and its decorations—of its spaciousness and gloomy grandeur, more devotion-stirring than other cathedrals of Central Italy—of the massive banded columns, with their quaint capitals—of the frescoed walls and chapels, and the manifold treasures of art—the dignity and simplicity of Mochi's Virgin—the intensity of feeling in the Pietà of Scalza, and its well-contrasted divinity and humanity—the delicacy, tenderness, and celestial purity and radiancy of Fra Angelico's frescoes,—and above all I could descant on the glories of Luca Signorelli, not elsewhere to be appreciated—on the elevated poetry, the grandeur of composition, the grace and truthfulness of execution of those marvellous and awful frescoes which have immortalized his name, and made him a model of sublimity to Raffaele and Michael Angelo. But such subjects are foreign to my theme, and I must pass them by, simply assuring the traveller, that no town in Central Italy more urgently demands a visit, for the beauty of its site and surrounding scenery, and for the unrivalled glories of its Cathedral. If he be in search of objects of medieval art, let him omit what places he will between Florence and Rome, but let him see Orvieto.¹

¹ Orvieto is about 28 miles from Città la Pieve, and 34 from Chiusi. The road is hilly but tolerably good. It is only 18 miles from Todi—the ancient Tuder in Umbria—an interesting site for its extant remains as well as beautiful scenery—and more than 40 from Perugia, by the same road. The traveller northward leaves the volcanic district at Orvieto. The region of plain and ravine is behind him; that of undulation before him. Abrupt and perpendicular forms give place to gentle slopes and flowing outlines. Tufo is exchanged for a yellow sandstone full of large oyster-shells and other marine productions and often containing thin layers of rounded pebbles.

RICHARD CLAY & SONS, LIMITED,
BREAD STREET HILL, E.C., AND
BUNGAY, SUFFOLK.

UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY



128 612

UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY